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THREE LECTURES

ON

BRITISH

COLONIAL SLAVERY,

DELIVERED IN

The Royal Amphitheatre,

LIVERPOOL,

ON THE EVENINGS OF TUESDAY, AUGUST 28, THURSDAY 30,
AND THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1832,

BY GEORGE THOMPSON.

LIVERPOOL:

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ERRATA:

Page 7, line 15, for "A liberty unseeing" read "A liberty *unsung*."

Page 10, line 16, for "When Britain's power" read "*Where* Britain's power."

Page 12, line third from bottom, for "I beg you pardon" read "I beg *your* pardon.'

Page 26, line 14, for "The work is great and large, &c." read "I am doing a great work, so that I cannot come down: why should the work cease whilst I leave it and come down to you?"

Page 56, line 6, for "Colone" read "*Colonel*."

LECTURES

ON

BRITISH COLONIAL SLAVERY.

LECTURE I.

On Tuesday, August 28, 1832, Mr. George Thompson, one of the agents of the Anti-slavery Society engaged to traverse the country, and rouse the public attention to the numerous evils attending the system of Colonial Slavery, delivered a lecture in the Royal Amphitheatre, Liverpool. The lecture had been announced for some days before, and as it was deemed desirable that both sides of the question should be fairly laid before the public,—after some negotiation between the Committee of the Anti-slavery Society and the Committee of the West India Association in this town, it was arranged that Mr. Thompson should lecture on Tuesday; Mr. Borthwick, a gentleman engaged by the West India party, on Wednesday; that Mr. Thompson should reply on the Thursday; and that the admission on all the three nights should be by tickets, equally distributed by both parties, in order to secure a select assemblage, and prevent the recurrence of those scenes of clamour and tumult which had recently taken place at discussions of the same nature elsewhere. The most intense anxiety was manifested by all classes to obtain tickets, up to the hour of each evening's lecture. On the first day upwards of three thousand tickets were distributed, and many hundreds of persons who afterwards applied for them were obliged to go away disappointed. At the time appointed, the spacious building was crowded in every part, from the pit to the gallery,—the stage being occupied by gentlemen and merchants of both parties, amongst whom were many members of the Anti-slavery Society, and the Society of Friends. About half-past six o'clock Mr. George Thompson proposed that Adam Hodgson, Esq. should take the chair, and the motion was carried unanimously.

Mr. Hodgson on taking the chair, spoke to the following effect:—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—If I consulted my own feelings and inclination on this occasion, I should certainly not take upon myself the arduous office which you have invited me to accept, and which I feel it my duty not to shrink from, now that you have called upon me to fill it. I cannot but feel that I am occupying a station of great difficulty and responsibility. I stand here on the part of the Liverpool Anti-slavery Society, of which I am a member, on the one hand, and in some degree as the representative of the West Indian interest of this town, on the other, to perform the duties which you have imposed upon me; and those duties I approach with a determination, fearlessly, firmly, and impartially to discharge them, to the best of my ability. *(Applause.)* Whatever my own individual opinions on this great and most momentous subject may be, and

those opinions, deliberately formed and never to be abandoned, have been long before the public; whatever my own opinions may be, I stand not here either to promulgate or to compromise them. I stand here merely as a chairman appointed to preserve the order of the meeting, and it is my urgent wish and request that by both parties every expression of feeling may be repressed, every manifestation of approbation or disapprobation avoided, that the gentleman who lectures to-night, and the gentleman who replies to him to-morrow, may both be heard without comment and without interruption. *(Applause.)* With these views both parties have concurred in the arrangements for this discussion, and I trust that every member of this meeting will feel honourably bound to assist them in carrying those views into effect. It is not within my province to call to order the gentlemen who lecture for any statements they may think fit to make, or for any expressions they may think proper to use; it is for those gentlemen themselves to weigh well, and vindicate their own expressions; my office is merely to secure a fair and uninterrupted hearing for both, and I confidently rely on the support of this most numerous and respectable meeting in endeavouring to secure that object. If any difficulty or disturbance should arise,—but I do not anticipate such a contingency, important and exciting as the subject may be in itself,—I have only to say, that the meeting will disgrace itself by having recourse to any thing like clamour or vociferation. The eyes of the whole country will infallibly be turned to this meeting, and I should most deeply regret to witness any thing calculated to bring disgrace on my native town, or any departure whatever from that order and decorum which ought to characterize discussion upon a subject so deeply interesting and important as that which we are met together to discuss. *(Hear, hear.)* Violence and disorder may injure and disgrace a cause, but can never advance either its interests or its reputation. *(Applause.)* Before I conclude, allow me to inform you that I have been requested to state that the reply to the lecture which you are about to hear will be delivered to-morrow night, in this place, at the same hour.

Mr. THOMPSON then stood up in front of the table, and spoke nearly as follows:—

Mr. CHAIRMAN, LADIES, and GENTLEMEN,—Although I am unknown, perfectly unknown to nearly the whole of the individuals now congregated within these walls, I trust I shall not be deemed altogether a stranger, nor altogether an intruder, when I say that after a lapse of more than twenty years I once more stand in my native town; that I was born in Liverpool; and though I have not associated with its inhabitants, I trust that appearing before them after so long an absence, as an advocate of the cause I am now called upon to plead, I shall be favoured not merely as an Englishman, but especially as a townsman, with the patient, the kind, and the undivided attention of this auditory. *(Applause.)*

Ladies and Gentlemen,—You are called together this night to listen—not to a lecture upon history, or science, or philosophy, or the progress of literature, and the arts—not to discuss a topic connected with theology or metaphysics, though all of these are themes upon which eloquent, and profound, and impassioned discourses have been delivered—but to grant me your indulgence while, in the discharge of a painful and responsible duty, I call your attention to a subject which has not ordinarily been comprised within the range of those topics descanted upon by lecturers who have stood up to amuse or to instruct mankind. They have chosen themes more calculated to please the feelings and delight the fancy—the wonders of the heavens, or the beauties of the earth—or some of those phenomena by which we are every where surrounded, the investigation of the most minute of which display the littleness and insignificance of the power and invention of *man*, and the greatness and energy of that Being who, in infinite wisdom, hath created them all. I say it is my painful, my solemn, my arduous, and responsible duty, to invite your attention, not to themes like these, but to scenes of misery, of want, of woe, of suffering, and degradation;

of rapine and injustice; of cruelty and impiety, as exhibited in the history, progress, and present character of British Colonial Slavery. *(Applause.)* My theme then is SLAVERY!! My duty is to exhibit the present actual condition of 800,000 of our fellow-men and fellow-subjects, *now* in servile and degrading bondage within the precincts of the British dominions; and to set forth what is your duty as men, as Englishmen, and as Christians, towards this large and long-degraded portion of the human family. You, therefore, at once perceive how embarrassing are the circumstances in which the humble individual who this night appears before you is placed. Believe, Sirs, that I speak sincerely when I affirm that I am overwhelmed with fears regarding my own qualifications for the great and important task now before me; fears that I may disappoint the just expectations of this auditory; fears that I am occupying the place of some gentleman far better prepared than myself to discourse upon this awful topic; fears lest by possibility the interests of 800,000 human beings should be impaired, rather than advanced, by my weak, though zealous advocacy; fears lest I should not be equal to grapple with the great and momentous question,—whether in the year 1832, *British* Colonial *Slavery* shall be permitted to *continue;* or whether there is *justice* enough—*courage* enough—consistency enough—and piety enough in the English nation to declare the foul and man-destroying system at once, and for ever, at an end. Here, then, in the magnitude and momentous nature of the subject appear the risk and responsibility I incur. I am not here to canvass a question connected with literature, science, or the arts, upon which a variety of opinions may be entertained and expressed, and publicly promulged, without moral consequences—and without responsibility; but to assert, and to maintain, and to vindicate before the world, the long-stifled, long-resisted, long-evaded, *still* evaded claims, of nearly a million of my fellow-men and fellow-subjects, whose rights are as sacred, and should be as inviolable, as those of the wisest, the fairest, the best in this assembly; and whose wrongs and woes, whose sufferings and degradation should, ere this, have made an irresistible appeal to the honour and humanity, the wisdom, the piety, the justice, and the patriotism of the British nation. *(Applause.)*

Did I say the claims of nearly a *million* of my fellow men? Let me rather say the claims of every enslaved human being in every part of the habitable globe; for never should a professor, much less a lover of that Christianity, which teaches all men to do unto others whatsoever they would that others should do unto them, and to remember them that are in bonds as bound with them. Oh, Sirs! did we ever for a moment ponder on the import of those solemn and emphatic words, "*Remember them that are in bonds as bound* WITH *them?*" If there be in our minds any recognition of the high authority of the volume in which that passage be found; if in our hearts any disposition, even the least, to yield obedience to the high behests of Heaven, then do all worldly considerations sink into insignificance and sin before this sublime and comprehensive principle of human conduct.

Am I to "remember them that are in bonds as *bound with them?* Then am I to remember the slave, as though the same fetter that binds his limbs, came across the wide Atlantic and bound mine also; then am I to remember the slave as though the same hot iron that impresses upon his body the brand of servitude, impressed upon mine also the badge of infamy and degradation; then am I to remember the slave, as though the same whip that lacerates his body, scourged mine also; then am I to remember the slave, as though *my children* were torn from me by the same ruthless hand; and as though my wife were flogged and fettered by the same iron-hearted master. If there be meaning in words, and obligation in religion, then does this passage bind us to conduct such as I have described. Never then should an adherent to a system of LOVE like this be satisfied whilst there is in the world one hapless wretch who drags the chain of hopeless servitude, and who, with all the high capabilities of a rational and im-

ortal being, is sunken and degraded, brutalized and unmanned, beneath the hand of avarice, oppression, or vice. *(Great Applause.)*

Sirs! I hold it to be the law of Heaven that we should "love one another;" that our sympathies and charities should not be bounded by the neighbourhood in which we dwell, or by the country in which we reside, or by the empire of which we are subjects, or be limited to those of the same clime and colour as ourselves; but that taking a wider range, they should be as diffusive, ay, more diffusive than the rays of the bright orb of day, that they should embrace and warm both hemispheres at once; that we should make the world our neighbourhood, and see in every man a brother and a friend, no matter whether he inhabits the kraal of the Hottentot, the hut of the negro, the palace of the prince, or the cellar of the beggar. Wherever we find a being endowed with faculties like our own, affections like our own, created for an immortal destiny, and capable, like us, of knowing, serving, worshipping, and loving God; who may with us be nurtured for the skies; antedate with us the bliss beyond the grave, and rise at last to glory, and honour, and eternal life; wherever we find a being like this, we find one whom we should recognise as our brother, ay, *our brother;* however degraded beneath the hand of oppression; however untutored in the arts of civilized life; however unprotected by the unequal laws of man,—our brother still; whom we shall be compelled to own, and own perhaps to our shame and confusion, in that dread day when God shall bring his "*sons from far, and his daughters from the ends of the earth.*" I know that the common attributes and destinies of humanity have been denied to the negro. I know that in this, my native town, hundreds could once be found who calmly argued that the negro was not an immortal being; that he was not born to discharge the same duties, to entertain the same hopes, or to share the same salvation with themselves, and by such means they justified their treatment of him as an irrational beast.

Not only has the negro been denied the enjoyment of civil rights—not only has he been doomed to "hew wood and draw water" for the white man;—but the benefits of religion have been denied—his teachers have been persecuted and banished—the house in which he worshipped his God, and in which he was taught to lift his eyes in hope and confidence to one common Father—that house has been razed to its foundation; thus particularly, *even in the present day*, has his right to hope for immortality been denied, and he has been consigned to ignorance and vice, to the labour and treatment of a brute on earth, and the destiny of a brute hereafter. Yet his pale oppressor has proudly claimed immortality for himself, and has contemplated that immortality without dread of the judgment awaiting him for his ruthless conduct towards his sable victim. But (and I thank Heaven) a title to immortality is not the exclusive prerogative of the white man; they must both die the same death—both mingle with the same earth—both be resolved into the same element—both be judged at the same tribunal—by the same rule—both admitted to the same heaven, or banished to the same hell. Yes! let the oppressor die! let men bear his corse to the tomb decked with the trappings of an earthly splendour! let them write his epitaph on marble, and celebrate virtues which he never had, and let them say high on his escutcheon, RESURGAM, RESURGAM, RESURGAM! I shall rise again; and I will visit the grave of the lowly negro, the enslaved, insulted, degraded, and lacerated negro, and I will write upon the sod that covers his remains, RESURGAM, RESURGAM, RESURGAM! *I* shall rise again.

And now, Sirs, I ask you to discuss the question in reference to the rights of the negro in remembrance of that awful tribunal towards which we are all hastening. And, oh, that I myself may display no temper, use no argument, employ no illustration, of which I shall be ashamed when called upon to answer for the deeds comprised within the hour that I stand before you this night, to plead the cause of the oppressed, and seek to tear the fetters from the limbs of the slave.

Why stand I here? Not to calumniate any class of individuals in the world—not to vituperate against a single living being—not to make an attack upon personal character—not to make a specious appeal to your feelings; and while I excite your pity in behalf of one class of persons, raise your indignation against another. I am not here, as it has been most falsely, and most foully represented, to make an attack upon vested rights—upon property secured by charter and the laws; my object, the object of the Anti-Slavery Society, is not spoliation, nor robbery, nor wrong. I stand here to claim for the negro upon, Christian principles an equality of rights with myself, and the other freeborn subjects of this realm; to obtain your assistance to elevate him from that state of degradation into which the avarice, the despotism, and cruelty of men have plunged him, and exalt him not merely into a condition of civil liberty, but, as far as human agency under the blessing of God can do it, into the enjoyment of a better, a higher, a more hallowed, more glorious, and more enduring liberty.

> "A liberty unseeing
> By poets, and by senators unpraised,
> Which monarchs cannot grant, nor all the powers
> Of earth and hell confederate take away:
> A liberty, which persecution, fraud,
> Oppression, prisons, have no power to bind;
> Which whoso tastes can be enslaved no more." *(Applause.)*

I am not here, as it has been insinuated in some quarters, to answer a party purpose. I seek to be identified with no section of the religious world, with no division of the political one; not to advance any particular doctrine or creed, but to discuss upon the broad and immutable principles of justice and mercy, truth and love, the great question whether there is courage enough in the bosoms of Britons, and confidence enough in the arm of the Almighty, to open the prison doors and bid the oppressed go free; and thus to vindicate their love of liberty, and free themselves from the guilt of fostering the foulest system that ever desolated and defiled the earth, or insulted the majesty of Heaven.

I am here to demand *immediate and total emancipation for the negro;* not the destruction of property, not the endangering of life, not the dissolution of the frame-work of society; but the liberation of 800,000 fellow-subjects from the operations of a system which degrades the body, brutalizes the mind, produces ignorance and vice in the slave; pride, arrogance, and demoralization in the master; which, in a word, debases and dehumanizes both. Emancipation from law? No. Heaven forbid! Emancipation from restraint? No. Are *we* free from law, or from restraint? Yet we have no whip behind us to keep us at our work; to be our daily, our only stimulus to exertion. *Ours* is the restraint of *will*, and EQUITABLE laws *our* incentives to labour, the influence of motives which have ever been found sufficient from the foundation of the world. I ask that the slave should henceforth be controlled by such laws, should be influenced by such motives. Emancipation from labour? No. We are told this; but it is not so. The destruction of property? No. Its preservation and security. I plead for a *legislative enactment annihilating an odious and impious right of property in the bodies and souls of British subjects, and immortal men, and the immediate substitution of public, judicial, and responsible authority, for private, arbitrary, and irresponsible control.* I ask that the negro should be made free from fetters, from chains, from whips, and from uncompensated toil, whilst, at the same time, there should be all needful arrangements to ensure the safety of the master, promote the cultivation of the soil, and advance the real and true interests of all parties concerned. This, my friends, is all I ask: if I am wrong, "this is the very head and front of my offending, no more."

Sirs,—I have not time to-night to bring this subject fully before you. I have no opportunity now of exhibiting this horrid fabric of wrong and woe in all its frightful dimensions. Were I to trace its history, mark its progress, and enu-

merate its effects, I should detain you here till to-morrow's light dawned upon us. I should have to carry you back a period of 340 years, to the time when Columbus first discovered those beautiful islands which now constitute our West India colonial possessions, standing out like emerald spots in the waste of waters, inhabited by a simple and interesting race of beings, who really imagined that their European visitors had descended from heaven, but who soon lamentably proved how grievously they had been mistaken. I should have to tell of all the horrid barbarities that were practised by the Spaniards upon those unoffending, amiable, and interesting aborigines; how their lovely isles resounded with the cries of the tortured; and how the earth was stained with the blood of immolated victims; and how, after the extermination,—yes, Sirs, the utter annihilation of these generous and unsuspecting natives, other means were resorted to for the purpose of replenishing those newly-discovered tracts of country with fresh victims to minister at the shrine of an insatiable cupidity: and then I should be carried to the commencement,—I speak boldly, and I trust you will hear me patiently, however large a share this town may have had in those proceedings,—the commencement of that most foul, most impious, most cruel, most sanguinary, most anti-christian, and abominable of all traffics, denominated the African slave trade. You will be told hereafter of the history of that trade, and an effort will be made to show that the guilt of its commencement does not belong to us, but to British monarchs, and British Parliaments, and British merchants of by-gone days. I have no objection; throw the guilt where they will, it does not alter the nature of the system; it does not lessen our obligation to remove the evils which have sprung out of it. Let them throw it upon me if they will; let me represent the accumulated guilt of ages, if you please; and then I beseech you, I implore you, let me make what atonement may be made to the descendants of those wretched beings who are the surviving victims of that accursed trade. *Now*, while I may, —*now*, while it is in my power,—*now*, whilst those colonies and their inhabitants are *ours*,—*now*, whilst those beings breathe,—*now*, whilst repentance may be manifested, and restitution made,—*now* let me proclaim deliverance to the captive, open the doors of the prison-house, and bid the oppressed go free. It was in the reign of Elizabeth that Sir John Hawkins, an Englishman, first dishonoured our country by engaging in the African slave trade; it had before been commenced and carried on by the Spaniards and Portuguese. And what did Sir John Hawkins do? Having commenced these bloody proceedings, he, with the most consummate deception, represented to the Queen that they were *voluntary* slaves; that it was pure mercy which had induced him to carry them from their homes, their friends, and their country, to the isles of the West; that their souls (mark the wily hypocrite) their souls were precious in his sight; their conversion to Christianity was the object at which he aimed. Notwithstanding this representation, the Queen had her misgivings, and said, "If you *force* them to leave their country,—if you drag them from their homes *without their consent*, you will draw down the vengeance of Heaven upon the land, and fearful will be the consequences of your crime." So much for the commencement of the traffic. Here we have fraud, violence, and hypocrisy at the threshold: much good may it do those who seek a justification of the continuance of slavery in the early history of the slave trade! The time would fail were I to tell of all the crimes perpetrated along the shores of Africa during the progress of that vile traffic;—the smoking towns, the ravaged villages, the desolated plains, the pathways through the deserts lined with troops of human beings, fainting, and bleeding, and groaning, and dying by the way. Neither have I time to describe the structure of that floating hell, the slave ship, from whence continually proceeded "weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of teeth." I have not time to describe the soul-sickening scenes of the colonial slave market, the passing of money from hand to hand, and then the transfer of human, rational, and immortal beings, branded like beasts, and fettered like felons, from master to master. I have not time to speak of all

the ravages of disease and death during the period of *seasoning*, as it was called; nor to recount, if human language could recount them, and if human patience and human compassion could listen to the detail, all the accumulation of insults and of wrongs, of toils and woes, that have been heaped upon the successive generations of the slave population from that time even until now. I say, for all these purposes the time would utterly fail us; and I proceed, therefore, to that portion of the subject with which we have more immediately to do, namely, to enumerate the evils which flow from the system as we find it now existing in the British colonies. A word, however, may be spared in reference to the abolition of the slave trade.

It is now about 150 years ago since a clergyman of the Church of England, of the name of Godwin, first roused the attention of the people of this country to the subject of negro slavery, by writing a treatise upon the topic, which he dedicated to the then Archbishop of Canterbury. After Mr. Godwin, many eminent men publicly and fearlessly reprobated negro slavery. We may name Richard Baxter, the eminent nonconformist, Dr. Hayter, Bishop of Norwich, Bishop Warburton, and Dr. Samuel Johnson. Nor ought we to forget, in our retrospect of this question, however brief, the unceasing labours, for a long series of years, of the members of the Society of Friends. Among the first of these were John Woolman and Anthony Benezet, the former of whom travelled through the United States on foot, with the benevolent view of persuading the planters to liberate their slaves, while the latter kept a free school for the blacks at Philadelphia. Much, very much, is due to the persevering exertions of that estimable portion of the religious world; would to Heaven that all denominations of Christians had imitated their holy and praiseworthy example! It would not then have been my lot, in the year 1832, to make an appeal to British Christians to dissolve the fetters of 800,000 captives, groaning in worse than Egyptian bondage beneath the sceptre of an English monarch; nor would it have been necessary for others to hire an advocate to gloss over the horrors of the system, and follow me from place to place like my "evil genius," to thwart my endeavours in the cause of freedom, and show that *my* Christianity is not the Christianity of the Bible. But, Sirs, you are my judges: have I libelled Christianity? Do I misstate its principles, its genius, its tendency, its doctrines, its precepts, its examples, when I say that they all conspire to teach me that I should love my neighbour as myself,—that I should feel the kindlings of charity towards all mankind,—and that I should do unto others as I would that others should do unto me? I ask myself, should I like to be a SLAVE? I look upon the thousands around me, and I ask, Is there one here who would wish to be a SLAVE? And the answer which comes to me from every heart and every tongue is, *No.* Well, then, if liberty be good for *me*,—if it be good for *you*,—if it be good for our *brothers*, our *friends*, our *wives*, our *children*, our *neighbours*, and our *countrymen*;—if it be the wholesome atmosphere we breathe,—if without it we should become diseased, and wretched, and despised,—then it is good for every man; and I claim it for the *negro*. If you say he knows not his own value, nor the value of liberty, I answer, he can never learn their worth in slavery. Freedom alone can restore him to the full dignity of his nature. Charge not his present degradation upon his Creator; say not he is the descendant of Ham, and therefore debased. Give him liberty,—give him kindness,—give him education; treat him with love, and own him as a brother, and he springs at once from the earth, and grows into the full stature of a rational, accountable, and immortal being.

At length, however, appeared a man who may justly be called the Morning Star of Negro Freedom. Granville Sharp arose, who, after many long toils and struggles, at length succeeded in obtaining from the Judges in Westminster-hall that memorable decision, that, as soon as a slave places his foot upon the English soil, he is instantly free. Think of this, ye who say the negro is not FIT for free-

dom. England deems no man unfit for freedom while yet he has not offended against the law of the land. The slave thus instantaneously liberated may be the most degraded, the most abandoned of his tribe, yet is he in a moment *free*, nor can any man with impunity deprive him of his freedom for an hour. This was a glorious achievment, and, as you know, occasioned those sweet lines, penned by one of the most amiable of men and beautiful of bards :—

"We have no slaves at home—then why abroad?
And they themselves, once ferried o'er the wave
That parts us, are emancipate and loose.
Slaves cannot breathe in England! if their lungs
Receive our air, that moment they are free!
They touch our country, and their shackles fall!
That's noble! and bespeaks a nation proud
And jealous of the blessing: spread it, then,
And let it circulate through every vein
Of all our empire, that, when Britain's power
Is felt, mankind may feel her mercy too." *(Immense Cheering.)*

But, though by this decision the monster was exiled from our own beloved island, he still rioted in all his accustomed excesses, from the western shores of Africa to the islands and continents of America; and then commenced another glorious struggle—a struggle for the entire suppression of the African Slave Trade;—then did a host of illustrious men—illustrious on account of their political station, their love of liberty, their literary attainments, their virtue, philosophy, or piety, all unite in one firm phalanx, never to be dissolved till death should remove them from this scene of conflict, or Africa should be freed from the scourge which England had caused for so many ages to pass over her plains. Then did a Wesley, a Wilberforce, a Sharp, a Peckard, a Clarkson, a Fox, a Pitt, a Burke, and a Sheridan, forgetting their religious and political differences, combine to demand freedom for Africa, freedom from that curse under which she had so long groaned. Painful and protracted was their course of mercy; they were loaded with obloquy and scorn: cant, enthusiasm, interest, and hypocrisy were attributed to them, precisely what are now imputed to those who, humbly following in their steps, dare to ask for the negro the freedom which is the natural birthright of every man; yet onward they went, irrespective of the sneers and frowns of their enemies, however numerous, however powerful, however subtle, however implacable, onward they went; their enemies diminished before them; the divisions in the House of Commons becoming more and more favourable to the cause of abolition, till, at last, in the year 1807, when Lord Grenville was at the head of the Government, and Lord Howick (now Earl Grey) was ministerial leader in the House of Commons, a bill passed the Legislature, and received the sanction of his Majesty George the Third, by which it was enacted that after the 1st of March, 1808, no slave should be imported into any of the British colonies.

Thus was the slave trade abolished: and we are now met to say whether something more does not yet remain to be done before we have thoroughly purged ourselves from the foul dishonour in which our transactions with Africa have involved us, and whether that something more is not necessary to the entire extinction of slavery throughout our dependencies, and the elevation of the negro to an equality in civil rights with the freeborn subject of the land.

Allow me, Ladies and Gentlemen, to apologize most sincerely for the length to which I have detained you while setting forth the object we have in view; the principles upon which we proceed; and in reviewing the system from its commencement in the colonies of our country.

I perceive by the placards upon the walls of this town, that I am announced to deliver a lecture upon the "*evils*" of slavery. I understood the topic of discourse was to have been "*the injustice and inhumanity of British Colonial Slavery.*" I am not in possession of the precise reasons which have led to the alteration, nor do I know with whom it originated; but I have no objection to

the substitution of the word "*evils*" for those of *injustice* and *inhumanity*; as those peculiar characteristics of slavery are comprised in the term employed. The *evils* of colonial slavery present a field far too wide and comprehensive to be traversed by me to-night; the heart recoils at the outset from the odious task; all that is revolting to religion and humanity, may be found rife and redundant amongst the "*evils of slavery.*" I will not require that you shall to-night accompany me to every portion of that field, and investigate with me the nature and properties of all that is found growing therein; I will only ask you to contemplate a few of the more prominent objects.

The placard does not direct me to any particular class of evils. I am not told whether I am to direct your attention to the *past*, the *present*, or the *future* evils of slavery; whether to the *natural*, *moral*, or *political* evils of slavery. I will, therefore, take leave to mention a few of the evils which have presented themselves to my mind since I glanced over the placard; evils which, I am prepared to prove, are either peculiar to the system of slavery, or are multiplied, fostered, and perpetuated, by the system. I beg my opponent to be careful to note these evils, as I am prepared to prove their existence in the colonies, by evidence the most abundant and incontrovertible. The exhibition of the evils I am about to mention, will, I doubt not, prove most fully to all here, that British colonial slavery is opposed to the spirit of Christianity and the dictates of a sound and just policy. *(Applause and disapprobation.)*

The first evil I find existing upon the threshold of this hopeful system is, that *it invariably curses the soil upon which it exists, and hurries it fast to sterility.* In proof of this, I need only refer you to those portions of our own dominions which are cultivated by slave labour, where, by a constant reaping of ripe crops from the earth, exhaustion is occasioned, and barrenness follows. This would not be the case if slavery was to cease, as then, ripe crops would alternately give place to green crops, the ground would more frequently lie in fallow, and thus the productive powers of the earth would be continued. This portion of the subject has been fully and convincingly illustrated by Mr. James Cropper, of this town.

Another of the evils of slavery is, that *it has been the cause of the slave trade in all ages of the world;* for it was the desire of men to possess men as property, and compel them to submit to uncompensated toil, that always gave rise to that most horrible traffic. Had there been no slavery, there had been no slave trade; and, therefore, I am even tempted to find fault with those illustrious men who laboured so hard to destroy the slave trade, on the ground of their not directing their attention and energies to the suppression of slavery in the West Indies; for had they procured a law to render it illegal to hold a slave in any part of the British dominions, there would have been an end to slavery and the slave trade together. *(Cheers.)*

Another of the evils of slavery is, that *it dooms the infant, even before it comes into this breathing world, to interminable slavery.* Oh, Sirs, I beseech ye, think of this, and reconcile it if ye can with professions of strong desire for the termination of slavery. It is five and twenty years since the slave trade was extinguished, and during the whole of that time we have been told by the holders of slave property that they were desirous of witnessing the extinction of slavery. We are now told by the same parties that they are as anxious as any portion of the community to aid in the extermination of the system; but they assign as a reason for opposing immediate manumission that the negro is not fit for freedom; yet with these professions upon their lips they doom the hapless infant to the bonds of slavery, from the moment of its birth to the latest period of its existence. Yet we are unblushingly told that their only reason for continuing slavery is to prepare the slave for the reception of the boon. What application, I ask, has this argument to the unborn child? *(Loud cheers.)* Is the infant unfit for liberty? Can the infant not be trained for liberty? Oh, it is impious to say

that an unoffending being is not fit for liberty; it is a libel upon the government of the great God himself. *(Cheers and hisses.)* I repeat it, and I charge my opponent to put it down, and should he fail, I know the gentlemen of the press will not; I repeat it, it is both cruel and impious to say that men are not fit for freedom. The wretched subterfuges of ancient times. Pharaoh set the example,—"Let my people go," said God, by Moses, to the Egyptian tyrant. "I will not let them go," he replied; and he might have added, and perhaps did add—"They are not fit for freedom—they cannot cross the Red Sea—they will starve in the wilderness—they are numerous and powerful where they are, it would be unkind to let them go." "Let my people go," was, however, the imperative command; and when he hardened his heart and refused, God sent a fearful plague, and the command was reiterated, "Let my people go":—again he hardened his heart, and again the Almighty sent the plague; and it was not till the firstborn throughout Egypt were destroyed that he sent them forth to serve God in the wilderness. And what was the consequence? were they led forth to destruction, or left to perish? No. The same arm which brought them forth out of the "*house of bondage*" divided the waters of the Red Sea, so that they went over upon dry land; and the same arm overwhelmed their enemies beneath its surges. Were they left to hunger, to thirst, and to die in the wilderness? No. They were fed with manna from heaven, and refreshed with water from the smitten rock; and the liberated people of the Lord were thus sustained until they entered the "land flowing with milk and honey." "Let my people go," is the command still given in the sacred canon of our faith. The practical reply is, "No, we will not let them go;" and the motive is the same as in ancient times—*Pharaoh wanted more bricks, and the West Indians want more sugar. (Immense cheering, and some disapprobation.)* But to return to the particular evil upon which I was dwelling, what can illustrate the inhumanity of slavery more than the fact, that innocent, helpless infants should be devoted from the womb to a condition of abject bondage, without a chance of rising to a higher or a better station? No fault, no crime, no stain attaches to them, yet are they doomed to ignominy and toil. Tell me, ye Christian slave-dealers, where you obtain your warrant for such a practice? Tell me, ye humane proprietors, who hold your victim in bondage merely because he would abuse his freedom, tell me why you cannot train the child for liberty? Tell me why it is that the infant, the youth, looking through the vista of future years, beholds nothing but slavery without deliverance till he stands upon the brink of the cold river of death, and plunges beneath its waves to be seen no more for ever? *(Applause.)* In the name of humanity and of God I demand redemption from slavery for every infant that is or shall be born in the British colonies. *(Cheers.)* Meet us not with the cant that negro mothers are unfit guardians for their own offspring, and that planters, and overseers, and drivers are the best nurses. What! does the raven feed its young; does the tigress provide for her whelps; do the whole brute race provide for, love, and cherish their young; and shall it be said that the negro mother would forsake hers, and suffer them to perish from neglect? *(Applause.)* If so, then I look to Heaven, and I say, He who sees the sparrow when it falls, who hears the ravens when they cry, who clothes the lily of the field, and who numbers the hairs even of the negro's head, will care for these "little ones," will "take them up," and cause them to live upon the bounty of his hand. *(Cheers and a hiss.)* I hear a hiss; let me hear it again. What! is the sentiment that the negro infant should be free, and left to the care of its *mother* and its *God*, a sentiment to be hissed in an assembly of Christian men? *(Enthusiastic cheering and clapping of hands.)*

The CHAIRMAN,—I think the speaker was mistaken about the hiss.

Mr. THOMPSON,—I beg you pardon, Sir, there was a hiss, and it *preceded* the cheering. What was it that I said? It was, that the innocent, helpless babe should be born free; that its mother should nurse it. I denied that the negro

mother would forget her sucking child. The West Indian says she would. The planter says she would. "WE," say they, "must care for these children, we must be their nurses, and their guardians, or delegate the duties of the mother to an old superannuated black woman. If left to their parents they would starve." I ask, is not this practice, so cruel and unnatural, *an evil*, and a great one; a practice which severs ties at once the tenderest and the strongest that can bind human beings to each other? Consider, too, what an amount of responsibility we are creating for ourselves in thus taking possession from the womb of an immortal being, and reducing it to the level of a brute. Do we know what answer we shall give to the question which will one day be propounded,—"Why have you enslaved the body and soul of your fellow-creature?" Look upon one of these beings who has passed through life in slavery, and now totters upon the margin of the grave, degraded by ignorance, polluted by vice! Had he been born free; had he enjoyed the advantages of care, culture, and education, he, perhaps, had lived to bless his age and country; he, perhaps, had raised himself to honour and independence; he, perhaps, had gathered laurels for his brow, and garlands for his grave; but he lives; he toils; he weeps, and dies, insulted, ruined, LOST! Let it then be registered as one of the peculiar evils of British colonial slavery that it dooms the infant, even before it is born, (by putting an extra price upon the head of the travailing mother) to till the ground, an abject slave under the infliction of

> "Stripes, which Mercy, with a bleeding heart,
> Weeps when she sees inflicted on a beast."

I now proceed to another of the evils of colonial slavery. *It depresses the body with more than the ordinary amount of labour, and yet withholds from the mind the necessary incentives to exertion.* The negroes upon sugar estates are compelled to perform more labour than the majority of field labourers in this country, and taking into consideration the climate, more than any other men in any part of the world, and yet, generally speaking, they have not one of the ordinary motives to labour. Ask the peasant in this country how he is sustained in his labour? Ask the miner? Ask the weaver? Stop the ploughman as he hastens cheerily to his labour at five in the morning, with his pipe in one hand, and his wallet in the other. Inquire of him, "Why are you hastening thus contentedly to devote yourself to toil during the hours of the long day; by what feelings are you sustained, how animated, and reconciled?" You might not get a very philosophical answer from such a man, not accustomed to analyze the motives under which he acts, but after a little consideration, he, perhaps, would say, "In yonder cottage I have left a sleeping wife, with an infant at her breast that calls me in lisping accents 'father;' that wife, that child, to me are dear, inestimably dear; their comfort and happiness are objects of infinite importance to me; that cottage, that garden, are also dear, and though by others they are viewed as humble and perhaps worthless, they are ALL to me, and they are *mine*." Yes, Sirs, there is a charm in that word MINE; throughout the vocabulary of our language there is no word more dear to an Englishman than that word *mine*; MY house, MY wife, MY children, MY garden, MY dog, MY cat. So thinks the ploughman, and, influenced by love for home and its inmates, he goes to the field, nor grudges the labour that enables him to carry to that home sufficient for its wants. *(Great applause.)* This is my philesophy of labour, and though it may not suit the refined taste of a Cambridge scholar, *(a laugh)* it is the philosophy of nature, in whose school my opponent does not seem to have taken a degree. Wherefore does the tradesman toil? Is it not in expectation of the *otium cum dignitate* of future years? He rises early, he sits up late, he eats the bread of carefulness, satisfied, if, "in the sear and yellow leaf" of life, he finds himself possessed of a moderate independence; and he bequeaths to his children the same means and the same prospects he himself once possessed; he leaves to them

the bustling scenes of life, and prepares to make a peaceful exit from this world of strife. Why toils the scholar and the statesman? For literary fame, for political renown. Why toils the soldier? For the laurels of the well fought field. What cheers the sailor when distant on the trackless main? The thought that he is guarding the freedom of his native land! The thought that he shall one day clasp to his bosom his wife and smiling babes, no more to leave them for adventures on the waste of waters. Such are some of the motives which influence *freemen* to labour, whether they labour on the "great deep" or mix in the more peaceful and less dangerous occupations of the land. *(Applause.)* Why toils the *negro*? Toils he under the sustaining influence of any of their motives? No. Toils he for a wife? Ah no, he may say with Othello;—

"My wife? I have no wife."

She is a slave like himself. Hark! that was her groan in yonder field! She is stretched upon the ground; the murderer's lash is going across her body; he may not help her, he dare not be seen to pity her. Now she shrieks with agony; she bleeds, she faints. The evils of slavery! The whip! The whip! The flogging of women with the cart whip! If this were the only evil peculiar to slavery, it should be enough to induce us never to rest till a system that could engender so foul a practice was brought to an end.

The negro has no wife; she is the property of another: and there is no law in Jamaica to prevent the master from selling her from the bosom of her lawful husband. Toils he for children? No. Children he may have; but he toils not for them. They are slaves like himself; fed like beasts, worked as beasts, estimated as beasts. They are slaves for ever, after the order of the colonies. Toils *he* for compensation? No. For preferment? No. For fame? No. For honour? No. Why, then, does he toil? The whip is behind him. The whip compels him. That is the motive supplied by men calling themselves Christians to immortal beings, to force them to labour for their profit and pleasure. The whip is the only stimulus which the great majority of the slaves have under the incessant, the degrading, and life-destroying toils which are now imposed upon them in the sugar colonies. *(Applause and disapprobation.)* Another of the evils of our slave system is, that *it entails upon its hapless victim all imaginable suffering.* I have not time, upon the present evening, to go into the harrowing detail, but they include stripes, mutilations, chains, collars, dungeons, disease, blows, brand-marks, shackles, sores, scorn, scars,—in a word, a painful life, and an unpitied death! If this be denied, and you will grant me your patience, I will overwhelm my adversaries with a host of evidence, unimpeached, and unimpeachable, even till that table groans under the weight. But it will not, methinks, be denied that many of the slaves *actually suffer*, and *all* are *liable* to the sufferings I have just enumerated. You will perhaps be told that the slave has four parlours and a saloon in the middle. *(Laughter.)* Yes, Sirs, I have been calmly and unblushingly told; an English audience has elsewhere been told, that a West Indian slave has a residence containing four parlours and a saloon. Now if I, in the advocacy of *my* cause, had made an assertion so wide of the truth as this, I should have been hissed from the community, and disgraced for ever. But what is the truth? It is that the slave *suffers* even in the custody of the most humane masters, when those masters are resident on the estates; and this arises from the state of West Indian property, which is so depreciated in value as to render it impossible for the owner to meet the wants of his negroes. Still more do they suffer when the power of the master is transferred to the hands of *agents*, who have nothing to gain, but much to lose, by a course of kindness towards the slaves. Poverty, nakedness, excessive toil, and, in not a few instances, starvation, are among the evils of what has been justly termed an "*economical oppression.*" I have no doubt, however, that another attempt will be made to exalt the negro in physical condition above the peasant of England, but my worthy antagonist will have

to travel at a railroad speed to-morrow, to track me through the various parts of my speech to-night, and disprove the existence of the various evils I am now endeavouring to set forth. Some time back the same worthies professed to deliver a full and complete reply to a similar address, and it was eulogised as a most triumphant refutation; but, when I had proceeded to show that it was *no reply at all*, then, lo! the placard upon the walls announced that the "REPLY" would be "RESUMED," although it had previously been declared that the previous philippic was a *full, complete*, and *convincing refutation. (Laughter.)* If it be denied that my picture of West Indian affairs is correct, I have here a parliamentary document upon "the commercial state of the West India Colonies," from which I am prepared to prove the bankrupt circumstances of the great majority of the planters and proprietors, and can quote the admission of the select committee which prepared that document, that the slave already suffers from the poverty of his owner. *(Applause and hisses.)*

Let the liability of the slave to seizure, and imprisonment and sale, for the debts contracted by his master, be also numbered among the evils of his condition. In the dead of night the deputy-marshal, and his dogs, may violate the negro's hut; may drag him and his wife and children to a prison, and the following day sell them like brute matter, to the highest bidder; this may happen under the management of the best of masters: nay, more, the master's kindness to his slaves may have been the means of bringing upon him the embarrassments which led to this catastrophe.

Another of the evils of slavery is, *the system of mortgaging.* At the lowest calculation three-fourths of the slaves in our colonies are mortgaged to merchants and other capitalists throughout the united kingdom; that is to say, the bodies and souls of immortal beings are registered upon parchment, and transferred with their issue for ever in this world to the coffer of the English usurer, who upon such security has advanced money to the embarrassed planter. Let me now ask whether this is the case in this country; does one human being breathe the atmosphere of England whose body is mortgaged to another? Is there one man, however friendless, poor, and destitute, who is liable to be seized and dragged from his bed to prison, and to auction, for the debts contracted by his master? We are told that there is slavery at home. I ask is there any slavery like this? My opponents talk of the comforts and happiness of the slave: let them traverse the length and breadth of this kingdom to find the most abject wretch that crawls, and when they have found him bring him into the midst of this assembly and ask him whether he will exchange homeless, naked, penniless *freedom* for the blissful thraldom of the colonies. Tell him that upon condition of his selling himself, his wife, his children, and his posterity into slavery for ever, he shall have the hut, food, clothing, and luxuries of the negro. Will he accept your offer?—*(Loud cries of "No." They can't find one—not one.")*

Another of the "evils" of our colonial system (and I beg particular attention to this part of the subject) is *the fearful decrease in the slave population.* I do trust, that, whatever of this address may be forgotten or retained, this solemn fact will be remembered, namely, that in our sugar colonies, with one or two exceptions, the enslaved population is dying off so fast, as in something better than half a century to become utterly extinct. Now when it shall be required of you on the other side to wait, ask those who make the request, if they can obtain a lease of the negroes' existence. *(Applause.)* What! petition for a respite at *noon*, when the criminal is doomed to *die* at *eight?* What! wait? and let weeping mercy plead in vain? and let insulted Justice demand her rights in vain? Wait? and let Ignorance, and Vice, and Cruelty, brooding o'er the colonies, do their soul-destroying work? *Wait?* Ay, WAIT? and magnanimously charge it upon our posterity to do that which *we* are either ashamed or afraid to do. But will *tortures* wait? Will the *whips* wait? Will the *money-lender* wait? Will *danger* wait? Will *Heaven* wait? *(Applause.)*

Wait? yes, till the victims of your oppression are dead.—Wait? yes, till desolation has overspread the colonies; and then, when you would be pitiful, there shall be none to pity; when you would be merciful, none to feel your mercy; when you would be clement, none to feel your clemency. Wait? Why should we wait? Humanity says, "Set them at liberty;" Reason says, "Set them at liberty;" Mercy says, "Set them at liberty;" Justice says, "Set them at liberty." Truth, Love, Religion, Heaven, Earth, Men, Angels, all that is good below, all that is great above say, "*Now* is the accepted time, *Now* is the day of salvation." Tell me not of the *danger* of emancipation. Is there not sufficient security in British laws, and the wisdom of British legislators? is there not security enough in British arms? is there not security enough in the principles of human nature, attached by kindness, grateful for benefits received, to embolden you to break the chains of the slave and let the oppressed go free? We have never been afraid to meet a foreign foe; we were not afraid to send our armies to the continent, to lay low the giant who with hasty strides was aiming at universal conquest; we are not afraid to negotiate loans of millions for foreign powers; we are not afraid to make railroads, or to enter into the most stupendous projects for facilitating trade, commerce, and manufactures; but we are afraid to abolish slavery! We have not security enough in the ritual of everlasting love; we have not security enough in the arm of Omnipotence; we have not security enough in the commands, the threats, and promises of Heaven, to do the work of justice and mercy! but we must truckle to a worldly policy; we must wait till avarice, expediency, and religion, have met and struck an amicable bargain; and when these three have agreed, then shall the slave go free. I maintain that the decrease of the slave population is of itself a sufficient argument for immediate emancipation; and I am prepared to show, from official tables and returns, that the slave population in the sugar colonies is decreasing at a rate which in little more than half a century will lead to its utter extinction.

Another of the evils of slavery is *inequality of law and rights.* You will be told that there is *one law* both for the master and the slave; but I deny it. I deny that there is any such equality on a single colony. There is *one* law for the master and *another* for the slave; and whilst the one authorises or shields the master in every act of tyranny and oppression, the other affords not the slave the slightest shadow of justice. Another evil is the MODE of administering justice, or what is called justice, in the West Indies. If it be said that this mode is just or equitable, I am prepared to show that in no one island is justice, even the justice of the colonies, equitably administered; and that, in the laws relating to slaves, even the tender mercies of the colonists are cruel.

At Manchester, my opponent held up what he called a Jamaica slave code; it was a document got up by the West India body, and then presented in the shape of a Parliamentary paper, and when I called for the real code of Jamaica, it appeared as if my opponent did not know that the consolidated law, passed by the Jamaica House of Assembly in 1826, was disallowed by the British Government on the ground of its religious intolerance. In this very Jamaica code there is a clause professing to restrain arbitrary punishments; and that very clause ordains that any man in the capacity of book-keeper, attorney, driver, overseer, manager, planter, or proprietor, may inflict upon the slave thirty-nine lashes, and this is called a law to RESTRAIN ARBITRARY PUNISHMENTS! *(Cheers and hisses.)* Is not this, my friends, calculated to give a just idea of the nature of slavery, and of Jamaica legislation? A law to restrain, mark! to restrain arbitrary punishments, gives the power to inflict thirty-nine lashes with a Jamaica cart-whip! Now what is the cart-whip, and what can it do? If you want to know what it can do, ask Mr. Barrett, a talented member of the House of Assembly in Jamaica, who will tell you that thirty-nine lashes with it may be made to inflict as much punishment as 500 lashes with the cat-o'nine-tails;—ask the Rev. Mr. Coultart, who, when residing in Jamaica, saw a man driving a number

of mules along the road, and one of them being restive, the man said to a negro driver who was by, "I wish you would give that mule a cut for me;" on which the negro driver, uncoiling his whip, did as he was desired, and laid the flank of the mule open at a single blow;—if you want to know what the Jamaica whip will do, ask the Rev. Mr. Knibb, who will bear the same testimony as to its powers. At Manchester I asked Mr. Knibb to tell me, on the faith of a Christian missionary, what amount of punishment could be inflicted by it, and he said, "Mr. Thompson, I declare to you, upon my conscience, that a skilful and athletic driver, inflicting thirty-nine lashes on the back of a negro, need not leave an ounce of flesh upon it." *(Here there was an expression of horror from all parts of the theatre; one individual called out, "That's a damnation lie;" on which there were cries of "Turn him out," "Turn him out," and much confusion.)* "What!" said Mr. Thompson, "do you deny the truth of what I say? There is a gentleman here who heard Mr. Knibb make this declaration.

Mr. Peter Clare.—I heard him relate it.

Mr. Thompson.—Yes; and Mr. Knibb added, "I told the committee of the House of Commons upon my oath, that thirty-nine lashes with the whip could do that." *(Hear, hear.)* I only beg to remind the gentleman who gave me such a blunt answer, that I am to be replied to—that I speak with the fear of an answer before my eyes; and, therefore, he is paying but a poor compliment to the gentleman who is to reply, by interrupting me in such a manner. It is also highly injudicious in him to interrupt me, for by so doing he may prevent me from stating other things, and thus giving his champion an opportunity to lay hold of something else, should I state any thing which is false or incorrect. *(Laughter and cheers.)*

Another of the evils of slavery, which stands No. 10 upon my list, is *the difficulty experienced by the slave in obtaining redress for his wrongs.* You will be told, no doubt, of certain laws, in certain islands; but those laws want one principle, and that is what Mr. Burke, I think, called an "executory principle." Some of them would, no doubt, be very good laws, only it happens for the want of this principle that they are good for nothing. *(A laugh.)* I need not tell you that a law may be very good to be read; very good to be laid on the shelf of a magistrate; and, therefore, very good to be appealed to by a planter, when West Indian justice is called in question; but, at the same time, it may be a very poor law in respect of affording the slave either protection or redress. They say there is a law for the protection of the slave; but, will you believe it? more punishments are inflicted upon slaves for what are designated frivolous and vexatious complaints, than for almost all other offences put together. I have here a long list of cases in which slaves came to slave protectors, complaining of acts of cruelty of various descriptions, and they were sent back with five, ten, fifteen, twenty-five, thirty, or thirty-nine lashes on their backs. *(Shame, shame.)* What says Mr. Jeremy on this subject? He says, "With slave-holders for judges—slave-holders for magistrates—slave-holders for jurymen—slave-holders for witnesses, and slave evidence inadmissible, it is impossible for the slave to obtain justice in a court of judicature in the colonies."

If it be said that justice cannot always be had in England, ask the poor man whether he cannot get it from an English court of justice, when he accuses a rich man of cruelty and oppression, and whether he is sent away with lashes on his back, if he fails to prove his charge. In the West Indies every difficulty is thrown in the way of the slave who seeks redress, and that, too, by those who are appointed and paid to administer what is called justice. I have not now time to go into the numerous evils growing out of this obstruction of justice; but they are great and numerous.

Another evil of slavery is *that inveterate distinction of caste which it produces;* a distinction which places not only the negro, but the free man of colour beyond the pale of those civil advantages which are enjoyed by other classes of his Ma-

jesty's subjects. Another evil is *ignorance in its worst forms and operations.* It has been invariably found that ignorance is the concomitant of slavery. The colonies up to this hour would have been amongst the darkest regions of the earth, —and they are now dark enough,—had they been left to the natural operations of slavery; but thanks be to British piety, British benevolence, and missionary zeal, a portion of their inhabitants have been snatched from the ignorance and brutal debasement of the system. *(Applause.)*

Another evil is *the loss of self-respect sustained by the slave.* How can he respect himself when he feels himself a slave? An ancient writer has well observed,

> "Jove fixed it certain, that whatever day
> Makes man a slave takes half his worth away."

And though religion may obtain a victory over vice, though it may teach the slave to curb his passion, and restrain his vengeance, it cannot give to him the feeling of self-respect in so degraded a condition.

Another evil consists in *the pride, the arroganee, the selfishness, the despotism, the irritability which the possession of arbitrary power engenders in the minds of the owners.* I will not admit that the kindness and hospitality of the planters towards English gentlemen who may visit them are any proofs of their kindness towards their slaves. I will not admit that their affability, openness, and generosity, afford any proofs of their affability and mercy towards their slaves. I say that no man in existence, no man that ever lived, not even a Howard, or a Wilberforce, is capable of exercising unlimited and uncontrolled power over his fellow-creatures without being corrupted by it. *(Cheers.)*

Another evil of slavery is *the licentiousness attending it.* The promiscuous intercourse,—the gross and brutal sensuality which it engenders amongst all classes in the West Indies.

Another evil is *the danger of slavery.* When our opponents talk of the danger of emancipation, we place upon the other side the danger of continuing a career of vice and cruelty. I pray them just to remember this; and if they do not, I hope it will be circulated by the press,—I hold it to be a sound maxim both in morals and religion, that there is no danger so great as that of continuing in a course of wrong doing. *(Loud applause.)* There is no danger so great resulting from doing right as that which must inevitably attend doing wrong. I care not how many imaginary dangers they may conjure up to deter us from doing justice to the slaves. I care not how great the danger may be of doing right; I say there is no danger so great as that of doing wrong. I speak not now merely of the amount of guilt upon our own consciences, but also of the present and imminent dangers which grow out of the system of slavery. I mean the danger of insurrections,—the dangers of conspiracies,—the danger of assassinations,—the danger of the interposition of Heaven on behalf of those for whom Heaven cares, and whose wrongs Heaven will avenge, if we do not speedily put the abomination from amongst us. *(Applause.)*

Another evil of slavery is *persecution in all its forms.* On the subject of persecution I need not go further than the recent conduct of the white population on the island of Jamaica. There is an illustration of two evils,—the *danger* of slavery, and the persecution which invariably accompanies those missionaries who are steady, patient, and zealous in the propagation of Christian principles. Just look at the recent Jamaica insurrection; assume, if you will, that it was really a widely-organized system of rebellion; and I ask you why the slaves rebelled? It was for *liberty!* It was not for yams; it was not for more clothing or provisions; it was not for the planter's house, his wife, or child; it was not for wealth; it was not for dominion; it was for LIBERTY! Well, then, give them liberty, and you put an end to the danger of rebellion;—continue slavery, and you cannot put an end to rebellion. The wonder is, not that there are so many insurrections, but that there are so few; the wonder is, that a handful of Euro-

peans should have dominated over so large a portion of the human family for such a series of years.

The circumstances attending the late insurrection—the demolition of chapels, the banishment of missionaries, the torture of Christian slaves—the desecration of Christian altars are all illustrations of the fact, that the persecution of religious men is one of the invariable circumstances of slavery. How can religious men encourage or support such a system of domination as slavery,—a system so contrary to all the principles of religion? If they do support it, how can they possibly be said to have any regard for that religion which teaches the doctrines of universal benevolence towards all mankind? *(Applause.)*

Another of the evils of slavery is the *desecration of the sabbath;* another the *hostility which must always exist between England and her colonies, whilst the one is free and the other remain enslaved.* There never can be a friendly intercourse between them whilst slavery continues. *(Applause and disapprobation.)* I ask the West Indian body if they see any prospect of a compromise between the claims of the slave, the demands of the British public, and themselves? Do they imagine that public feeling can be suppressed? Do they think that the Anti-slavery Society can be put down? What is the Anti-slavery Society? Who are its members? Why, ninety-nine out of every hundred of the whole British nation. That is the Anti-slavery Society. *(Cheers and hisses.)* Let the West Indians say, if they please, that the Anti-slavery Society consists of George Thompson and a few individuals meeting at Aldermanbury. I say no; the Anti-slavery Society is the religious, the just, the humane, the benevolent portions of the community all through the United Kingdom.

Another of the evils of slavery is, *the insecurity which it occasions.* I can tell my friend on the other side (and the history of the world, I think, will bear me out) that no state of society can be secure when men are slaves on the one hand and arbitrary tyrants on the other.

Another evil is its *impolicy*,—another its *expensiveness.* I have not time nor strength to night to go into illustrations; but it is perfectly capable of proof that slave labour is invariably more expensive than free labour. Even the gentleman who is to reply to me frankly admitted that free labour was infinitely cheaper than slave labour; and he stated that the masters only continued to hold slaves out of motives of ——— HUMANITY! *(Laughter.)* He declared, over and over again, that the owners would be infinite gainers by the liberation of their slaves; that two-thirds of the slaves were either too young or too old, or too sick to be able to work; that the masters would be great gainers, but that they could not think of seeing the slaves thrown destitute on the world, and allowing them to perish,—*therefore* they continued slave proprietors, and *therefore*, I suppose, they kept drivers. *(Laughter and applause.)*

Might I not speak of the *inconsistency of slavery?* Of its inconsistency with reason; its inconsistency with right and justice; its inconsistency with humanity; and of its inconsistency with the constitution and laws of our country? Do not let it be said that slavery is *lawful;* it is *not* lawful; it is illegal and unconstitutional. You will be told that charters were granted to the islands; you will be told that the planters do nothing which is not authorized by charter. Let them produce those charters; let them read them here, and you will find that those charters were granted always on the condition that the local enactments founded upon them should be consistent with British laws. They are not consistent with British laws, and therefore the condition on which those charters were granted has been violated. *(Loud applause and disapprobation.)* It is, therefore, a fallacy to contend that slavery is, in any sense of the word, lawful and constitutional. *(Applause.)*

With men professing religion and humanity—with men who assemble together every Sabbath-day in the hallowed temples, consecrated to God, to pray that He may have compassion on all prisoners and captives,—saying, "We be-

seech thee to hear us, good Lord;" what can be more inconsistent than to assist in any way in keeping their fellow-creatures in bondage? How can we put up these prayers with our lips, and yet withhold our social, our political influence, from the cause of negro emancipation.

Amongst the evils of slavery I may mention the *cowardice*, the ungenerous conduct of its supporters: I say it is cowardly to talk of the dangers of emancipation. We saw no danger in devastating the plains of Africa—we saw no danger in fitting out slave ships—in embarking British capital in the unholy traffic—in firing villages—in perpetrating the horrors of the middle passage;—we saw no danger in entailing toils and insults, wrongs and woes upon the slaves; but we profess to see great danger in emancipating them; and we have not sufficient confidence in British laws, in British arms, to induce us to brave that danger and do justice. Then there is the *meanness* of slavery. I say it is a mean, inhuman, ruffian system; for we have taken advantage in ages past—we still take advantage of the ignorance, the weakness, the docile, and submissive temper of the negro to oppress him. It is a mean and paltry system. You sympathize with the Pole, when he is struggling for liberty; you sympathize with the French when they are struggling for liberty; you sympathize with the Greeks; you sympathize with men all over the world, when they are struggling for liberty; with all, except your own fellow-subjects in the colonies; and when they are struggling for freedom, what are they called by Sir Willoughby Cotton, by the *Morning Post*, Macqueen, and the *Jamaica Courant*?—"rebels," "infamous scoundrels," "infamous wretches," "blackguards," "demons!" What do you call the Brutuses, the Tells, the Wallaces, the Bolivars, the Lafayettes? Heroes and patriots; you venerate them, you teach their names to your children as champions of liberty; but how do you talk of the rebels in the West Indies? How do you answer them when they ask for liberty? With the musket, the gibbet, the bayonet, and the sword! What did the officers do in the courts martial? They sat dozing with their faces in their hands, and when a messenger came in and said, "such and such a man is taken," asked, "Is he a slave? Was he taken in arms?" and if the reply were "yes," "then take him out and give him instant emancipation." And what was that *emancipation?* The gibbet without even the form of trial.

What do I hold in my hand? A pamphlet which has been circulated through Liverpool, and through London; a mean, a false, a base, a garbled statement, entitled, "Hints to those who purpose attending the meeting at Exeter Hall," being an attempt to fix all the blame of the recent insurrection in Jamaica, on those holy, those pious, those praiseworthy men, the Christian missionaries. *(Hisses and applause.)* And what authority do they give for all this? The confession of a convicted slave, taken by the planters in the condemned cell before his execution; written and published by themselves; and in conclusion they say, "Who after this will doubt for a moment that the rebellion was occasioned by the sectarians?" *(Cries of "Oh! oh!" hisses and cheers.)* —The *meanness of slavery!* We dare not trample on men with vigorous bodies and lion hearts. Do we go for slaves to New Zealand or North America? No; we go to Africa, and we convert the teachableness of the negro,—the gratitude of the negro,—the governable temper of the negro, into so many motives for enthralling him first, and perpetuating his bondage hereafter. As for charging the rebellion on the missionaries, they might as well charge it on the Archangel Gabriel. *(Laughter and cheers.)* I say unconnected as I am with any missionary institution, and not belonging to any of the religious bodies so maligned, that no other man has a sufficient impulse to induce him to go out to benefit mankind. I say that there is no man in the world so much entitled to esteem, veneration, and love, as the Christian missionary in the West Indies. What has he done to excite the rage of the planter abroad? What has he done to excite the rage of

the West India body at home? Done? He has hallowed the negro's home; he has softened the negro's heart; he has purified the negro's affections; he has elevated the negro's hopes; he has calmed the negro's fears; he has transformed him from a brute into a man; he has taken him by the hand and led him to the altar of our common Father, and has taught him to join with us in the universal anthem of the Catholic Church, "We praise thee, O God; we acknowledge thee to be the Lord." And these are the men whom the editor of the *Jamaica Courant* ferociously wished to see hanging in the woods of Trelawney and St. James's, in order that they might diversify the scene! These are the men whom a member of the British House of Commons would hang; and these are the men whom the pro-slavery party have denounced as the cause of the insurrection in the island of Jamaica. I say that we owe the continued possession of the colonies to the missionaries: the colonies would not now have been under our dominion but for the missionaries;—they have done all for the negro, or nearly all, in a moral and religious point of view, that could be done: "they have gone down into that mine from which, it was said, no precious ore could be extracted, and they have come up again with the gem of an immortal spirit, flashing with the light of intellect, and glowing with the hues of Christian graces." *(Applause.)*

Another evil is the *expense of slavery*; and this brings me to the question of compensation. I am very friendly to compensation, Ladies and Gentlemen; I should like the negro to be compensated. *(Applause.)* I should like them to show how much we owe the negro for his hitherto *un*compensated toil; what debt we owe to Africa, where no wind for ages has gone over her plains, without gathering up the sighs of bleeding, broken hearts; where there is no sand that has not been steeped with tears or the blood of captured victims. I should like to see what compensation we owe to the negro: how much to that aged man, tottering on the brink of the grave, whose limbs are now growing feeble, after years of unrequited toil;—how much to that poor woman torn from her infant, and set to labour in the field, if, indeed, a valuation can be put upon the natural feelings of a mother towards the offspring of her body; and then I should like to strike a balance between the compensation due to the negro, and the compensation due to the planter. Eloquent speeches and arguments are made on the rights of the planter in the House of Commons, and echoed in the major and minor pro-slavery periodicals of the day. And at this moment, if Parliament were sitting, some West Indian partizan might be making an eloquent speech in favour of himself, and saying, "Take care of the *planter*, only think of the melancholy condition of the planter's wife if you reduce his income, by not giving him power to raise large crops and dispose of them. Give additional bounties to his sugar; lay more prohibitory duties on free-grown produce. Mind that you protect the planter." Next morning, some lady sipping her tea, and reading the *Morning Post*, might say, "Dear me, what an amiable speech! How he pities the planter! Really, I feel inclined to pity the planter, too." *(Laughter.)* And thus all the lady's sympathy would be on the side of the planter, and she would think nothing of the slave. But perhaps some friend by her side might just whisper, "This gentleman, whom you are inclined to pity, is not in the West Indies, because he happens to be in London; he is not a planter, because he happens to be a member of the House of Commons; he is a mortgagee, and has certain parchments deposited with Messrs. Drummond and Co., giving him a claim on ten or fifteen hundred slaves, and emancipation would be the annihilation of the greater part of his securities. This is the source of his eloquence, consider this, and what remains, but a piece of empty, heartless, hypocritical declamation." *(Applause.)* I am no enemy to compensating the slave owners, provided we do not make it a matter to be quibbled about, whilst 800,000 human beings are living and dying in bondage. As Lord Howick said, some twelve months ago, "We ought not to be haggling about a question of pounds, shillings, and pence, while the victims of op-

pression are languishing in misery. If the rights of the negro are as sacred as those of the white man, we ought to set him at liberty and settle scores amongst ourselves afterwards." I have often heard that the moment we settle the question of compensation there is an end to the danger of emancipation; all the giants that are set up to frighten us shrink into pigmies, and the phantoms evoked to deter us from proceeding, vanish into thin air. This reminds me of a gentleman who wrote a pamphlet, and said to a critical friend, who happened to be by, "Just give me your opinion of the title-page of this work?" There happened to be one word there that the critic did not like,—"*immediate*" for instance. Says he, "I hope you will expunge that word, I don't relish it at all." The author taking a guinea out of his pocket, placed it upon the obnoxious word, thus: said "How do you like it now?" "Oh," said the critic, (pocketing the guinea,) "I like it very well, indeed, it will do uncommonly well; nothing can be better." (Mr. Thompson excited repeated peals of laughter by the humorous manner in which he "suited the action to the word" whilst making this illustration.) And thus if we put gold upon the word "*emancipation*" all the danger vanishes, and we may emancipate the slaves as soon as we please. "Put money in thy purse, Roderigo—put money in thy purse." *(Laughter and cheers.)*

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I must now conclude. On another occasion, if I have the strength and opportunity, I shall say something more of the *impiety of slavery*, and the *guilt of slavery*. I think I have already said enough to give my friend on the other side an opportunity to reply. I have supplied him with a text, I have drawn out the skeleton of the discourse, I have been his pioneer, and it is for him to travel in the road which I have marked out. Much joy I wish him on his journey. If he can bring you to say that slavery is right, that slavery is politic, that slavery is necessary, nay, even that it is expedient, then I say that common sense is not common sense,—justice is not justice, piety is not piety, religion is not religion, mercy is not mercy, love is not love. I leave this task to him. I cordially, and from my heart of hearts, thank you for the patient attention with which you have heard me; and there being many here who do not perfectly agree with me, I the more thank *them* for the gentlemanly, patient, and forbearing manner in which they have listened to sentiments that do not accord with their own. I charge and entreat those who *do agree* with me, not to hiss or attempt to interrupt the advocate of the West India body, when he addresses them to-morrow night from this place, but to give him as patient and attentive a hearing as that which has been granted to me. *(Much cheering and clapping of hands.)*

One word more, Ladies and Gentlemen, before I conclude, and perhaps when you have heard it you will not repeat your cheers. It is a very emphatic word, and contains a great deal of good sense and sound argument. That word is *collection. (Laughter.)* Allow me to explain what the collection is for. You must be well aware that there has been considerable expense incurred in hiring this place for your accommodation, in paying for lights, printing, and other expenses; and it is to defray these that I ask your contributions. If you think the collection is for the lecturer give not a penny. Boxes will be held at the doors, and each as he goes out can give what he thinks proper.

Mr. Thompson sat down amidst loud cheers, and the immense assemblage quietly separated soon afterwards. The lecture terminated at half-past nine o'clock.

LECTURE II.

1832

Mr. G. THOMPSON's Second Lecture on the Evils of Colonial Slavery, in reply to Mr. Borthwick's first, was delivered at the Royal Amphitheatre, on Thursday evening, August 30, to an audience as numerous as on the two former evenings; the house being literally crammed from top to bottom. The arena having been boarded over on a level with the stage, in preparation for a public dinner on the following Tuesday, the audience in the pit were not so well accommodated as on the preceding evenings, but on the whole they bore their inconveniences with great patience and good humour, and the lecturer, by mounting on a table, in compliance with their wishes, placed himself within the view of all the spectators. Shortly after half-past six o'clock,

SAMUEL HOPE, Esq. was called to the chair, and briefly but energetically impressed upon the audience the propriety and necessity of preserving good order and decorum during a discussion involving so many important interests, religious, moral, and political; he concluded by intimating that on the following evening, when Mr. Borthwick would reply, the chair would be taken by a gentleman belonging to the West India Association, and by earnestly requesting a patient and attentive hearing for Mr. Borthwick.

Mr. THOMPSON then stood up on the table, and was received with enthusiastic cheering. He spoke nearly in the following terms:—Ladies and Gentlemen,—with your kind permission I will now proceed to deliver a reply to some of the statements made last evening by Mr. Borthwick, who appears in behalf of a body of men whom he pleases to call a calumniated body,—who professes to have in view the ultimate extinction of slavery, and only to differ from me as to the mode in which that object is to be accomplished, and the time when that emancipation is to take place. I will endeavour to-night so far to govern my own feelings,—so far to cherish a spirit of charity towards my opponent, as to say nothing that shall deserve the name of unmerited censure, or may possibly be construed into an offensive personality. You must be well aware, Ladies and Gentlemen, that when called upon to reply to an individual, it is exceedingly difficult to avoid being personal; if you were asked a question it would be difficult to answer it, without being in some degree personal: if you turned yourself round, and directed your answer to some person utterly unconnected with the propounder of the question, you would certainly avoid personality, but you would not be giving a fair and courteous reply. In one sense, therefore, I shall be constrained to be personal, but beyond this I will endeavour not to proceed. *(Applause.)* Not that my opponent has not furnished ample scope for criticism of every description, for I sincerely believe, that never since speeches were first delivered, has there been a speech made so completely vulnerable in all its parts,—so completely disgraceful to the heart, as well as to the head of the man who delivered it, as the speech to which I and many of you listened for upwards of three hours last evening. *(Cries of "Oh, oh!" laughter and applause.)* Now, if I justify not this charge which I have brought against the speech,—for I am accusing the speech,—it is with the speech I have to do,—and while I spare the person of Mr. Borthwick, he must not quarrel with me if I tear that speech limb from limb, and scatter it to the four winds of heaven. *(Applause.)* For the speech is mine: it is given to me, and I am here to-night to analyze it, to anatomize it, and to show whether in that speech can be found any thing like a

sufficient plea for the continuance of West Indian Slavery, or whether it should be denounced as an impious and disgraceful defence of a system, the enormities of which are innumerable, and almost indescribable. *(Cheers.)*

However, to begin at the beginning;—what did Mr. Borthwick do at the commencement? He began with the language of congratulation; he begged to congratulate the meeting; he begged to congratulate the cause which I have the honour to plead to-night; he congratulated himself; and, lastly, he congratulated me on the altered tone which I had adopted the evening before. He said that my speech was all that could be wished for,—moderate, calm, and gentlemanly; and he was so glad that I had at last become calm, courteous, and gentlemanly, that he hardly knew how to express his joy on the occasion. *(Laughter.)* Yet what did he do immediately after all these congratulations? Why, he proceeded, not to deal with my speech of the night before, but with one which I had delivered in Irwell-street Chapel, Manchester; and, like a summer fly in the shambles, he only fixed on such portions of that speech as were objectionable on the score of personality; and on these he rested, whilst at the same time he professed excessive joy and thankfulness on observing my altered tone the evening before. So much for consistency at the onset, and so much for Mr. Borthwick's wish that I should not be personal,—seeing that when I am not personal, he, from paucity of matter, I suppose, is forced to go back to a speech to which he had copious opportunity of replying at Salford, and fastens on the very portions of that speech which, he says, contained sentiments that I had most scrupulously avoided the evening before. A good beginning truly! And how did Mr. Borthwick end his speech? Why, by wishing that I, to-night, would deal as gently with him as I dealt the evening before! Why then did not Mr. Borthwick set me the example? He began with congratulation and ended with advice; but the space between, from end to end, was filled up with nothing but constant recurrences to those very portions of my former speech, which, he said, were censurable on the score of personality, and which I am willing to acknowledge were severe, though they were not half so severe as the occasion which called them forth demanded? *(Applause.)* Now what were the circumstances attending that speech? for I may be permitted to vindicate myself against the attack made upon me by a sort of after-clap, when the original contest was at an end. Mr. Borthwick charged me with two heinous offences, the one charging him publicly with the utterance of falsehood, knowing it to be falsehood, and the other with saying that he had made a fool of himself. Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, grant me your kind attention whilst I explain these circumstances. First, Why I said in Irwell-street Chapel, that Mr. Borthwick uttered a falsehood, and knew it to be a falsehood. Mr. Borthwick, in the Town-hall, the week before, made this assertion;—"that the happiest of the happy in the free colony of Sierra Leone were more miserable than the most miserable slave that breathed in the Islands of the West Indies; and that the most abject, wretched slave in any British colony was more happy than the most happy and most joyous of the free community of negroes in the colony of Sierra Leone." Is not that assertion on the very face of it a falsehood? *(Loud cries of "Yes, yes," "No, no," and disapprobation.)* The most happy *freeman* in Sierra Leone more miserable than the most miserable SLAVE in the West Indies! That assertion, I say it again, needs no contradiction, though it shall have it, Mr. Borthwick, to your heart's content. I say the assertion is false on the very face of it; though an archangel should utter it, I say that it is false, because it is contrary to the constitution of human nature;—it is contrary to universal history;—it is contrary to daily observation and experience. If Mr. Borthwick will renounce all pretensions to common sense,—if he will declare himself an idiot, or a madman, then I may confess that he uttered what he did not *know* to be a falsehood; but whilst he claims an atom of common sense, observation, or experience, I will follow up the charge that it is not only a falsehood, but that he knows it to be a falsehood. *(Hisses and cheers.)*

As to my other offence, that of charging him with folly in the speech to which he was then professing to deliver a reply,—I had alluded to a frightful falling off in the population of our various slave dependencies, and I proved it from documentary evidence, which Mr. Borthwick's assertion has not, cannot invalidate,—for will he pretend to place his *assertion* against *parliamentary papers*, compiled from statistical returns from the islands, furnished on the oaths of the planters themselves? If he does, he is charging every one of the planters with perjury, in returning false accounts. *(Cries of "No, no.")* I say that the document I quoted was compiled from returns made in the colonies on the oaths of the planters, and, if Mr. Borthwick says those returns are not true, he, their advocate, charges them, publicly and deliberately, with perjury. *(Hisses and applause.)* If one parliamentary document cannot be relied on, how can another? if we have no security in the past, even on the oaths of men, where shall we look for safety for the future? When Mr. Borthwick came to that part of my speech in which I spoke of a decrease of 52,000 slaves in ten years and a half, he said, "Does not Mr. Thompson know that manumissions are continually going on, and that this may account for the decrease?" I said, it does not, Mr. Borthwick, for every manumission was subtracted, and mine was the nett decrease. *(Applause.)* I told him that Mr. Buxton, under every individual colony, had deducted every manumission that had been granted, according to the returns of these same planters; and I said that if a man came forward to impugn statements thus prepared by such silly assertions, he ought to complain of those who had furnished him with such inaccurate documents, or consider himself as being made a fool of before the world. Now remember the circumstances under which I stood at that hour. What had Mr. Borthwick told me the night before? He told me, and the meeting too, that he came there by mere accident, wishing to be convinced, if he could be convinced,—though I had at that very time a letter in my pocket warning me of his approach, and a special messenger present who had come to inform me of his arrival; and yet he came merely by accident—merely to be convinced. *(A laugh.)* Then he afterwards told me that he was paid to follow me from place to place, like my "evil genius;" his very words. *(Applause and hisses.)* My friends say that I was personal; but was it not personal to say that he would follow me from place to place like my evil genius? *(Cries of "Question, question.")* This is the question. *("Read the letter.")* I need not read the letter. *(Groans and laughter.)* I have not got the letter here. *(Great uproar.)*

The CHAIRMAN said that he saw several persons who were most active in commencing clamour and interruptions, but should be most sorry to have to point out those individuals.

Mr. THOMPSON, in continuation.—The letter I alluded to I produced at that meeting, and read an extract containing the announcement of Mr. Borthwick's approach, and the object of his mission; and I believe that Mr. Borthwick himself, so far from contradicting me, will bear me out in the declaration that I do not allude to a letter which has no existence. It was under these circumstances that I spoke, and, if I was warm on the subject, was it not sufficient to warm me to be told, when in the prosecution of a good work, that I should be followed about from place to place as by an "evil genius?"—a prophecy which has been in part fulfilled, after having been informed by Mr. Borthwick that he came by accident, merely to be convinced. Was it strange that I should be warm after hearing such contradictory assertions, and being the subject of such a threat?

Before passing from these rather irrelevant observations, allow me to make one further remark on the proceedings of last night, with reference to my own conduct on that occasion. I called out "No," because there was a statement regarding a matter of fact personally affecting my own character and veracity, made before 3000 persons, many hundreds of whom, perhaps, would not have an opportunity the following evening of hearing a true statement of the case, on

whose minds, therefore, an impression to my prejudice would have been produced, if the assertion had been passed by without contradiction. It was said by Mr. Borthwick that he gave me a challenge in Manchester, and that I declined it: I never did decline that challenge; I was rather anxious to accept it; but knowing the object that Mr. Borthwick had in view, viz. to circumvent my design—to prevent my fulfilling my pledge to go here and there, rousing the public attention to this question, (and I have gone here and there, at the sacrifice of health, almost of life,) was I to remain at Manchester, and at a particular time accept the challenge of Mr. Borthwick, leaving the object of my mission in part unaccomplished? I am at any time ready to defend the positions I occupy, and I will defend them until they are successfully destroyed; but I am not bound to accept a particular challenge from Mr. Borthwick. I may say with Nehemiah, "The work is great and large, and we are separated upon the wall, one far from another. In what place, therefore, ye hear the sound of the trumpet, resort ye thither unto us; our God shall fight for us." I cannot be delayed by matters of minor importance, when I have proved to ninety-nine out of every hundred of my hearers, that colonial slavery is a crime in the sight of God: and, therefore, that the negro ought to go free, and the bonds to fall from the limbs of the oppressed. *(Applause and disapprobation.)*

Now for Mr. Borthwick's reply. Mr. Borthwick said he should proceed to show, 1st, that the immediate abolition of colonial slavery was *impracticable;*—2dly, that it would be *dangerous* if it were practicable;—3dly, that it would be *immoral;* and 4thly, that it would be *sinful.* We shall see the worth of these propositions by-and-by. He then went through my list of the evils of colonial slavery. I shall just recapitulate those evils, merely enumerating them for Mr. Borthwick's benefit on a future occasion. I said first,—and I have obliterated not a syllable, as I mean to maintain every one of these propositions, and I defy Mr. Borthwick, with the West India body at his back, to drive me from one of them,—I said first, that colonial slavery curses the soil;—2ndly, that it dooms the infant to perpetual bondage;—3dly, that it depresses the body with more than ordinary labour, whilst it withholds from the mind the ordinary motives to labour;—4thly, that it dooms the slave to all kinds of temporary suffering, scars, sores, chains, collars, mutilations, dungeons, disease, blows, insults, scorn, nakedness, seizure, and imprisonment; every one of these propositions I am prepared to defend and prove, whenever they may be disputed. I then said that slavery was depopulating the West Indian colonies, and who is so hardy as to deny the truth of that assertion? That whilst the free black population was increasing so fast as to double itself in twenty years, a greater rate of increase than was almost ever known, the black population in a state of slavery were falling off so fast, as in fifty years to become nearly extinct, though the two classes are of the same race, treading the same soil, drinking from the same fountain, living nearly on the same food, and following, in many instances, the same occupations, and yet one of those classes, because they are in a state of slavery—because they are under the *kind* care of those masters whom Mr. Borthwick attempts almost to deify, are falling off so fast as in fifty years to become almost extinct. I ask you is this not a fact to produce the most serious influence on your minds? *(Hear, hear.)* I ask pity for the slaves who are dying off in greater numbers, and at a faster rate than your neighbours and countrymen from the dreadful pestilence which is scourging the land; and I ask, have we not here an imperative—an irrefutable argument why we should be instant and pressing in the work of negro emancipation? *(Applause.)*

Again: I said there was an inequality of law and of right in the colonies; this I am prepared to defend, and will prove, to-night. I alluded to the mode of administering justice: I said that it was not only defective but unconstitutional and unjust. There is, in fact, no justice in the colonies; there is a show of justice indeed, there may be something bearing the appearance of justice in the

written laws; but if those laws have no "executory principle," they are merely laws to delude the people of England, and not to benefit the slave population of the West Indies. I next alluded to the great difficulty the slave experienced in obtaining any measure of redress for injuries received, even that redress which is promised in these defective laws; this I shall show from the inadmissibility of slave evidence. I next spoke of the inveterate distinction of caste produced by slavery. Mr. Borthwick did not seem to understand this; but as I believe every body else understands it, I shall not try to explain it to him, at the waste of your valuable time. I next said that ignorance in its most dreadful form was fostered wherever slavery existed; that slavery produces loss of self-respect on the part of the slave; and pride, arrogance, and love of arbitrary power on the part of the master,—stimulating the one to rebellion and resistance, and depriving the other of that refinement of feeling which justice and humanity would otherwise teach to him. I said that slavery produced promiscuous intercourse. Again, I described general licentiousness as one of the evils of slavery; does he deny it? Shall I uplift the curtain which veils the picture from your eyes? If I am to do so, let him get me an audience of males only, and then, if I do not tear the veil even from the eyes of absentee slave-proprietors in England, on proof furnished by the planters themselves, let me be branded as a quack, and let Mr. Borthwick triumph over me. *(Applause and disapprobation.)* Does not Mr. Borthwick know that in almost every house in Jamaica, almost every man, from the book-keeper upwards, has his concubine? Does he not know that the marriage of a white man with a negress,—nay, with a person having the least tinge of negro blood in her veins,—would entail upon that white man almost entire expulsion from civilized society? Need I offer proof here? Let more than one colonial writer, whose works are now on this table, refute Mr. Borthwick, and display his ignorance to the world. *(Applause and hisses.)*

I said that in the colonies there was a general disregard of religion, and that, as a natural consequence of that disregard for religion, there was a general desecration of the Sabbath. Neither position has been touched by Mr. Borthwick. I next alluded to the continual hostility, (I never said enmity,) which must exist between Great Britain and the colonies, whilst *freedom* reigned *here*, and *slavery* was dominant *there*. Do the West India body think that they will be able to drive back the tide of humanity now set in, and prevent it from sweeping away the foundations of the system, and so destroying the horrid fabric for ever? *(Cheers and hisses.)* I said that one of the evils of slavery was insecurity, and who does not know that slavery is the most precarious foundation on which any state of society can be built? With all Mr. Borthwick's pretended knowledge, will he deny what is known to every man who has studied the history of the world? I then alluded to the expensiveness of slavery, the cowardice of slavery, the meanness of slavery, and Mr. Borthwick gave me no reply on these subjects. His answer invariably was, "By-and-by," "by-and-by." *(Laughter.)* At half-past six his answer was "by-and-by;" at seven it was "by-and-by:" eight o'clock came, half-past eight, the answer was still "by-and-by." *(Laughter, cheers, and hisses.)* What, shall I be hissed? *(Renewed hissing.)* Gentlemen, *if* you are gentlemen, *(laughter and applause,)* shall I be hissed when I quote the words of your own champion? If it is Mr. Borthwick you are hissing, I pause till you have done; hiss again. *(Laughter.)* The words are not mine. Nine o'clock came, still the answer was "by-and-by:" at half-past nine I looked at my watch, and again the words "by-and-by" fell upon my ear. By-and-by still? thought I; what, in the absence of night caps? *(Laughter.)* "The witching hour of night" will soon be here; darkness will come again, and then Mr. Borthwick will be preaching to us whilst we are snoring on the benches. *(Laughter.)* I'll notice this again, "by-and-by." In speaking of the cowardice of negro slavery, I observed that we never enslaved

the wise, we never enslaved the strong, we never enslaved the revengeful; no, we looked abroad on the families of the earth, and we fixed on the wretched descendants of Cush, Messaim, and Phul,—we found them more feeble and ignorant, more teachable as servants, more submissive to the yoke, more attached by acts of kindness, than the rest of mankind, and we singled them out, and made them slaves: these are the qualities of mind and body that made them our victims; these are the qualities which enable us still to keep them in bondage; and these are the qualities which give Mr. Borthwick an advantage over them, which he would not have over the New Zealander, the North American, or any other inhabitant of the world. *(Cheers.)* I talked of the meanness of slavery; I said it was a mean and despicable system; but to that, too, Mr. Borthwick came "by-and-by," or *was* to have come, for he did not touch upon it. I spoke of the selfishness of slavery, I described it as a system of monopoly from the beginning to the end; and what said Mr. Brougham on the monopoly of freedom, when he stood before the electors of York? Remember what he said, when alluding to the monopoly of freedom; he described it as the foulest monopoly on the face of the earth, and he said besides, "If you place in my hands the sacred trust of representing you in the Commons House of Parliament, you arm me with power to complete the good work which we have begun together; nor will I rest from my labours until, by the blessing of God, I have seen an end of the abuses which bind England to the ground, and the mists dispersed from the eyes of the ignorant, and the chains drop from the hands of the slave." *(Loud cheers.)* I spoke of the impiety of slavery, and Mr. Borthwick attempted to do away with the charge; he tried to ascend to the throne of the Eternal, and penetrate into his councils, and pleaded the sanction of Heaven for our adhering to a vile and wicked system, which cannot be charged on the Bible, whatever Mr. Borthwick may say to the contrary. *(Applause.)* That book does not avail the advocate of slavery; it registers no curse against the sons of Ham,—it opens to them, as well as to us, the path to the immortal happiness of heaven, a happiness to obtain which Mr. Borthwick must have more charity, and more love for the men whom he seeks to exclude from the mercy of Almighty God. *(Applause.)* I spoke of the guilt of slavery, and Mr. Borthwick never said a word about it either then or "by-and-by."

Now for the proof of some of the positions which I took, and which Mr. Borthwick endeavoured to controvert. I said that slavery cursed the soil, and Mr. Borthwick would not understand me. He said, "Why should you contend that slavery cursed the soil whilst dwelling on the evils of colonial slavery, when it is notorious that excessive cultivation produces the same effects every where?" My argument was that slavery led to excessive cultivation, and so cursed the soil, and that the abolition of slavery would prevent over cultivation. That a constant succession of ripe crops taken from the earth destroyed its productive qualities, and that the system of slavery thus operated in our colonies. I shall now give you the authority of a greater man than either Mr. Thompson or Mr. Borthwick on this subject, that of John Jeremie, Esq., late First President of the island of St. Lucie, and author of four essays on colonial slavery. This I shall request my friend Mr. Baldwin to read for you.

Mr. Baldwin then mounted the table, and proceeded to read the quotation referred to. On commencing he spoke in a rather low tone of voice, and there were loud cries of "Speak up, speak up." On this Mr. Baldwin observed, "I will speak louder by-and-by. We can't get the steam up all at once, you know.' *(Laughter.)* He then read the following extract from the work of Mr. Jeremie:—

"With reference to the life of the slave; during the continuance of the slave trade, and now at Martinique, if a newly purchased slave lasted five years, the speculation was a good one. In thirteen years the whole labouring population was said to be renewed, whilst, in all the Duke of Wellington's continental wars, commencing

with his landing in Spain, and concluding with Waterloo, the killed in action, it is said, did not amount to one-fifth of the number systematically consumed, since the peace, in the small island of Martinique. Nor do they equal half the decrease in our colonies within the last ten years. Now reckon the number of slaves in the British colonies, the number of them in the United States, (possessions formerly British,) and the length of time this wholesale consumption of human life has been carrying on, and judge of the fearful responsibility that attaches to this nation. And, for what? to change the very face of nature. Columbus, and the earlier navigators, have described these olden colonies as they stood clothed in the most brilliant verdure; they are now arid, parched, and exhausted. Cultivation elsewhere converts deserts into gardens; here, gardens into a desert."

Mr. THOMPSON.—Ladies and Gentlemen, "by-and-by," perhaps, we shall have a contradiction to John Jeremie, Esq. With regard to Mr. Borthwick's statement in reference to one of the evils which I named, namely, that slavery was the cause of the slave trade, my position was that slavery gave birth to the slave trade, and I proved it thus:—When these islands were first discovered by the Spaniards, they were swarming with inhabitants; those inhabitants were enslaved, and ultimately exterminated, in consequence of the rigorous treatment to which they were subjected; though, if it could be shown that but one of the aborigines remained, Mr. Borthwick, I suppose, would attempt to prove that the depopulation was all exceedingly natural, and that that one man would repeople the islands "by-and-by." *(Laughter.)* Be this as it may, after the aborigines were perfectly exterminated, recourse was had to the western shores of Africa to keep up the system of slavery thus begun on the islands of the West Indies; the slave trade thus commenced; that slave trade still continues, and it is continued exclusively because the system of slavery still exists. *(Applause.)* I grant to Mr. Borthwick that the slave trade is now carried on by the Spaniards and Brazilians, not by the West Indian planters; but it still makes for my position, that slavery is the cause of the slave trade; for if there were no *slavery* in the Spanish dominions; if there were no *slavery* in the Brazilian dominions, or any where else, there would be no *slave trade.* *(Loud applause.)* It is the demand which creates the supply; for however this maxim may be disputed in political economy at home, it will not be disputed in reference to the slave trade by any man claiming common sense and reason. *(Hear, hear.)* Mr. Borthwick attempted to justify the retaining of infants in bondage. Oh! if this be the advocacy of Mr. Borthwick, I blush for those whose cause he pleads. You remember, Ladies and Gentlemen, what I said about the dooming of infants yet unborn to everlasting slavery;—how did Mr. Borthwick get over this? Why, by saying that in every condition of society the child was born to the condition of its parents. Oh, shame! Mr. Borthwick, shame! to entail upon millions of infants interminable slavery because you find it is a general rule of society that the infant should be born to the condition of the parent! What! shall this be pleaded in the Liverpool Amphitheatre, in the year 1832, as a reason why unoffending, innocent infants should be sacrificed before the demon Slavery? Shall this be pleaded and allowed? I trust that it will not; but, however this be, I say it *is* an evil that the sins of the father and mother, if there were any sins on their part which reduced them to bondage, should thus be visited on the heads of their children, in opposition to the designs of the Almighty respecting them; and I claim for every infant born within the British dominions that liberty which is the undeniable birthright even of the most abject of the children of men, wherever justice, religion, and humanity prevail. *(Loud applause.)*

Now, as an exemplification of the torments endured by African slaves, whose children are torn from them, a subject which Mr. Borthwick tried to glide over as he best might, I shall quote an anecdote told by the Rev. Mr. Gilgrass, formerly a missionary on the island of Jamaica. Mr. Borthwick was under a mistake when he said that the Sabbath was rigidly secured to the slaves, and here is a proof of it. Mr. Gilgrass says, *(Cries of "Name, name,"—"date, date.")*

The name of the missionary is Gilgrass, as I have already told you, and I am quoting from the Rev. Richard Watson's "Defence of the Wesleyan Missions," written because the West Indian planters had most unjustly attacked them. *(Applause and hisses.)* Mr. Gilgrass says,

"A master of slaves, who lived near us in Kingston, Jamaica, exercised his barbarities on a Sabbath morning, while we were worshipping God in the chapel, and the cries of the female sufferers have frequently interrupted us in our devotions. But there was no redress for them or for us. This man wanted money; and one of the female slaves having two fine children he sold one of them, and the child was torn from her maternal affection. In the agony of her feelings she made a hideous howling, and for that crime was flogged. Soon after he sold her other child. This 'turned her heart within her,' and compelled her into a kind of madness. She howled night and day in the yard, tore her hair, ran up and down the streets and the parade, rending the heavens with her cries, and literally watering the earth with her tears. Her constant cry was, '*Da wicked Massa, he sell me children. Will no buckra Massa pity nega? What me do? Me have no child.*' As she stood before my window, she said, '*My Massa,*' lifting up her hands towards heaven, '*do, me Massa Minister, pity me? Me heart do so;*' (shaking herself violently,) '*me heart do so, because me have no child; me go a Massa house, in Massa yard, and in me hut, and me no see em!*' and then her cry went up to God. I durst not be seen looking at her."

This, be it observed, was one of the men whom, according to Mr. Borthwick, the planters *protect;* whom the planters *cherish*, and even "*stop the mill* for them to teach the slave;" and yet this missionary says, beholding the wretched state of the unhappy mother, "I dared not be seen looking at her." Now for another of these missionaries, whom the planters cherish: I allude to the testimony of the Rev. Thomas Pennock, related in the same pamphlet to which I have already referred, written by Mr. Watson, a few years ago. Mr. Pennock, says,

"A few years ago, it was enacted that it should not be legal to transport once established slaves from one island to another; and a gentleman owner finding it advisable to do so before the act came in force, the removal of great part of his live stock was the consequence. He had a female slave, highly valuable to him, (and not the less so for being the mother of eight or nine children,) whose husband was the property of another resident on the island, where I happened to be at the time. Their masters not agreeing on a sale, separation ensued, and I went to the beach to be an eye-witness of their behaviour in the greatest pang of all. One by one the man kissed his children, with the firmness of a hero, and blessing them, gave as his last words,—(oh! will it be believed, and have no influence upon our veneration for the negro?) "*Farewell, be honest and obedient to your master!*" At length he had to take leave of his wife; there he stood, (I have him in my mind's eye at this moment,) five or six yards from the mother of his children, unable to move, speak, or do any thing but gaze, and still to gaze on the object of his long affection, soon to cross the blue wave for ever from his aching sight. The fire of his eyes, alone, gave indication of the passion within, until, after some minutes' standing thus, he fell senseless on the sand, as if suddenly struck down by the hand of the Almighty; nature could do more; the blood gushed from his nostrils and mouth, as if rushing from the terrors of the conflict within; and amid the confusion occasioned by the circumstance the vessel bore off his family for ever from the island! After some days he recovered and came to ask advice of *me!* What could an Englishman do in such a case? I felt the blood boiling within me, but I conquered; I brow-beat my own manhood, and gave him the humblest advice I could afford."

These are the children who are, according to Mr. Borthwick, righteously doomed to slavery, because it is a general condition of society that the state of the father and mother shall be the state of the infant also. I deny the righteousness of this doom. I say, as Mr. Borthwick said in denouncing the slave trade, as he did in terms than which none could be more proper,—I say that dooming the harmless infant to slavery is diabolical and impious, and one of the foulest crimes which disgrace the character of Englishmen. *(Cheers and disapprobation.)*

And now for the Jamaica slave code, the only enactment touching the separation of families. It is found in the fifth clause of the consolidated slave code, passed by the House of Assembly, in January, 1831, and it is the climax of

West Indian justice, the embodyment of West Indian equity, the complete quintessence of West Indian legislation. And what is the humanity of British legislators in the West Indies, relative to the separation of families? Hear for yourselves:

"And, whereas, by the ninth section of the eighth George the Second, chapter fifth, it is enacted, 'That whenever hereafter any slave or slaves, taken on any writ of venditioni, shall be exposed to sale, the provost-marshal, or his deputies respectively, shall sell all such slaves singly, unless in case of families, in which case, and no other, the said provost-marshal, or any of his deputies, may set-up to sale such family or families, consisting of a man and his wife, or reputed wife, his or their children.' And whereas it seems necessary further to enforce this provision; be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that in all cases where a levy shall be made by any deputy-marshal or collecting constable of a family or families, each family shall be sold together, and in one lot: *Provided always, that nothing in this act contained shall be understood to interfere with levies on* INDIVIDUAL *slaves, nor be construed to authorize excessive levies.*"

So that if a master only owed £40, the marshal might go, seize a mother, a father, or a child, and separate the nearest ties, to satisfy the demand of a creditor. It is only when whole families are seized that the *marshal* is forbidden to sell them separately; in all other cases he may take a man here, a woman there, and burst asunder the nearest and dearest relations of life: but the *master*,—the master, mind, may sell the wife from the husband, or the husband from the wife, and there is no law in Jamaica to prevent him; he may sell the mother from the infant that lies upon her bosom, and there is no law in Jamaica to prevent him; he may sell the brother from the sister, the sister from her brethren, the child from its parents, and there is no law in Jamaica to prevent him; and there it is only when the marshal makes a levy on a *whole* family collectively. *(Hear, hear, hear.)* I trust, my friends, you will allow that there is no *serpentining* in the way I go about my business; no surreptitious, disallowed slave codes, things in the shape of parliamentary papers, got up and palmed upon the Government, and afterwards disclaimed by the Colonial Secretary. *(Applause.)*

Then with regard to the labour of the slave, and the motives which he has to labour: and here I come to a very weak part of Mr. Borthwick's speech, a very cruel part of Mr. Borthwick's speech, a heartless part of Mr. Borthwick's speech, an inhuman part of Mr. Borthwick's speech; and when you hear the sentiment which I am going to quote you will admit with me that it was most weak, cruel, heartless, and inhuman. What was it that I said? I said that the slaves wanted the ordinary motives to labour, and Mr. Borthwick would not allow the justice of my appeal to our own country, when I stopped the ploughman on his way to labour, asked him why he was hastening so cheerfully to his daily toil, and made him speak out his motives, and you, by your approbation, testified that those motives were natural and laudable, that they were, in fact, sufficient. Was not that the case? *("Yes, yes.")* Now hear the advocate of the gradual abolition of colonial slavery; *he* will prove that the slave has *double* motives to labour. First he will labour for his master, and then that he may get his own freedom and that of his wife and children. Was not that *cruel*, was not that *heartless*, was not that *inhuman?* *(Loud applause.)* Let us see the slave weeping over a furrow in the field of his daily and uncompensated toil, and ask him "Why do you weep?"—"Why do I weep!" exclaims he, "You would weep under the same circumstances; you would weep, too, were you kept here to toil from day to day, with the lash at your back, and see no end to your misery!" *(Hear hear.")* And, Mr. Borthwick, I have here a letter from one of those witnesses of the fact, to whom you appeal, and I shall read it for your benefit. *(Cries of "Name, date, date.")* Be kind enough to wait a little and you shall have both name and date; and in order to render you more patient for the rest of the evening, I assure you that I shall give you names, dates, and every particular, respecting every document which I may have occasion to read. The letter is ad-

dressed to George Thompson, and dated Liverpool, August 30, 1832, and is as follows:—

"*Liverpool, August* 30, 1832.

"SIR,—Allow me just to give you a hint that may serve the noble cause in which you are engaged.

"In the spring of 1816 I was lying at Demerara, in the stream opposite my merchants, who had, near the shore, a cooper's shop, where I sometimes had business, and at other times retreated from the sun; on one of those occasions a cooper at work said something that intimated a degree of dissatisfaction; I said to him, 'Tom, I do think that you have one of the very best of masters;' he answered me by observing, 'Sir, I will admit all that you can say of the goodness of my master, but, Sir, (said he,) how would you like to walk round this cask and others as long as ever you lived, without even a chance of altering or amending your situation?" Tom's appeal was too close and striking to admit of reply from me.

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"*To George Thompson, Esq.*" "ANTHONY LANDERS.

"P.S.—I have not time to write more, but Mr. James Cropper, sen. has a long letter of mine on the subject. I will endeavour to get it for you."

Now, Mr. Borthwick, tell me how you would like to march round and round this cask? *(Hear, hear, and applause.)* I will give you a wider circuit, Mr. Borthwick. How would you like to be compelled to march round and round this Amphitheatre? *(Cheers and hisses.)* Yes, you may hiss; but what sentiment is it that you are hissing? This man did not like slavery; do *you* like slavery? *(Hisses and cheers.)* It was a *noble* thought, though he had been walking round the Colosseum at Rome,—though he had been walking round the globe itself,—it was a noble thought to wish to be free as the lark that soars to heaven. *(Cheers.)* Now for the name of the gentleman who tells this affecting anecdote—it is ANTHONY LANDERS. *(Hear, hear.)*

I now come back to Mr. Borthwick's inhumanity in saying that the slave has double motives to labour. I ask what motive the slave has to labour in the field for his master? and I say again, the whip—the whip only. Mr. Stephen, in his admirable work on the state of the colonies, shows, from parliamentary papers and documents furnished by the planters themselves, that, in Jamaica, the slave is compelled to labour, on an average throughout the year, sixteen hours and forty minutes per day. [An individual in the boxes here exclaimed, "The day is not quite so long as that."] Does the gentleman who interrupts me forget that there is night work as well as day work in the West Indies? *(Hear, hear, hear, and loud cheers.)* Does he forget crop time, when the slaves are compelled to labour in the sugar-house during the greater part of the night, as well as by day? *(Hear, hear.)* Mr. Stephens has shown that, on the sugar islands, the slaves labour, all the year round, sixteen hours and forty minutes daily. Day, in the ordinary sense of the word, means twenty-four hours; and I have a right to call that "daily labour" when, as it often happens, (but as it ought never to happen,) midnight comes, and the morning blushes ere the labour of the previous day is done. *(Applause.)* The allowance to the negroes on the foreign-fed colonies is eight pints of unground corn and six salt herrings per week; and with this allowance, after his daily labour of sixteen hours and forty minutes, we are told that the slave has double motives to labour, first for his master, and then that he may procure his own freedom and that of his family. I will not longer dwell on this part of Mr. Borthwick's speech; but I again say, and I will not shrink from the word, that it was heartless, cruel, and inhuman. *(Cries of "So it is." "Prove it.")* Some gentleman says it is not; I say to that gentleman, Place yourself in the condition of the slave, and ask your conscience, if you have any; I am content to abide by the answer it shall give. *(Applause.)*

Mr. Borthwick denies the sufferings of the slaves to be an evil, and says that brands, whips, collars, and chains are all chimeras; we will now see whether they are chimeras or not. Does he say that brandings are chimeras? Then I refer him to a statement in a Jamaica paper now on this table, to the effect that, at

that moment, 100 slaves were walking the streets with from two to eight brand marks upon their bodies. Does he know how runaway negroes are described in these papers? Does he know that they are described by lashes, by flogging marks, by the loss of eyes, teeth, fingers, and toes; by leprosy, by lacerations, by yaws—every thing that can torment the human body and deform it? *(Hear, hear.)* I challenge Mr. Borthwick to select from any part of the United Kingdom, from amongst persons doomed to labour, an equal number in the condition of the slaves described in these advertisements.

With regard to the statement in the *Christian Record* of October, 1830, a monthly periodical published in Jamaica, it was known to be true, throughout the whole of Jamaica, that five slaves were apprehended for trespassing on Mr. Wildman's estate and picking grass; and what did Mr. Wildman do? I do not speak of him as personally engaged in the business, but through the medium of a benevolent manager, named Taylor, they were taken to a slave protector, having previously declared that there was no grass on their mistress's estate, and that she had sent them to pluck some on the adjoining plantations. Perhaps the slave-protector did not know whether this was true or not; the mistress knew it nevertheless, for she had forced the slaves to leave her plantation, to go out and bring home a certain quantity of grass daily, and, therefore, she forced them to pilfer from the adjoining estates; and what did this slave-protector do? Did he send for the lady? No. Did he pity the slaves? No. Did he reprimand the lady? No. Did he send the slaves back to her? No. He inflicted on them a most severe punishment; and Mr. Baldwin will now have the kindness to read to you a description of what that punishment was.

Mr. Baldwin then mounted the table, and read the following passage from the *Christian Record:*

"A female, apparently about 22 years of age, was then laid down, with her face downwards; her wrists were secured by cords run into nooses; her ancles were brought together and placed in another noose: the cord composing this last one, passed through a block connected with a post. The cord was tightened, and the young woman was thus stretched to her utmost length. A female then advanced and raised her clothes towards her head, leaving the person indecently exposed. The boatswain of the Workhouse, a tall athletic man, flourished his whip four or five times round his head, and proceeded with the punishment. The instrument of punishment was a cat, formed of knotted cords: the blood sprang from the wounds it inflicted; the poor creature shrieked in agony, and exclaimed 'I don't deserve this!' She became hysterical, and continued so until the punishment was completed. Four other delinquents were successively treated in the same way. One was a woman about 36 years of age; another, a girl of 15; another, a boy of the same age; and, lastly, an old woman about 60, who really appeared scarcely to have any strength to express her agonies by cries. The boy of 15, as our informant subsequently ascertained, was the son of the woman of 36! She was indecently exposed, and cruelly flogged in the presence of her son; and then had the additional pain to see him also exposed, and made to writhe under the lash!

"It is to be observed, to complete the hideous but faithful picture of the system of slave government, presented to us by the narrative of this transaction, that these unfortunates received this punishment for an offence which their owner (it was strongly suspected) had compelled them to commit, and that, too, under the terror of the lash; a circumstance accounting for the cry, 'I don't deserve this!'"—*Christian Record, No. II, pp.* 81, 82.

Mr. Thompson.—Ladies and Gentlemen, you shall now have the testimony of Mr. Jeremie, on the subject of West Indian slavery; but first let me tell you who Mr. Jeremie was. Mr. Jeremie, in the year 1823, was an advocate in the royal court of Guernsey, and then received an invitation to go out to one of the colonies in a high judicial capacity; the invitation was afterwards renewed and accepted, and finally, in the year 1824, Mr. Jeremie went out to St. Lucia, and became the Chief Judge of the island. It ought not to be disguised from you, that before Mr. Jeremie went out to the West Indies, he knew nothing whatever on the subject of colonial slavery. He himself acknowledges this in the work which I hold in my hand. Before Mr. Jeremie left London for St. Lucia, he attended an Anti-slavery meeting, listened to the speeches, and heard

arguments and facts brought before the meeting. The cruelties there related were so atrocious, that he thought they could either have no existence, or were most grossly exaggerated; he, therefore, thought that the conclusions drawn from those facts were erroneous, and he left that meeting rather prejudiced than otherwise against the principles and objects of the Anti-slavery Society. He went out with these prejudices to St. Lucia, and remained there three years before he was fully acquainted with the workings of the system. Now, Mr. Coleridge travelled through all the islands in six months, a tolerable sort of railroad travelling you will admit, and yet Mr. Coleridge, from this cursory inspection, thinks himself qualified to write a book, to give his opinion of slavery, and also on the character, operations, and motives of the Anti-slavery Society. Mr. Jeremie was three years on the island of St. Lucia, with ten thousand times greater facilities for ascertaining the real character of slavery, than ever Mr. Coleridge possessed, and it was three years before he came to a fixed and unalterable opinion on the subject. Now, what were the facts that induced Mr. Jeremie to change the opinion he had formerly entertained? When he came to reside on the island of St. Lucia, on examining the slave code, he found that the whip was the only stimulus to labour. Speaking of the whip, Ladies and Gentlemen, I shall not forget the calf of Mr. Borthwick's leg; I think he must have had calf higher when he made such a proposition. *(Laughter.)* Mr. Jeremie found that the law sanctioned the whip as a stimulus to labour in the field, and that there were other portions of that law of the most cruel and sanguinary character. He, therefore, resolved to draw up a new slave code, which was transmitted to the parent Government, and approved and sent back to become the law of the island. When the new law was promulgated, almost every white man in the island arrayed himself against it, and told Mr. Jeremie that the order and security of the country, and, will you believe it? the *welfare* and *comfort* of the negroes themselves depended on the whip. I see around me in this amphitheatre several blacks; I am glad to see them; I call upon them as men and brethren, and I ask that man, and that man, and that man, (pointing to different parts of the house,) whether the whip is essential to his comfort, and whether, seeing that we have no whips in England, he is about to sail back to Jamaica, in order that he may again taste the comforts and the sweets of slavery? *(Applause.)* However, notwithstanding the predilection of the planters for it, Mr. Jeremie was determined to try the experiment of abolishing the use of the whip. Mr. Jeremie says, that scarcely was this new law promulgated, when a slave came before him with a collar riveted round his neck, from which projected three prongs ten inches in length, attached to a chain reaching to fetters round his legs, (here is a delightful specimen of Mr. Borthwick's chimeras, here are collars, chains, and fetters altogether,) his back and limbs were wealed from neck to foot, and he said that he had been kept in that state for several months; and, on inquiry, Mr. Jeremie found that the man had not been convicted of any crime, nor even charged with any crime, but was fettered thus solely to prevent his running away. *(Cries of "Prove it, prove it," from the boxes and other parts of the house.)* Prove it, Mr. Jeremie! I quote from his "four Essays on Colonial Slavery," which may be had for 3s. 6d., the price for a seat in the boxes, where you are now sitting gratuitously, and which it would be worth your while to buy. *(Laughter.)* I prove it by giving the name of the pamphlet, and the name of the gentleman who wrote it, and who has now gone out to the island of Mauritius in a still higher capacity than that which he held at St. Lucia. *(Hear, hear.)* The pamphlet has now been published twelve months; it has been reviewed in the *Edinburgh* and *Westminster Reviews*, the *Times*, and almost all the liberal periodical publications of the day; but *Blackwood* has been silent; the *Quarterly* has been silent; *Fraser* silent; *Macqueen* silent; the *Morning Post* silent; all silent on the subject. *(Loud cheers.)* Now, instead of ridiculing me, instead of ridiculing Mr. Buxton, instead of pulling us to pieces, here was a noble

quarry? Here was Mr. Jeremie, a Chief Justice, with a book full of cruelties! Why not attack him, Mr. Blackwood? Why not attack him, Mr. Macqueen? Why not attack Mr. Jeremie, ye host of scribes that write before or behind the curtain, in magazines, newspapers, &c. &c.? *(Loud applause.)* Those gentlemen who hiss and interrupt me, by calling out for proof, will now see that they had better "*let me gang my ain gait.*" *(Cheers and laughter.)*

Mr. Jeremie, seeing the condition of this man, thought it might be a solitary instance of cruelty; he determined to make inquiry: what, therefore, did he do? He appointed a commission of three gentlemen of the island,—I beseech you to hear this,—he appointed three gentlemen of *reputed humanity*, and two magistrates residing in the immediate vicinity of the estate to which the negro belonged, to go down as a commission to inquire into the truth of his statement, and give a faithful report of what they saw and heard. The commission accordingly went down, and what did these five gentlemen of "reputed humanity" say? Their report was,—hear it my friends! their report was, "that the estate was well managed, and all its arrangements very good." Mr. Jeremie thought it exceedingly strange that, if the estate were well managed, and all its arrangements very good, a man should have escaped from it, wealed from head to foot, with a spiked collar round his neck, and chains round his ankles, and all this only because he was suspected of running away. Mr. Jeremie, therefore, set another inquiry on foot; and how did that issue? Why, on this estate, this *well managed estate*, all the arrangements of which were *very good*, three other slaves were found wealed, fettered, and chained, in the same manner; and an old woman in a dungeon, covered with scars, and bowed down with manacles, in which state she had been "kept for two years!" *(Expressions of horror, and cries of "Prove it.")* Prove it? Mr. Jeremie! Mr. Jeremie also discovered something else; he found that these "proper officers," these men of "reputed humanity," these very men who, in years past, transmitted favourable accounts of the character of slavery on that island, and furnished the House of Commons with statements touching the condition and treatment of the slaves, he discovered that these proper officers, these men of "reputed humanity," when engaged in such a commission, were in the habit of politely intimating to the manager of the estate they were about to visit, that they would come in the evening of such a day to pay that visit, and that they expected every facility would be afforded them in so unpleasant an investigation. Let us set this matter in its true light; let us suppose now that some individual in Liverpool had been robbed, and that he knows or suspects where his property is concealed. He goes to the Mayor, makes his complaint, and says he has reason to believe that his property is to be found in a certain house, in a certain street. The Mayor immediately makes out a search warrant, deposits it in the hands of a "proper officer," and says, "go search the house of the suspected individual, and bring me a faithful report of all you see." Well, the officer, instead of doing as he is directed, takes a sheet of gilt-edged paper, and writes, "Dear, (Ikey Solomons, if you please.)" *(Laughter.)* "I hold a warrant to search your house for stolen property; I shall be with you,—say on Saturday evening,—and I expect that every facility will be afforded me in conducting this unpleasant investigation." *(Much laughter.)* What is the consequence? Ikey Solomons receives the officer in the most friendly and hospitable manner, with a bunch of keys in one hand and a bottle of wine in the other; and the officer having looked high and low, having searched bed and cupboard, and left no part of the premises unexplored, gives this report to the magistrate,—"I have made strict search, and I did not find one pennyworth of property in the house." *(Laughter.)* Then who will not say with Mr. Borthwick, that Ikey Solomons is a calumniated and much injured individual, and that he ought to bring an action against the man who lodged the information? *(Laughter.)* Mind, this transaction, related by Mr. Jeremie, was not at a remote period, but in 1826. These chains and

collars were abolished; but did humanity then triumph in St. Lucia? No. Mr. Jeremie received a report, stating that the whole island had declared against the innovation; that in every plantation there were symptoms of rebellion; and now you shall have Mr. Jeremie's version of a West Indian insurrection. Mr. Jeremie says,—

"Rumours the most unfounded were at once set afloat; estates were specified where the gangs were in utter disorder, nine or ten especially, and one of them where, owing to the slave law having avowedly been neglected, the manager had been cautioned. This estate was said to have been abandoned by the negroes; some to have fled, the whole to have so neglected their duty that the produce had diminished from sixteen to three hogsheads per week. The slaves, it was said, had fled to the woods, mountains, and ravines; negroes had been taken up with large bundles of newspapers, of the precise year when the slave-law was promulgated, (1826,) and it was added that gangs from the most distant and unconnected quarters had struck, and had also sought refuge in the woods, after destroying their masters' property,—as manufacturers destroy machinery at home.

"Accordingly militia detachments were sent out, headed by field officers, in addition to two permanent detachments, in various directions, in search of the insurgents;—five were sent out from one quarter,—three from a second,—three from a third,—three from a fourth;—and hundreds, ay, thousands, of ball-cartridges were distributed throughout the country. The white troops were to be quartered on the refractory estates; and the planters in one of the quarters, and its neighbourhood, were desired to turn out with their best negroes; this description of force alone amounting to several hundred men.

"Next, the Governor himself went into the mountains, with a numerous staff, to point out the exact plan of operations by which that insurrectionary movement was to be put down. Then a militia order was to be issued, and read at the head of the detachments, comparing these various convulsions ('though it had not quite reached that height') to the melancholy period of 1796, when it cost Great Britain 4,000 men, headed by Abercrombie, to restore order in St. Lucia alone."

Here is a fine field for Mr. Borthwick's declamation by and by. The militia called out,—the country in a state of mutiny,—the negroes in a state of rebellion! Here is fine work! And now Mr. Borthwick shall hear the description of an insurrection in St. Lucia, in the year 1829.

"Now, what was the fact? In the whole of that part of the island where the Governor had taken on himself the direction of the troops; where these detachments, under their colonels, had scoured the woods, mountains, and ravines, it appeared there were exactly eight negroes in the bush, including females. The bundles of newspapers were a piece of wrapping paper, about the size of a man's hand, on which an ignorant slave had made a few crosses, and produced as his pass. The story of the destruction of property was a pure fiction. The specific complements proved to be worse than frivolous, and the only gang where there had been the least movement was one with respect to which the proprietor, on a subsequent inquiry, has been proved never, since the promulgation of the slave law, to have clothed his negroes, and where they had been made to get up to labour in the field by moonlight. On that occasion fifteen had left their owner in the evening, and had presented themselves in the morning to the next planter, to intercede for them. He had done so; and they had returned quietly to work before any of these extraordinary measures were taken.

'In short, it was proved that throughout the island only the usual average, five in 1000, (taking the whole slave population,) which is probably less than in the best disciplined regiments in the service, were away from their estates: and this, too, was at the very commencement of crop, when the number of runaways is always largest."

Yes, Mr. Borthwick, it appeared that there were exactly eight negroes in the bush, and this was the sum total of the St. Lucia insurrection,—a very fine companion to that in Jamaica, the exploits of which I shall have occasion to notice. I cannot help pausing to reflect on this mighty insurrection,—the troops under arms,—colonels in council,—majors and aids-de-camps scouring the country,—all marched about the island from one end to the other,—and exactly eight negroes in the bush, including women and children. *(Laughter.)* This reminds me of the civic major, who, going out with his troops from London to the neighbourhood of Hammersmith, wrote to his friends,—"We have had marching and counter-marching,—and yesterday we *charged* upon a pig-sty." *(Loud laughter.)* I suppose these doughty heroes of St. Lucia wanted a field-day, and forgetting that Mr. Jeremie was on the island, like a weasel amongst a nest of rats, bundles of newspapers were magnified out of a piece of wrapping paper, and eight poor

negroes, including women and children, were converted into a rebel army. *(Laughter.)* Mr. Borthwick charged me with dealing in fictions;—now, here is a St. Lucia fiction for him, and I can tell him further, that never since the improved slave code was promulgated; never since the use of the whip in the field was prohibited, collars and chains abolished, and the negro clothed, has there been any destruction of property by the negroes, or any insubordination amongst them. But though the whip was put down and collars abolished, did humanity triumph? No;—other systems of punishment were introduced, which Mr. Jeremie thus describes:—

"Scarcely two months afterwards, other reports were spread of discontent and actual mutiny of so serious a nature having broken out on the same estate, that the principal officers of Government were directed to investigate the matter anew. The result was, that in lieu of the collar, the following punishment had been used. The women were hung by the arms to a peg, raised so high above their heads that the toes alone touched the ground, the whole weight of the body resting on the wrists of the arms or the tips of the toes. The report of a mutiny was mere invention."

This pegging system was abolished, and then did humanity triumph? No; a fourth cruelty was introduced,—the diabolical field stocks, which were nothing less than a most cruel species of picketting; of which the editor of a West India paper, seldom remarkable for extraordinary humanity, thus writes:—

"On the first introduction of the slave code into Trinidad, the abolition of the whip in the punishment of female slaves coming suddenly on the planter, unprovided with the authorized means of coercion, was the cause of great relaxation of discipline, and frequent disorders occurred,—but the *application of the hand and feet stocks has proved fully effectual* for the punishment of refractory or insolent slaves, and at this period the females are maintained in as perfect order and subordination as the males; these stocks, confining the hands and feet by which the body is kept in a position that at length becomes almost *insupportable*, are allowed by law to be applied for six hours: but the severity of the punishment has proved so great that few planters will go to the extent authorized, and *the* FEMALE *who has once tasted of its salutary bitterness*, has seldom any inclination to try a *second dose*."—*Antigua Free Press, Friday, June* 8, 1827.

I shall mention another instance from Mr. Jeremie's work, to show the nature of the system. A case came before him, in his judicial capacity, for final settlement; the case was this:—The manager of an estate brought an action against the proprietor for arrears of wages: the proprietor disputed the claim; and the consequence was, that after considerable litigation Mr. Jeremie decided the matter on an appeal to him as Chief Justice. The manager claimed a certain sum of money; the proprietor denied the claim; and amongst a long list of items pleaded as a set off, for money paid, &c., were two, the 19th and 21st, which were as follows:—

"No. 19. For the value of John, the cooper, flogged to death by you, and then buried in the cane piece, 400 dollars!"

"No. 21. For the price of the negress, Mary Clare, who died by bruises received from you, 300 dollars!"

Here there were cries of "read it again;" on which Mr. Thompson repeated the statement. He was desired to prove it, and exclaimed, "Mr. Jeremie!" on which an individual called out, "We've had enough of him." Mr. Thompson then continued his address. These murders were denied; on which two overseers stepped into the box, and proved one murder; the other being proved by a note of hand given by that very manager to that very proprietor, in which he confessed the murder of the woman, and accounted for her to his master in a most tradesman-like manner, by debiting himself with three hundred dollars, her value. *(Hear, hear.)* Now, after inquiring into the whole of this horrid affair, let us remember the lovely picture which Mr. Borthwick drew of the planters in the West Indies; let us remember that he described them as being all that was amiable, all that was kind, all that was tender and good; nursing the young, cherishing and sympathising with the old, carrying wine to this infirm woman and that infirm man, to say nothing of the four parlours and the saloon to lounge in. To conclude this scene of iniquity, whom think you was the man who thus calmly trafficked in murder with his own steward, pleaded this

set off in a court of justice, in St. Lucia, in the year 1826? he was Mr. Jeremie's predecessor in office, Chief Justice of the island, a member of the Privy Council, and presided in court when this very action first came on to be tried. *(Hear, hear, hear.)*

Now as Mr. Borthwick was pleased, sneeringly, to allude to a most harrowing account which I gave the other night of a circumstance which transpired in this very island, you shall know on what Mr. Borthwick exercises his pleasantry, and you shall see who is most censurable; I, when I exercise pleasantry on him, or he, when he exercises it either on the cruelly-treated, the much-injured, the murdered slave, or on that scene of iniquity which I am now going to relate. Mr. Jeremie informs us that a white infant was found in a ditch at St. Lucia, with its mouth split from ear to ear and filled with gravel and dirt. The circumstances were inquired into; it was traced to a white unmarried lady on the island; and Mr. Jeremie, because he wished to bring that lady to justice, was thwarted and annoyed, and addressed in such terms as these, "Why, Mr. Jeremie, do you make such a fuss about this nonsense?" That was the St. Lucia sense of justice and humanity; and when Mr. Jeremie determined to bring the criminal to trial, she was got out of the way, and shipped off to Martinique; and thus the ends of justice were defeated. *(Hear, hear.)* Mr. Borthwick talked of this horrid transaction as if it had been a mere trip to Gretna Green with a planter's daughter.

I will now mention a circumstance which Mr. Jeremie relates as having occurred at Martinique, with a view to show that slavery is the same wherever it exists, whether it be in Egypt, in Babylon, Rome, or Greece, in the English colonies, or in those of Spain. A mother and her son were torn from Western Africa, and sold into slavery in Martinique, and fell into the hands of cruel masters. The boy ran away from his master,—and whither did he fly? To the hut of his mother;—and the mother absolutely received the fruit of her body beneath her roof, she absolutely allowed him to lie down on her mat, and supplied him with victuals. The boy was pursued, discovered, and brought to trial; the mother also was brought to trial. The female was charged with "harbouring" her own son, "*under pretence of pity*,"—for they did not give her credit for humanity,—they did not give her credit for natural affection towards her own offspring,—charged with feloniously and criminally harbouring her own son "under *pretence* of pity;"—and the boy was charged with what? With running away? No; but with robbery! And what had he stolen? Nothing;—he had run from his master naked; he had fled to his mother naked; he had not taken one farthing's worth of property; he was charged with having *stolen* HIMSELF! He had run away with his own hands, with his own feet, with his own head, with his own heart, with his own life, the right to which God had given him, free as the mountain breeze, never to be cancelled by man. *(Loud applause.)* Well, both the mother and the son were found guilty, the son for robbing his master, that is, for stealing himself, and the mother for harbouring him "under pretence of pity;"—and what was the sentence of the mother and the son? The son for his crime was sentenced to be hanged, and the mother to witness his execution, and then to be imprisoned for an unlimited period. *(Expressions of horror.)* And the boy *was* hanged, and the mother *was* compelled, as far as a mother could be compelled, to witness the ignominious sacrifice of her son, and afterwards was imprisoned for some years in the jail of the island. Now, what conclusion does Mr. Jeremie draw from these statements of facts? Simply this:—he says that the system is rotten at the core; that we cannot legislate for slavery; that with slave-owners for judges, slave-owners for magistrates, slave-owners for "proper officers," slave-owners for jurymen, slave-owners for witnesses, slave evidence rejected,—and the slave, the reputed son of Ham, abused, degraded, and enslaved,—justice is a mockery. Mr. Borthwick confines all his arguments to Jamaica; that is the lovely island where he likes to travel; it is there where he finds the four parlours and the saloon,—I beg his

pardon, the four apartments and the room to lounge in; *(laughter;)* it is there where he finds amiable planters and amiable ladies, and I say not that they are not amiable, for it is against the system I contend; against the system which would convert good angels into bad angels if they were connected with it; against the system, not against the planters or the planters' wives; for I admit that I myself might be the victim of the demoralizing effects of that system were I brought into contact with it so closely as they are brought. *(Hear, hear.)* Jamaica is the lovely island where Mr. Borthwick chooses to take his pleasant walks, for its scenes are beautiful, and its sounds delightful; but I recommend him to take a trip to St. Lucia, to visit the Mauritius, to go so far as the Cape of Good Hope, and not to confine himself exclusively to the island of Jamaica, though some of his particular friends *should* live there, for whom he entertains a high esteem. *(Hisses and applause.)* I hear a few friends hissing. *(Cries of "Turn them out.")* No, do not turn them out; it is to those who hiss and groan that I particularly want to address myself. *(Laughter and applause.)* They are the very choicest part of my auditory, I cannot spare one of them; but I want to ask them in a friendly manner, is it at the horrors perpetrated in St. Lucia and Martinique that they are groaning? If it be, then I honour them for that groan. Is it these you are hissing? If it be, then I applaud you for that hiss. *(Hisses and applause, and cries of "Question.")*

I assail Mr. Borthwick honourably and manfully. I am sure *he* has philosophy enough for any thing, and I want to know why you should hiss me when I assail him. Surely, my friends, you cannot be accustomed to public discussions; surely you cannot know that, if Mr. Borthwick plays at bowls, he must expect to meet with rubbers; surely you cannot know that, if he gives me an Oliver, he must expect a Roland in return. *(Applause.)* Mr. Jeremie tells us that we cannot legislate for the evils of slavery; we must either go back to the African slave trade to keep up the system and prevent the exterminating of the negroes, or we must give liberty to the slaves. I ask you whether we are to go back to the slave trade; I ask you whether we are to go on with the system till the last wretched victim has perished, ere we permit the triumph of justice and mercy, over cruelty, oppression, and woe? *(Hisses and applause.)* Mr. Borthwick says he is an abolitionist; I also am an abolitionist; and I want to know what is meant by *gradual* abolition; I want to grapple with him on the subject. *(Hisses and applause.)* If I knew what it is that banishes the natural sympathies of the men who make that serpent-like noise, I should know what to do. Is it because they find it hard to be flogged and then pickled afterwards? But they have come here voluntarily, and they must expect to hear Mr. Borthwick's arguments fairly canvassed.

With regard to the decrease of the slave population in the sugar colonies, Mr. Borthwick has said what he cannot prove, and I tell him fearlessly that he cannot prove what he said last night. I challenge him to prove that the parliamentary documents were misquoted by Mr. Buxton. If he proves that the parliamentary documents themselves, which were compiled from returns furnished by the planters on oath, were inaccurate,—that is quite another thing. As the advocate of Mr. Buxton, I maintain that the documents were rightly quoted.

I implore Mr. Borthwick to examine this statement; it is better for all parties to keep strictly to truth; let him examine it, then, and if he finds that the slaves are really decreasing in number, whatever be the amount, let him endeavour to find out the true cause, and do what he can to apply a remedy, if he be what he professes to be,—a good man and a kind man,—and not gloss over a system which is annually carrying off thousands of human beings. Hear now the testimony of the Rev. Mr. Trew on the same subject:—

"Of all the evils to which the negro is liable, throughout the whole system of slavery, there is not a greater than this night-work on sugar estates. In proof of this, my Lord, only look at the facts to be found in a late return to Parliament, of the average increase and decrease of slaves for the five preceding years to 1828, on the

principal properties in Jamaica,—distinguishing coffee and other plantations from the sugar estates. We find from these returns, one sugar estate with 663 slaves, on which there has been an average annual decrease of *ten*. On another, with 242 slaves, a decrease of *fifteen*; and on a third, called Blue Mountain, the still more fearful waste of human life is discovered, in an *average decrease of seventeen negroes annually out of 314; or 85 slaves,—being equal to one fifth of the whole population, cut off in the space of five years!* The estates of the heirs of John Thorp, situated in the parish of Trelawney, show a diminution of numbers, within the same period, amounting to 200 out of a population of 2809. But on the coffee plantations, where night-work is unknown, mark the contrast!—on a plantation having 214 slaves, *the average increase* for five years is three per cent. per annum; and taking an extensive parish, the staple commodity of which is coffee, the average increase throughout is not less than three per cent. per annum. Can there be a more convincing proof of the shocking waste to which human life is subject on sugar estates (and owing mainly to the system of night-work) than this? And yet to such a system must the man of gray hairs, or the mother of a numerous offspring, after toiling throughout the day under the scorching beams of a tropical sun, submit; and again be exposed to the bleak north wind, to the chilling mists of heaven, or to the pelting rain; and when overtaken with sleep, to lie down faint and weary, and at the risk of a heavy punishment, under the great canopy of heaven, without another comforter, save Him who pities the oppressed."

I beg Mr. Borthwick to take a minute of the point, and that he will not take these statements as resting merely on my *ipse dixit*, and reply by a counter assertion only. On this subject, and to show the inequality of the law, I wished to refer to certain transactions which occurred on Lord Combermere's estates at Nevis and St. Kitts; and I also wished to refer to a point which Mr. Borthwick disputed, viz. colonial licentiousness; but I am obliged to hasten to another branch of the subject, which I consider to be the most important part of Mr. Borthwick's speech,—I mean the recent insurrection in the island of Jamaica. *(Hear, hear, applause, and hisses.)* Why am I hissed? Is it because I merely refer to the recent insurrection in Jamaica? *(Applause.)* Now, as regards this insurrection, the first reflection which occurs to my mind is this,—how are insurrections generally spoken of? and how are they spoken of when they occur in the West Indies? How are the actors stigmatized in the West Indies? As rebels,—traitors,—wretches,—vagabonds,—demons. How are the Poles spoken of?—how are the Greeks designated when they rise against their oppressors? *(Hear, hear.)* If we had heard, in former days, that an insurrection had broken out amongst our enslaved countrymen at Algiers, in order to escape from the despotism of the Dey, how should we have spoken of it and of them? *(Hear, hear.)* How do we speak of individuals struggling for liberty all over the world?—of a Tell in Switzerland,—a Byron in Greece,—a Bolivar in Mexico,—a Brutus at Rome,—a Lafayette at Paris? How do we speak of the leaders of the rebels in Jamaica? And let us remember, before we answer this question, that the rebels of Jamaica were more enslaved, more brutalized,—had more insults and wrongs to complain of, and were a million times more oppressed than ever were the Swiss, the Greeks, the Mexicans, the Romans, or the French. *(Great applause.)* If they looked backwards, what did they see but insult and wrong? If they looked onwards to the future, what did they see but slavery and death? When they asked for liberty, did they get it? When they sighed for liberty, was it promised to them? When they struggled for liberty, what was their reward?—the bayonet, the bullet, and the gibbet! *(Hear, hear.)*

Now for the insurrection in Jamaica. Mr. Borthwick last night took an infinite deal of pains to do what I will call by its right name,—to curry favour with the Wesleyans, the Independents, and the Moravians. *(Great applause and much disapprobation.)* This is the old system,—oppress the weakest, please the strongest. The Baptists were *alone* to blame! Ah! I well recollect his sneer when he named the Baptists: but here I have him fixed without the chance of escaping. The planters love the Methodists! Do they indeed? Then why did they pull down their chapel at Barbadoes? *(Great applause.)* The planters love the Methodists: then why did they imprison Mr. Shrewsbury? The planters love the Methodists: then why did they persecute Mr. Whitehouse? *(Cheers.)* The planters love the Methodists: then why did

a mob of magistrates, clergymen, and planters pull down the Methodist chapels in Kingston? The planters love the Methodists: then why imprison Mr. Box? The planters love the Methodists: then why tar and feather Mr. Bleby? Shall I exhibit the progress of the Methodists, and the persecutions they have undergone in Jamaica and the other Islands, from the moment that Dr. Coke first planted his foot there down to the present time? And yet we are told that the planters love the Methodists, forsooth! I beg to inform Mr. Borthwick that I am well acquainted with the movements of the London Missionary Society, the Baptist Society, and all the others, and I tell him there is not an island where they have not followed up, step by step, every charge against every individual missionary, and the result is, that every such charge has been proved, even in the midst of their enemies, to be false. *(Applause.)* I beg to remind those who heard Mr. Borthwick last night of the remarks he made about the *disinterestedness* of missionaries; of the sneers,—*(Hisses; some confusion.)* Patience, patience, Gentlemen, I shall be on the gridiron to-morrow night, you know. *(Laughter and applause.)* "Why not (says Mr. Borthwick) go amongst the hordes of Western Africa?" I tell him they are already there. *(Hear, hear.)* Many of them have perished on the pestilential banks of the Gambia! Africa, Western Africa, has been the grave of many of those holy and blameless men whose disinterestedness Mr. Borthwick would call in question. *(Great applause.)* Would he have them go among the snows of Greenland and the frozen regions of the north? They are already there. Would he send them amongst the rude savages of Lapland and Nova Zembla? He will find them already there. Would he send them to Caffre land? He will find them already there. Would he send them to the South Sea Islands? He will find them already there. Would he send them to the plains of Hindoostan? He will find them already there, seeking to stop the rolling car of Juggernaut; to stay the uplifted arm of the misguided parent who would immolate his smiling infant to appease some incensed imaginary deity; to quench the funeral pile, and save blooming widows from perishing in the flames; to snatch the infant from the waves of the Ganges and the jaws of the crocodile. He will find them there in the East, and there in the West, and there in the South, and there in the North. *(Loud cheers.)* He will find the Baptist there, the Wesleyans there, the Independents there; he will find the Church of England there, the Moravians there. *(Applause.)* And now for their disinterestedness. Where will he find the philosophical missionary? Where will he find the scientific missionary? Where will he find the mechanical missionary? Where will he find any missionaries, but those of Christ? If there are missionaries in religion, why not in science,—why not in philosophy,—why not in the arts? Because it is religion alone, and the love of Christ constraining them that sends them forth among the heathen,—an act which demands more than any other human act, our admiration and esteem. *(Applause)* It is this which leads them to tear themselves from their homes, the land of their nativity,—its altars, and the blest scenes of their youth to go to the isles where cruelty, oppression, and vice reign, that they may preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ. *(Applause.)* But Mr. Borthwick says that the planters love the Wesleyans,—that they love the Moravians, and all the missionaries but the Baptists; why then did they murder the missionary Smith in Demerara? *(Hear, hear, hear.)* Where is Barry? Where is Duncan? Yet Mr. Borthwick says the planters love the missionaries. Where is Young, the man who put his hand to the resolutions of which Mr. Borthwick has said so much? I heard Mr. Young on the platform at York declare before Heaven and a large assembly, that Christianity would never have free progress in Jamaica whilst slavery continued. Mr. Young was one of the three missionaries who sent that famous declaration from Jamaica to No. 77, Hatton-garden, London. And does not Mr. Borthwick know that the moment those resolutions arrived at Hatton-garden, they were

disallowed by the Parent Committee? that they were severely censured in a letter written by the Rev. R. Watson to Mr. Shipman, the chairman of the meeting? In that letter the principles of the society were nobly and eloquently vindicated, and he who knows the pen or the tongue of a Watson will say that he needs no eulogium of mine. I will now read to you the report of the society, touching these famous resolutions.

"The only exception has been in the case of three of the missionaries in Jamaica, who, without consulting the other missionaries on that Island generally, and in opposition to the opinion of several of them, published certain resolutions in defence of their calumniated character and objects, in which sentiments were introduced on the subject of slavery, in the name of the Wesleyan body, and reflections cast on the motives of those persons in this country who are seeking its abolition by petitions to the Legislature, which the committee felt themselves bound publicly to disavow. They were thus called to make a public declaration, that, whilst they hold it to be a sacred Christian duty to enforce the obligation of the submission of slaves to their masters, and to all the authorities placed over them by Providence; and that their instructions to this effect are imperative upon all the missionaries employed by the society, they consider the system of slavery itself as wholly inconsistent with Christianity, and as an evil to be terminated as soon as practicable by the wisdom and benevolence of a Christian government. The committee were placed in circumstances which left them no alternative as to such a declaration of the principles and views of the body for whom they acted, and they know that in that proceeding they have been approved by the society at large."—*Report of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, for the year ending December 31st*, 1825. *Pages* 48, 49.

Having shown the nature of their resolutions and the manner in which they were received by the Parent Society, I wish Mr. Borthwick joy of his fact. *(Laughter and applause.)* Now, how are the Wesleyan missionaries spoken of in the *Jamaica Courant*, the organ of the planters? When Mr. Box was taken into custody the editor says;—

"We understand that two Baptist missionaries are now in custody. We hope Sir W. Cotton will award them fair and impartial justice. Shooting is too honourable a death for these men to die. There are fine hanging woods in the neighbourhood of St. James's and Trelawney, and we trust the bodies of all the sectarian preachers will diversify the scene."

"All the sectarians," Mr. Borthwick, mark the expression, "all," without any exception. What a taste for the picturesque that man must have! To show, however, that his taste for the picturesque is not altogether singular, I hold in my hand a letter written by a large West India proprietor in this country, and not only a large proprietor, but the son of a British clergyman, and the son-in-law of a British Peer, and a sitting member in the House of Commons. You must know that the Anti-slavery Society are in the habit of sending a copy of the monthly *Anti-Slavery Reporter* to every member of both Houses of Parliament and this member, amongst the rest, received a fine hot-pressed copy which was sent to him either in town or to his country residence. In February, 1832, just after the news of the insurrection in Jamaica arrived in this country, a copy was sent to him as usual, and soon afterwards the following letter was received, addressed to T. Pringle, Esq. secretary to the Anti-slavery Society.

"SIR,—I have often had packets from the Anti-slavery Society forwarded to me in the country, over weight." There is a great deal of point here,—coming over weight, he would have to pay the postage. *(Laughter.)* I thought the planters were very liberal men, Mr. Borthwick; but here is a planter who, when a book is sent to him, gratis, complains of the carriage. "I have a great aversion," says he, in continuation, "to all cant and hypocrisy, but they are doubly detestable when they are made the cloak for mischievous purposes." Well, it is no doubt very noble in a British legislator to hate cant and hypocrisy; but mark his most lame and impotent conclusion: "I, therefore, beg as a favour that you will not send me any more papers." *(Laughter.)* "I hate cant and hypocrisy," says he, and, "therefore," mark the conclusion, my friends, "*therefore* send me no more papers." *(Loud laughter.)* But now comes the cream of the matter. "To this I shall only add my most earnest

hope that the Commander-in-Chief, in Jamaica, will hang every missionary on the island. *(Cries of "Horrid," "shame," "shame.")* It is not the Baptists alone—mind that—this philanthropic gentleman would hang, but the Wesleyans, the Moravians, and missionaries of the Church of Scotland, altogether; he would hang them all, without exception,—that is his plan of reform. *(Laughter, and cries of "Name the writer.")* Don't be in a hurry; you shall have it three times over. "And if the same course," says he, "were adopted here with the gentlemen who present petitions on the subject, a considerable benefit would arise to the community at large, and a most particular one to the House of Commons. I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant," (obedient, I suppose, to hang these men!) "your most obedient servant, SPENCER HORSEY KILDERBEE." And now I will spell it; K i l,—it should have been K i double l derbee. *(Much laughter.)* Mr. Kilderbee is member for Orford, in Suffolk; and if you wish to know any more about that borough, I refer you to schedule A. *(Laughter and cheers.)* I know not where Mr. Kilderbee may go to now to seek a place in Parliament; I do not think he will become a candidate for this great commercial town; but if he does, give him a courteous reception. *(Laughter.)* What do you say to such a legislator as this? I know not what; but I do know that you will declare him unfit to hold a place in the British Senate. *(Cheers)* He has trampled on the right of petitioning, the most sacred right which the Englishman possesses; he has declared that every member who presents a petition for the accomplishment of a most noble object ought to be hanged; and that every missionary who preaches the Gospel of peace and reconciliation to the negro ought to be hanged also. *(Hear, hear.)* How shall I find words to speak of Mr. Kilderbee as he deserves to be spoken of? Another man, however, has drawn his character; and whether that man be living, dying, or dead, I know not; but this I know, whether he be living or dead, he is embalmed in the esteem of every man, he is hallowed in the estimation of every one who knows him, or has read his works; I mean Sir Walter Scott. (*Loud and repeated cheers.*)

"Breathes there the man, with soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land!
Whose heart hath ne'er within him burn'd,
As home his footsteps he hath turn'd,
From wandering on a foreign strand!
If such there breathe, go, mark him well;
For him no minstrel raptures swell;
High though his titles, proud his name,
Boundless his wealth as wish can claim;
Despite those titles, power, and pelf,
The wretch, concenter'd all in self,
Living, shall forfeit fair renown,
And, doubly dying, shall go down
To the vile dust, from whence he sprung,
Unwept, unhonour'd, and unsung."

Mr. Borthwick quarrelled with the missionaries because they did not understand Greek; because they were not acquainted with the oriental tongues; because they had not travelled over Palestine; and this too when he had just been praising the simplicity of the Christian religion! Did he forget the fishermen, who were called to be Apostles? Did he forget that Christ chose the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; the weak to confound the strong? Does he not know that it is not Greek that converts men; that it is not Hebrew that converts men; but the blessing of God on the labours of the missionary; even were the instrument the meanest, the humblest of the rebels of Jamaica? I advise him in future to abstain from such remarks on Christian missionaries. I tell him he knows not a British audience if he thinks he can revile such men with impunity. *(Applause.)* You remember with what a peculiar expression of countenance Mr. Borthwick used the phrase, "The Baptist

leaders of the rebellion;" he was, however, schooled by the audience into somewhat better manners. He felt your pulse, and ascertained that he was pursuing a wrong *course*. Once for all, I declare that towards Mr. Borthwick personally I have no enmity; nor do I know or believe he has to me. If I deal hardly with him, or he with me, it arises not, I hope, from *personal hostility*; but for myself, I will fight him on this question, inch by inch, hairsbreadth by hairsbreadth, until the battle of freedom is won. It is my most ardent desire that he should think as I think, and join in bringing to the earth the foul fabric of slavery, that mounting its ruins we might together exclaim, "Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, is fallen?" *(Loud cheers.)*

Mr. Borthwick talked of certain barbarities inflicted upon the whites during the late insurrection in Jamaica. He asserted what he cannot prove. I challenge him to the proof. He talked about horrors perpetrated upon females, and you recollect how, at the same time, he praised the ladies in that assembly, as the fairest, the wisest, and the best;—"And there are ladies," said he, "in Jamaica as fair, and as wise, and as amiable as the fairest, the wisest, and the best in this assembly,—and there are many of all these before me now." I say the same, Ladies, and you may take his opinion as mine also; but I quite disagree with him as to the cruelties said to have been perpetrated on these beautiful, wise, and amiable ladies in Jamaica. They were murdered, we are told, by the Baptist leaders,—morally abused, and torn limb from limb. Where was the proof? He read Linton's confession,—but not a word about it there; he read something from Gardner's confession,—but not a word about it there; something from Dove's confession,—not a word about it there. He continued his lecture, finished it, and went home without offering a word of proof. *(Laughter and Cheers.)* Let me now just allude to the loss sustained by the Baptists in Jamaica.

"The following estimate has been forwarded to the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society as the amount required in order to re-build, at the lowest possible rate, the places of worship destroyed. The sums are in Jamaica currency

Salter's Hill,—Burnt by order of the Captain of Militia stationed at Latium, value	£4000 0 0
Falmouth,—Pulled down by the Saint Ann's Militia, while occupied as barracks, value	3000 0 0
Montego Bay,—Pulled down at mid-day by the inhabitants, headed by several of the magistrates, value	6000 0 0
Savanna-la-mar,—Pulled down by the parishioners, value	700 0 0
Ridgeland, *alias* Fuller's-field,—Burnt by two Overseers. A valuable house value	1000 0 0
Rio Bueno,—Burnt, value	1000 0 0
Stewart's Town,—Injured to the amount of	250 0 0
Brown's Town,—Pulled down by the inhabitants, value	800 0 0
St. Ann's Bay,—Pulled down by the inhabitants of the parish, value	3500 0 0
Ebony Chapel,—Burnt, value	500 0 0
Total amount of Chapels destroyed	20750 0 0
Loss in the destruction of Mission Property in Houses rented.	
Gurney's Mount,—Pulpit, benches, &c.	300 0 0
Putney,—Benches burnt	50 0 0
Lucia,—Benches and lamps	50 0 0
Ocho Rios,—Pulpit, pews, and benches	100 0 0
	21250 0 0
The chapel at Lucia, belonging to the General Baptists, but occupied by our Society, pulled down. Offered for sale by the General Baptist Society for	900 0 0
Losses in houses, furniture, clothes, books, &c. &c. partly belonging to individual Missionaries, and partly to the Society, about	500 0 0
Extra expenses incurred by travelling, expresses, and Mr. Knibb's passage home, at least	600 0 0
	£23250 0 0

"In the above statement we have not enumerated the expense of the trials, not being certain what the amount will be."

Making a total loss of £23,250 curreney. (*Cries of "Par of exchange—Par of exchange," and other exclamations.*) It is impossible that I should find those who are so clamorous both facts and common sense. If I find the arguments, do you find the comprehension; I can do no more. (*Laughter and applause.*) Now, Mr. Borthwick shall have the opinions of the inhabitants of Jamaica on these atrocities. (*Cries of "Who burnt the plantations?" "Turn him out."*) These questions always elicit something. I am asked who burned the plantations? The negroes; the oppressed, degraded, ill-treated negroes. (*Hear, hear.*) Now for the opinions of the worthy whites in Jamaica, as inserted in their organ, the *Jamaica Courant.* The first is an extract from an officer's letter, dated St. Ann's, before Feb. 7th, 1832:—"Our primary ardour has been unabated. We have never allowed these deluded wretches time to rest; night and day have we been at them, and have made terrible slaughter among them. And now, at the end of a six week's campaign, we are neglected, not thought of, because the Governor must have a little fun with Thom Hill and his yacht. The few wretches that are now out, are hiding in the cane pieces, and we occasionally get a bullet or two at them. On Sunday morning, five were shot who were fallen in with, and attempted to escape." Miserable wretches! whose only crime was running away from slaughter! On the Sabbath morning these white men, these militia-men of Jamaica, go out with their muskets, they find runaway negroes, and they murder them. Ay, Mr. Borthwick, *murder* them. [A voice in the gallery—"Let them henceforth be called malicious men."] With all my heart; let them henceforth be called malicious men. (*Cheers.*) Under date of Falmouth, Feb. 7th, the same writer goes on, "I cannot allow the post to start, without saying that I have remained long enough at Falmouth to see *Baptist and Methodist chapels pulled down.* This good work was accomplished this day, by the troops after their return, *conquerors from the seat of war;* (Methodist chapels, mind that, Mr. Borthwick;) the seat of war. Allow me to repeat an idea which I expressed in my speech at Manchester, on commenting on the subject. What reflections fill our minds, when we hear of soldiers coming victorious from the seat of war, with banners waving over their heads, and laurels on their brows, marching with solemn pace towards the cathedral to present their prayers and thanks to Almighty God, whilst the organ peals, and the solemn anthem resounds through the vaulted aisles, thanking Heaven that no more blood will be shed, and that they have been victorious over their own and their country's enemies. Reflect on this picture, and then look to these Jamaica militia-men, with unwashed hands—hands yet reeking with the blood of murdered negroes, they come to Falmouth, and their first good and glorious work is to rush to the chapels, raze them to the foundation, and, not content with pulling them brick from brick, stone from stone, even the tablet, sacred to the memory of a departed missionary, recording his worth, and the veneration of his survivors, was pulled down, dashed on the pavement, and the fragments scattered to the winds of heaven; and these are "conquerors from the seat of war!" The amiable writer of this letter proceeds thus:—"Lots of groans, as you may imagine, from the saints and their followers. It is impossible for me to give you a description of the appearance of our brave militia-men on their arrival in this town. The poor fellows cut a miserable appearance. You could not tell whether they were black, white, yellow, or any other colour. Let Bruel know that the great and glorious work has commenced. It is now ten o'clock, and all hands at work, demolishing the Baptist and Wesleyan chapels. The Methodist chapel is down, and the men are hard at work at the Baptist's. The roof of the chapel is not yet off; but so much injured as to make it as well off as on. It is standing, it is true; but supported by a few posts only. The men have gone for fire-hooks to complete the work they have undertaken. There is the devil to pay here to day (as you may suppose) among the saints and their followers; weeping, and

wailing, and gnashing of teeth; wringing of hands, and groans, interrupted at times with curses and imprecations on the soldiers." Hear how he speaks of these injured and insulted men! Mr. Borthwick calls upon you to sympathize only with the spoiler. Wesleyans, I call upon you,—Church of England *men*, I call upon *you*,—Independents, I call upon *you*,—Moravians, if there be any here, I call upon *you*,—Christians, throughout this assembly of every name, I call upon you to join with me, to make common cause with the injured, the calumniated, the murdered Baptists, against the white ruffians of Jamaica. (*Loud and repeated cheering, followed by a few hisses and groans.*) Notwithstanding that hiss, notwithstanding that groan, I know that I have the hearts, the heads, and the consciences of this meeting with me; (*Loud applause,*) and, to save Mr. Borthwick the trouble of feeling your pulse again, I say, let those who believe with me that slavery and Christianity are incompatible—let those who believe with me that Burchell, Gardner, and Knibb are innocent of the charges brought against them—let those who believe with me that the Wesleyans are persecuted as well as the Baptists, and that the cause of religion generally, has suffered throughout the island—let those who believe with me that by the abolition of this dire system, Christianity can alone be served in the West Indies—let those who acknowledge all this with me, hold up their hands. [An immense majority of the meeting answered to the call, and the show of hands was followed by the loudest and most enthusiastic cheering.] Now, let those who think the contrary hold up their hands. "None? then none have I offended." (*Renewed cheers.*) Do not despise the Baptists because their creed is at variance with your own;—pity them because their chapels have been demolished,—pity them because they have been wronged; and let them not be slandered and maligned because there are points of difference between you; their religion still is spotless, and the Baptist missionaries are triumphant over their enemies. (*Loud cries of "Yes, yes."*) Can you want any other proof of their innocence than the circumstance that they were tried amongst and by their enemies, and were acquitted? (*Cheers, and cries "Do you hear that, Mr. Borthwick?" "Mark that, Mr. Borthwick."*) I may, however, mention another circumstance:—I have got it in evidence before me that a slave was promised £50 down and £10 a year for life if he would swear away the life of the missionary Burchell. Mark that! And now, with all Mr. Borthwick's fuss, what is the fact? There were only four members of the Baptist society in all Jamaica found guilty of having taken part in the rebellion. (*Hear, hear*) I defy him to prove that more than four known and recognised members of the Baptist society were found guilty in all Jamaica. Mr. Borthwick says they do not want ony of our cumbrous help in the work of emancipation. He tells us that the planters are doing all they can,—that they are exerting themselves, heart, head, hand, and purse, to administer religious instruction to the slave. Now let me remark, once for all, that I acknowledge there are benevolent planters,—men, kind, charitable, amiable, and benevolent; but they are exceptions to the general rule; and if they were not exceptions, what would it make for their system? How would it plead in behalf of the system of slavery? Does the existence of 10, 50, 500, or 5,000 good men plead a justification of one sin that exists in the world? (*Applause.*) Mr. Borthwick says they want not our cumbrous help. I suppose that no such cumbrous help was wanted in the abolition of the slave trade either. (*Hear, hear.*) Mr. Borthwick yesternight stated that the African trade was an impious abomination;—was it? then why did the slave-owners not put an end to it? What tyrants they were to keep up a system which they knew to be an abomination! He tells us that the planters aided in the work of abolition. 'Tis true that in Jamaica and Virginia, when they were overstocked with slaves themselves, and did not want their neighbours to get a fresh supply, then the planters petitioned for the abolition of the trade, and not before;—not till they had got enough themselves. The child does not say,

"Mother, do not give me any more pudding," till it has almost made itself ill with it. (*Laughter.*) But was there no opposition to Wilberforce? Was there no opposition to Clarkson? Did not the West Indians call evidence from the four quarters of the globe to prove that the slave trade ought not to be abolished? Did they not divide the House of Commons again and again on the subject? And who were the opposition side? West India planters,—West India mortgagees,—merchants and men interested with West India slave trade,—and interested, too, in the perpetuation of slavery. And yet Mr. Borthwick says that they are all enemies to the slave trade, and to slavery, and Mr. Borthwick "is an honourable man. So are they all, all honourable men." (*Laughter and cheers.*) The missionaries are persecuted, cast into dungeons, chained, banished, destroyed; yet Mr. Borthwick says the planters are the friends of religious instruction; and Mr. Borthwick "is an honourable man." All I can say is, it is passing strange that men should show a love for religion by banishing its missionaries, breaking down its altars, desecrating its ordinances. (*Hear.*) This, surely, is a strange mode of manifesting love; it is the love of madmen, at all events, for we are told that there are states of insanity in which men always seek to destroy what they love best. (*Applause.*) It would appear, then, that the planters are mad, for they love religion more than any thing else, and yet take the most effectual means to destroy it.

Who assisted in bringing about the resolutions of 1823? Were they not brought forward in order to set aside a motion of Mr. Buxton's, for the extinction of slavery? If Mr. Buxton had not brought forward his motion would the planters have brought forward their amendment?—or would Mr. Canning have brought forward his resolutions, as an amendment on Mr Buxton's motion? No; and what good has been effected by those resolutions? Why, of all they professed to do, and promised to do, they have done nothing. For what has been done is worse than nothing. Yet the *planters* were friendly to abolition, and hostile to slavery. (*Hear, hear.*)

Mr. Borthwick then became very theological; he did not like my interpretation of the passage "Remember those that are in bonds, as bound with them;" he did not like my version of "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you." A great deal of my biblical criticism he did not like, and indeed I do not know how he should; for, as a friend said to me last night, "How should Mr. Borthwick like any thing you say?" He is like the man to whom the drummer-boy said "You are very hard to please; flog high, flog low, there is no satisfying you." I need not be surprised, then, that Mr. Borthwick is displeased with me; if he *were* pleased with me I should almost begin to think that I had said or done something wrong. (*Laughter.*) Mr. Borthwick quotes certain passages from St. Paul, to show that colonial slavery is not sinful, and that it ought not to be abolished, as hostile to the Christian religion: but does not Mr. Borthwick know that Christianity had been in the world 1562 years before colonial slavery commenced? The slave trade, which Mr. Borthwick has rightly characterized as being the abomination of the world, commenced 1562 years after the Christian era, when Englishmen were assembling in thousands in their cathedrals and churches petitioning Almighty God to have mercy on the prisoner and the captive. Englishmen professing the doctrines of universal peace and benevolence first commenced the colonial slave trade; and now the system having been thus commenced and thus carried on, thus perpetuated, we are met to inquire what is our duty, as Christians, with reference to this system. Surely seeing that colonial slavery was not established till 1562 years after the Christian era, the communications which St. Paul gave to the slaves of his day can have no special reference to the slaves in the West India islands. I know that you will all agree with me on this subject, though Mr. Borthwick says there is not a shadow, or more poetically speaking, the shadow of the ghost

of a scriptural passage in favour of the abolition of colonial slavery; and if you believe with me that the precepts and the doctrines of Christianity are inimical to colonial slavery, you ought not to countenance its continuance for a single hour. (*Loud applause.*)

When Mr. Borthwick came to the seventh evil of slavery, which was seizure, he readily admitted that seizure was an evil, though he denied that I had proved any other evil connected with colonial slavery; he would not admit that slavery cursed the soil,—he would not admit that it gave rise to the slave trade,—he would not admit that infant slavery was an evil,—he would not admit that excessive labour without any other motive than the whip was an evil,—he would not admit that the suffering of the slave was an evil,—he would not admit that the decrease of the slave population was an evil; but when he came to seizure, he admitted that *seizure was* an evil, and then Mr. Borthwick went on to read a very entertaining account from the *Morning Journal.* I wish Mr. Borthwick would not go to such tainted sources as the *Morning Journal* for his information. (*Applause.*) The *Morning Journal* abuses four and twenty ladies of Clapham, and tells an anecdote of a man who in the first place was torn from Africa where he had taken a wife, severed from her and his children and brought to the West Indies. Was not that a crime, I ask? (*Hear, hear.*) In the West Indies he takes another wife, and then the *Morning Journal* and Mr. Borthwick charge him with bigamy;—but what caused the bigamy? The slave trade and slavery. (*Loud applause.*) He was again dragged from his second wife and children, and taken to America, where he took a third wife, and then he is charged with trigamy. What is it that occasions trigamy in the man who is torn from one wife in Africa, and from another in the West Indies, and takes a third in America? Slavery! (*Applause, and cries of* "*True, true.*") Here is one woman left desolate in Africa; is there no "evil" inflicted on her? Another is left desolate in the West Indies; is there no evil inflicted on her? The fatherless children, too; is no suffering and misery entailed upon them by so foul a crime? (*Applause.*) If Mr. Borthwick were wise he would keep such things as these in the back ground. (*Hear, hear.*) Joy go with him, and his bigamy and trigamy too. (*Laughter.*) If he goes on in this way, he, at least, will stand little chance of committing either bigamy or trigamy. (*Much laughter.*) He will not allow me to call the planters names,—why then does he call Pharaoh a tyrant? because he was a slave-owner. Why does he call ancient tyrants names, and not allow the same names to be applied to tyrants of modern times. "Oh, (says he) you must be very gentle, you must be very lamb-like, when you speak of modern slave-owners. If you speak of Pharaoh, you may call him tyrant; if you speak of Nero, you may call him tyrant; if you speak of the Goths and Vandals, you may call them tyrants; if you speak of the ancient feudal system in England, you may call the lords of the soil tyrants, if you will; but don't call the West Indian planters tyrants when you are pleading the cause of the negroes; don't call them names, but be very calm, peaceable, and polite." I am reminded of an anecdote of Demosthenes, the celebrated orator, and will relate it, as some sort of excuse for my being a little warm occasionally, and to show why I perspire so much, why I am not so cool as Mr. Borthwick, who, you observe, never wipes the perspiration from his brows, but always keeps himself cool and comfortable. (*A laugh.*) As Demosthenes was one day sitting in his study, a person came to him and said, "I want you to undertake my cause." "What do you complain of?" said the orator. "Why," replied his client, in a very cool and calm way, "why, down the street, a man struck me, spat upon me, and reviled me, and I am come to you to obtain redress." "I don't believe you," said Demosthenes; "I put no faith in your story; you don't look like an injured and insulted man; I cannot credit what you tell me."—"Not *believe* me!" exclaimed the man; "what! not believe me! when I tell you that he

struck me a foul blow, laid me on the earth, spit and trampled upon me? Not think me an injured man?"—"Hold, hold," said Demosthenes, "now I believe you. I see it in the fire of your eye, in the quivering of your lip, in the agitation of your frame. *Now* I believe you, and will undertake your cause." (*Applause.*) And shall we, when we plead the cause of 800,000 human beings now breathing, —shall we, when we plead the cause of the millions who no longer breathe,— when we speak of the men and women burnt in the villages and towns of Africa, —that died in the pathways of the desert,—that were thrown overboard to the sharks of the Atlantic,—that perished by disease occasioned by the seasoning;— shall we, when we speak of these victims to human avarice and depravity, be calm and cool, and say, "Pray, Mr. Borthwick,—pray, Mr. Kilderbee,—pray, Mr. any body else, oblige us by considering the subject?" No; if we love liberty ourselves; if we would die to defend it when invaded on our own shores, let us not pause till we obtain a complete and glorious triumph over colonial oppression. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. Borthwick is a great admirer of the missionary, yet he kept throwing dirt upon him at every step; Mr. Borthwick is a great admirer of the negro, yet he describes him as a complete beast in Africa, and something worse in the West Indies: he is a great admirer of freedom, but he says that the negro is not fit for freedom; he loves religion, but he said that the insurrection in Jamaica had its first foundation in religion. (*Cries of "No, no."*) The audience, however, stopped him short, and then he said "*perversion* of religion;" for he

"Can turn,
And turn, and turn again, and still go on."

No man knows better how to slide off in a beautiful curve than Mr. Borthwick. (*Hisses and applause.*) Then he said something very beautiful about the happiness and contentedness of the negro, which would be very elegant, if it were true; but the misfortune is, that most of the things he says are not true, in fact. That he believes them to be true, I must not question. He says the negroes do not care for freedom,—that they set no value upon it,—that if you go round amongst them, and put the question to them, they will say "No, Massa; me very happy, me want no more, me get all me care for:" that, in fine, they would not have their freedom, if they could get it. Would they not? Then why are the newspapers filled with advertisements of runaway negroes? Why are the prisons filled with runaway negroes? Why are the mountains peopled with runaway negroes? Why is the bush filled with runaway negroes? Why is a standing army kept to force slavery down the throats of the negroes, if they are in love with it? (*Loud applause.*) Does the mother hold a rod over the child's head to force it to eat apple tart? (*Laughter.*) Did Adam and Eve *run* out of Paradise? If the negroes like slavery, then withdraw the troops, and save us the trouble and expense, the loss of life and money needlessly incurred, if the negroes are contented with their condition. (*Loud applause.*) But they like slavery, and do not wish for liberty; and Mr. Borthwick exclaims they shall not have liberty now, because they do not know its value: but shall man be kept in slavery, because he does not know the value of liberty? See the pitiful dilemma into which Mr. Borthwick has brought himself; the negroes do not like what all men sigh for,—what they would bleed and die to defend,—what they would give house and lands, friends and reputation to obtain; and here is the dilemma,—if it be so, then, planters and proprietors, upholders of slavery, he defends and maintains a vile and brutalizing system, which has extinguished in man the most noble and generous quality that distinguishes him from the brutes. (*Loud cheers.*) What! because men do not like liberty,—if it be true that they do not like it, are we not to try to make them like it? Mr. Borthwick tells us that the negroes are very happy and contented,—that they want no more; and then he tells us of a man,

a most miserable man,—if there ever were so very a wretch,—that bought fifty acres of land, and then said he did not want his own liberty. I should like to see the man who was thus in love with "going round and round his tub." Not like liberty for himself!—why, then, did he want it for his wife and children? Mr. Borthwick tells us that he might call them "MY OWN." (*Loud cheers.*) Mr. Borthwick tells us that, when asked this question, the man replied, "I want to call them *mine*;" and I beg Mr. Borthwick to remember that word *mine*. Not like liberty! Suppose I go with Mr. Borthwick to a lunatic asylum; (I do not mean any thing invidious—I do not think that either Mr. Borthwick or myself are fit to be permanent residents in a lunatic asylum;) but suppose that we go as accidental visitors, just as he came to see me at Manchester. (*A laugh.*) Suppose we go into a ward, and see a man weaving a crown of straw, putting it upon his head, and then walking up and down the ward, with his miserable rags trailing behind him, wielding his sceptre over an imaginary world,—Utopian princes bowing at his footstool. I say to Mr. Borthwick, "Is not that man happy? He never implores for liberty; he fancies himself clothed in regal splendour, with crouching slaves around him;—is he not happy?" Mr. Borthwick would shake his head, be silent, and turn grave. Then we might see another man chalking ludicrous figures on the wall, or stringing together senseless rhymes, and humming them the livelong day; and I might say, "Is not this man happy? He is always smiling; he is fully satisfied with himself; he never sends a wish beyond his prison walls;—is he not happy?" Mr. Borthwick would still be silent. Then I might show him a beautiful female singing love ditties all day long,—an eternal smile playing on her countenance; and I might say, "Look upon this being, and say, is she not happy? Are not all these happy?" And then Mr. Borthwick, with a sigh, would answer, "No, they are not happy; see what a wreck of mind; see reason dethroned; see all the bright faculties of the soul gone astray! Oh! save them from this place,

> 'Where laughter is not mirth, nor thought the mind,
> Nor words a language,—nor e'en men mankind!'

Let us strive to bring them back to society and to rational being; let them, if it must be, taste its sorrows and its bitterness; but let them know what are its joys, its hopes, its anticipations; let them live to mingle with mankind, and fit themselves for immortality." And I reply, "Yes, let us try to save them; let all human means be used to save them from this place; and when you have dropped the tear of sympathy over degraded reason here, go to the West Indies, preach that doctrine to the slaves, and see whether in their present prostration there is any reason why they should not have awakened in their minds a love of liberty, if it be not already there,—why they should not be released from that hateful system by which they are now enthralled, and brought to the enjoyment of perfect freedom." (*Cheers.*)

But I am prepared to show that the slaves *do* value freedom and long to possess it, notwithstanding Mr. Borthwick's declaration to the contrary. I hold in my hand two documents,—the first is a proclamation from Governor Ross, published in the *Antigua Register* of March 29, 1831:—

"*ANTIGUA.*

> "By his Excellency Sir Patrick Ross, Knight, Commander of the most distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George, Major-General in the Army, Governor, and Commander-in-Chief in and over his Majesty's Islands of Antigua, Montserrat, and Barbuda, Chancellor, Vice-Admiral, and Ordinary of the same, &c. &c. &c.

"Patrick (L. S.) Ross.

"WHEREAS by my proclamation bearing date the twenty-first day of this present month, I did, by and with the advice of His Majesty's Privy Council, offer a Reward of One Hundred Pounds to the Person or Persons (except the actual offender) who should give such information as would lead to the conviction of the offender or offenders who set fire to several cane pieces in this Island, and also a free pardon to an accomplice or accomplices on conviction by their means of the actual perpetrator of

such diabolical acts. Now, therefore, I do further, in compliance with the joint Address of both Houses of the Legislature, offer

FREEDOM TO ANY SLAVE

who by his or her exertions and evidence may bring to justice any of the incendiaries who have been destroying the canes in various parts of the Island.

"Given under my hand and seal at Government-house, this Twenty-second day of March, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty-one, and in the First Year of His Majesty's Reign.

"*God save the King.*

"By His Excellency's command,

"CHARLES TAYLOR, Private Secretary.

"Duly published this Twenty-third day of March, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty-one. "MARTIN NANTON, Deputy Provost Marshal."

—*Weekly Register, Antigua, Tuesday, March* 29, 1831.

Now, Mr. Borthwick, when Governor Ross means to offer the highest reward which it is in his power to confer,—what is it that he does offer? A few more yams, a little more rum, or a little more clothing? No; but he offers the slave the highest boon which the island can grant,—he offers him *freedom*. (*Loud cheers*) Another proclamation to the same effect was issued in Jamaica during the late insurrection.

Freedom, Mr. Borthwick, is the highest boon that governors and generals can bestow; and to-day I have been informed, by a gentleman now on this platform, that whilst he was on the island of Nevis, a few years back, the inhabitants were alarmed by a tremendous storm, and found that a vessel had been wrecked, the *crew* of which *were* in danger of perishing. The planters stood on the beach, beholding the desolation on the waters, but they could not induce any person to launch a boat and go to the assistance of the persons in the wreck. At last the planters offered freedom to any slaves who would put off to the assistance of the shipwrecked mariners, and immediately these men, who are said to care nothing for liberty, rushed into the boat, and risked their own existence to save those who were in danger of perishing. (*Cheers.*) In the year 1794 there was what was termed the Maroon war in Jamaica: and who were the Maroons? Runaway negroes! And where had they run from? From the "four parlours and a saloon." What did they run from? From the light work, the beautiful clothing, and abundance of food; from the kind care and culture of the planters. And where did they run to from all this comfort and happiness? To the bleak and desolate mountains, to the fastnesses of Jamaica. Ay, to the desolate mountain, from the four parlours and a saloon. And what did they do there? Why, whilst the negro of Jamaica was enjoying his four parlours and a saloon, drinking his wine, and revelling in all the luxuries of slavery, like another Sardanapalus, the negroes in the mountains were getting strong, increasing and multiplying, and at last down they came upon the whites, and threatened to exterminate them. The whites met together, to consider how they might best resist the aggressions of the Maroons: the standing troops were called out, and found to be insufficient, and with the militia added to them they were still thought insufficient, and the arming of the negroes was talked of: but somebody said, "How do you know, when you have armed the negroes, that they will fight for you? How do you know that they will not make common cause with the Maroons? You must find some motive sufficiently strong to induce them to fight." And what was that motive? Was it food, house, a provision ground? No; they promised the slaves *liberty!* (*Loud cheers.*) And with liberty in their hearts, liberty their watch-word, and liberty their expected reward, they went to the battle plain, they fought and bled, and even many of them died, whilst the living returned victorious, not to pull down chapels, not to injure innocent men, but to clasp to their bosoms their wives and their children, to stretch out their *free* hands to Heaven and say, "Now, indeed, we are men and brethren." (*Hear that, Mr. Borthwick.*) I beg my friends will not make any remarks; let them leave that to me, for I am exceedingly jealous of my privileges. (*Much laughter.*)

And now Mr. Borthwick comes to Hayti; he thinks he has a fine specimen of the dangers of emancipation at Hayti; and he measures the happiness of the inhabitants of that island by the amount of their exports. But this is false philosophy, Mr. Borthwick. Suppose the people of Ireland were to ship less of their produce, less corn, fewer cattle, and fewer potatoes to foreign countries than they now do, and eat it all themselves, would any person assign this as a reason why they should be worse off than they were when they did export a larger quantity. (*Cheers.*) Mr. Borthwick ought not to measure the comfort and happiness of a people by the amount of their exports. Would he argue because the stage-proprietor did not carry so many passengers, and therefore did not run his horses so frequently, that the *horses* were worse off than they were before. (*Loud cheers.*) Would he argue that the ox was in a worse condition because he trod out less corn than he did before? How does it happen that the Haytians have not cultivated so much sugar as they did formerly. Why did they cultivate so much formerly? Because of the whip, to please their masters, not to please themselves. (*Loud cheers.*) What is the fact now? A gentleman who is now here is willing to come forward, and state it firmly, fearlessly, and openly. (*Cheers.*) After a twelve years' residence in Hayti, where he kept a regular account of exports and imports, and investigated the manners, motives, and desires of the inhabitants, he is ready to testify that the commerce of Hayti is prosperous, and that the peasants of Hayti are as happy and comfortable as any portion of the human family. (*Loud cries of "Name, name."*) Mr. Shiel. (*Loud and reiterated cheering.*)

Mr. SHIEL then stood upon the table, and said—Ladies and Gentlemen, called upon as I have been by the gentleman who has already addressed you for upwards of three hours, I do not come forward to make any long oration, I merely come forward to say that the facts stated by that gentleman, with regard to Hayti, are perfectly correct, and that I have witnessed them. I know that the people of Hayti are free, independent, comfortable, and happy. (*Cheers.*) There is also another point which I wish to notice, a point which has never yet been laid before the British public;—I allude to the revolution which occurred in Hayti in 1822, when the Spanish part of the colony threw off the yoke of slavery. That revolution was effected by the people, without a single act of violence even of the most trifling character. (*Cheers.*) The masters, it is to be observed, were Spaniards—a people who never maltreated their slaves. (*Hear, hear.*) The slaves declared themselves free, shook off the Spanish yoke, and joined the republican part of Hayti, without a single act of violence or the slightest destruction of property. (*Loud cheers.*)

Mr. THOMPSON then resumed his place on the table, and continued his address.—I trust, Ladies and Gentlemen, that I shall not be accused of alluding to any authority either verbal, written, or experimental which I am not able to produce. I only hope that Mr. Borthwick will be equally kind. He talked of ladies torn limb from limb, and subjected to other horrors; and I hope he will give me some authority for it. (*Loud cheers.*) I now come to the much reviled, much calumniated, much misrepresented colony of Sierra Leone; and here I will notice the assertion I made in Irwell-street Chapel, Manchester, and declare again, that when Mr. Borthwick says the most happy free negro at Sierra Leone is more miserable than the most miserable slave in the West Indies, he says that which is false, and he knows it to be false. I shall now prove this on authority not to be disputed, even by Mr. Borthwick—that of Colonel Denham and Major Ricketts, taken from parliamentary papers on the state of Sierra Leone.

"What this colony, or rather the liberated Africans, have felt the most want of, is instruction, capital, and example. With the very little they have had of either conveyed in a manner likely to benefit them generally, it is to me daily an increasing subject of astonishment that the liberated Africans settled here have done so much for themselves as they have."—Page 15.

"I have not observed any disinclination for voluntary labour; it appears to be a system perfectly understood and practised by the liberated Africans here, and strengthens with their strength, as they become more sensible of the sweets of labour by enjoying the profits of it, and the comforts those profits enable them to purchase: indeed, to the many hundreds of liberated Africans that have been employed as labourers on the different Government works, as well as on the buildings erected by private individuals during the last few years, may, in some measure, be attributed the comparatively small number of agricultural labourers in the villages."—Page 16.

"An anxious desire to obtain and enjoy the luxuries of life is apparent in every village, from the oldest settler to the liberated African of yesterday. European articles of dress are the first objects of their desire; and for the means of acquiring these, both sexes will cheerfully labour; and a gradual improvement has taken place in their dwellings, as they become possessed of the necessary means for that purpose."—P. 16.

"The markets at Freetown are supplied with fruit and vegetables, almost exclusively, by the mountain villages; and from eighty to a hundred men, women, boys, and girls are to be seen daily on the hill leading to Gloucester town, with the produce of their farms and gardens: this is, also, entirely the reward of their own industry and perseverance, for, not the least instruction on this important branch of labour have they ever received."—Page 17.

"I know nothing of what may be the capabilities of the negro vassal; but I am sure the free negro, either in his own country or in any other where bondage has never existed, is as sensible of rights and privileges and as ready to defend them as any white man in existence; and I defy any man to show any instance among negroes in this state of that natural dislike to whites which has been reported, and acknowledged as a fact by theorists and West Indians: on the contrary, the white man is always looked up to as their superior, their protector, and their friend, whenever he will allow himself to be so considered."—Page 22.

"The liberated Africans at the different villages appear happy; Wellington and Waterloo are improving fast in respectability. At the former place they are building, by subscriptions among the inhabitants, a good sized church and market-house, of stone, and a number of private stone buildings are springing up."—Page 36.

Extract of a letter from R. W. Hay, Esquire, Under Secretary of State, dated Downing-street, June 26th, 1829, addressed to Major Ricketts:

"I have had much pleasure in receiving your letter of the 27th March.

"The disposition to build, which is manifesting itself in the villages, affords a strong proof of the improving habits of the people; and it will be wise to afford every encouragement to that disposition, which, as it springs from a due appreciation of the comforts of civilized life, must operate as a sure incentive to industry."—Page 37.

"The liberated Africans who have been any length of time in the colony, have all evinced a desire to engage in agricultural pursuits, and would, I am certain, extend it considerably beyond its present scale were they satisfied that their industry would be rewarded."—Page 38.

"The liberated Africans have given evident proof of their affection for the laws as they are administered, by the interest they show in implicitly obeying them; and when it has been found requisite to adopt local regulations particularly affecting them, they have cheerfully conformed to them. By an Act for keeping in repair the roads and bridges, every adult male in the colony is bound to give six days labour gratuitously; and the provisions of the said act are enforced about the latter end of November, when the liberated Africans come forward, leaving, probably, their daily work, at the risk of incurring their employers' displeasure, to give the assistance which they are called upon for."—Page 39.

Here you have a real parliamentary paper really presented, unsophisticated, and authenticated; not a surreptitious, second-hand, back door, parliamentary paper; not got up by the West Indian planter, and smuggled through the House of Commons, with a disclaimer on the part of Lord Goderich, the colonial secretary. I produce fresh documents; Mr. Borthwick always goes over the same. I beg that he will give me a *quid pro quo*. You ought to do so, Mr. Borthwick. ("*He cannot do it.*") Consider, that a man may go mad if he plays the same tune everlastingly, even if that tune be "Begone, dull care." (*Laughter.*)

"The condition of St. Domingo has often been put forward by pro-slavery writers. The difference in the amount of exportable produce from that colony, compared with what it furnished antecedently to her revolution, is an undisputed fact. But to what is this owing? The inhabitants of St. Domingo are now supplying the wants of their own community, making their shoes and chairs, growing their corn, and feeding their stock. Let these wants be once amply supplied, and then will the attention of Haytians be turned to the production of the commodities for which there is the readiest market. They will then cultivate produce for exportation; and then will the fact, that some kinds of produce are better adapted than others to their climate and their

soil, lead them to do that for their own benefit which is now produced elsewhere by coercion.

"Then will those results be assuredly attained without any sacrifice of principle, which are now acquired by inflicting evils that far more than counterbalance the advantages obtained, and by perpetrating horrors at which humanity shudders. These remarks on St. Domingo were submitted three years ago; and they have been singularly borne out by authentic reports which have recently reached us from that colony; for *there* is found a happy, flourishing, and contented peasantry, engaged in the cultivation of their own small freeholds; and as these persons acquire capital, they form larger establishments, which are gradually rising. This proves that the general wants of the community are supplied, and, if well governed, that community must soon acquire strength, and rise to importance. On the other hand, whilst the hill sides, to which they fled for protection, and the neighbourhood of the towns, are occupied by the free labourer, the open and extensive plains, where were situated the larger estates, continue in many instances to bear the appearance of decay. But which is the happiest of the two conditions? They have now had an opportunity of judging of both; and if a man be happier in slavery than in freedom, none can better appreciate the difference than those who so long enjoyed the blessings of slavery, and who have now the misfortune to be living in freedom.

"The experiment of conferring those blessings on them anew was once made by Britain, once by France, the two most powerful and wealthy nations of the earth. Let it be tried again by the united energies of both, and will any one doubt the event?

"The contrast between those two conditions was forcibly brought to my mind by an accident which occurred some time since. One day I visited officially a plantation in the highest order,—the cleanliness of the buildings, their perfect state of repair, the luxuriance of the crops, all that concerned the manager's interest, bore an appearance truly gratifying But it was my duty to inspect the gang; *they* were wretched to a degree, all but naked, eaten up with sores, wealed with flogging, diminishing rapidly, the only exception being a fine healthy child about six years of age. And, on full inquiry, all this order, all this splendour, had been purchased at their expense.

"Much about the same time I was called on to visit another estate, which the proprietors had quitted for some years, and, for about three, had left even without a manager. The house and buildings were in decay, the general cultivation neglected, the appearance of the property, in all respects, the contrast of the other; but that contrast also extended to the gang. The men were a stout, healthy, body of labourers. Men, women, and children were well clothed and well fed; their grounds stored with ample provisions; a mother with her nine, another with six children around her; a great grandmother with a numerous progeny, all smiling and cheerful; their cottages well wattled, the inside separated into two or three different compartments, clean to a degree, and each containing a trunk filled with good clothing and some female ornaments. Yet was this plantation in the most remote, the other in the most convenient, part of the country.

"What was this but St. Domingo in its former, and St. Domingo in its present state;—St. Domingo, breathing an air of splendour, but concealing much actual misery; and St. Domingo externally in decay, but containing much real comfort;—the splendour of the one glowing and transitory, the comfort of the other unobtrusive and permanent? And where was the most real, substantial, prosperity? Which condition would the most mathematical statesman, the man who judges of humanity by figures, prefer? What, if both be left alone, will, twenty years hence, be the relative condition of these plantations?"

Hear that, Mr. Borthwick: here is a sample of the calumniated, vituperated colony of Sierra Leone. These are the men whom Mr. Borthwick declares to be more miserable when most happy than the most miserable slaves in Jamaica! I come now to Mr. Borthwick's leg. (*Laughter and cheers.*) I am inclined to do my duty even by honouring the shadow of his shoe tie, and, therefore, I am not likely to pass over the calf of his leg. I wish he would come down and show it, because I should like to see what sort of a calf I have to operate upon. (*Laughter.*) I said that a skilful and athletic driver would wield the whip so as to lay open the flank of a mule, and I gave as my authority the reverend Mr. Coulter, who saw it done. Now Mr. Borthwick should in fairness have made the offer to a skilful and athletic driver and not to me, who have had no experience at the business (*Laughter.*) If he will make me a coat as good, as neat, as that which now fits so nicely my body, provided he has not been brought up to the trade, which I am not sure of,—— (*Much laughter.*) As I have not been brought up to the trade of a negro-driver, it is perfectly fair I should stipulate that he has not been brought up a tailor. If he has not, I will give him £200

if it fits as nicely as this. If he cannot make a coat, not being a tailor, he cannot expect me to lay open his delicate calf,—which I am sure I would not do for the world even if I could,—I not being a negro-driver. (*Laughter.*) Why did he not make the offer to some skilful athletic West Indian driver? Simply because he knew that would be too hazardous an experiment. So much for Mr. Borthwick's leg. (*Laughter.*)

I have now been on *my* legs, Ladies and Gentlemen, for four hours. I commenced at half-past six and it is now half-past ten; and at this late hour I shall only allude to one more point of Mr. Borthwick's lecture. Mr. Borthwick, it seems, would not emancipate the slaves because of the danger of emancipation. Now I challenge Mr. Borthwick to prove the danger of emancipation. (*Applause.*) I am happy to see on this platform a gentlemen intimately connected with a man well known in the literary world,—Sir Stamford Raffles. Now what did Sir Stamford Raffles do when he assumed the command of the island of Java? With one dash of his pen he abolished slavery for ever. (*Cheers.*) Well, what was the result? Did the emancipated slaves refuse to work? No. Was there a decrease in the revenue? No; an increase. Was there more crime? No; during the whole of his government I believe there were but four persons tried and convicted for an offence against the laws of society. What was the consequence when he relinquished the government, and the Island was handed over to the Dutch? Slavery, according to the Dutch form, was again introduced; within a short time no fewer than 500 slaves were executed for rebellion. (*Hear, hear.*) What did Bolivar do in Mexico? Did he think there was any danger in emancipation? No; like Sir Stamford Raffles, with one dash of his pen he blotted out slavery for ever, and every slave rose at once into the condition of a freeman. (*Cheers.*) But Mr. Borthwick says we ought not to think of emancipating at once 800,000 slaves, many of them in a state of ignorance, many of them under the influence of dark and untamed passions. Mr. Borthwick knows that there are not 800,000 slaves in any one place, and, therefore, he ought not to contemplate any danger but that which may result from a particular number in a particular place, whether it be the Cape of Good Hope, Antigua, Martinique, or Jamaica. Now taking the slaves of Jamaica at 330,000, we must deduct half for women, and, surely, Mr. Borthwick will not say that women will become rebels? Surely he who admires the ladies so much will not say that it is amongst them that the planters have to look for the Jaffiers and Pierres who are to destroy them? (*Laughter.*) Deducting the ladies, therefore, Mr. Borthwick, we deduct half the danger. Then we must deduct the children, boys under 12 years of age; they, surely, will not join the rebels; therefore we must send them to their mammas whilst Mr. Borthwick and I discuss the remainder. (*Laughter.*) Mr. Borthwick tells us, that on every estate, two thirds of the slaves are either children, sick, old, or infirm; where is the danger, then, Mr. Borthwick? Will freedom make the child a man; will it make the old man young; the leper clean; the cripple vigorous and athletic? No; the palsied man will still be palsied;—the leprous still a leper;—the cripple still a cripple; there can be no danger from them, and, therefore, we will send them to keep company with the women and children, whilst Mr. Borthwick and I talk about the rest. Again: have not the Wesleyans, and Moravians, and the Missionaries of the Church of England, to say nothing of the Baptists, so cherished by the planters as Mr. Borthwick tells us they are; have not they taught thousands of slaves the religion of peace and righteousness? And would the slaves thus instructed uplift an *arm* to pluck a *single hair* from the head of a planter? Deduct these from the mass,—but send them not to the women and children,—keep them as a body-guard for their dear friends the planters. (*Laughter and cheers.*) Then, again, there are the happy and contented slaves,—the slaves who desire not freedom, who "want no more" they are so happy and comfortable,—these, too, may surely be deducted from the mass,—and then what becomes of the danger? Deducting the women, the chil-

dren, the old men, the sick and infirm, the Christian slaves, and the attached slaves, a sorry remnant will be left behind them. *(Cheers.)* Away, then, with the talk of danger: it is contrary to nature, it is contrary to history, philosophy, and experience to suppose that any danger will ensue. The freed people of colour are loyal to a man; and if any harm should possibly be attempted against them, give them British troops to defend them; but do not place Colone Grignon at their head. We talk of reason, justice, religion, and humanity, and yet we dare not emancipate the slave. Shame on those who thus cry up the phantom danger! *(Hear, hear.)* Let the British people only act as they ought to act—with justice and humanity; and slavery will be abolished immediately, and without danger. *(Loud cheers.)*

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now conclude. I thank you most cordially for your four hours' patience and attention. As I said on a preceding evening, plates will be held at the door, and the collection applied towards defraying the expenses. *We* have no interest in slavery; *we* do not live by slavery. No, we are taxed for slavery; we are oppressed by slavery. *Ours* is the cause of humanity; *theirs* of interest: *ours* is the cause of religion and mercy; *theirs* of injustice and tyranny. (*Cheers and hisses.*) I ask you, therefore, in aid of this good cause, to drop your contributions into the plates; and may He who gave the slave the same rights as yourselves, bless you for the deed.

Mr. Thompson was loudly cheered on concluding his address, and the meeting soon afterwards quietly dispersed.

LECTURE III.

1832

On Thursday evening, September 6, Mr. G. THOMPSON delivered his third lecture on the Evils of Colonial Slavery, in the Amphitheatre, Liverpool, to an audience as numerous and respectable as that on any previous evening, at half-past six o'clock.

SAMUEL HOPE, Esq. took the chair, and exhorted the meeting to give their patient, candid, and silent attention, both to Mr. Thompson this evening, and to Mr. Borthwick on Tuesday. As an additional motive for their indulgence to wards Mr. Thompson, he stated that that gentleman had been labouring for some time under severe indisposition, not unattended with alarming symptoms, a fact which he (the chairman) stated on his own responsibility, not having consulted with Mr. Thompson himself on the subject.

Mr. THOMPSON then rose, and was received with much applause. He spoke to the following effect.—Ladies and Gentlemen,—in appearing once more before you on the present occasion, I beg to announce that I have determined on the adoption of a line of conduct to-night, which I trust will be at once as agreeable to you, and equally creditable to myself, as that which I adopted when I had last the honour of appearing before you. I have thought since that night, that it is not justice to the injured negro, whose cause I have the honour to plead,—that it is not just to the various and momentous topics involved in the consideration of the question now before us,—that it is not just to so large and intelligent an auditory as that now before me, or those which I have had the honour of seeing before me on former occasions,—nor is it just to myself, constantly to discuss this question in reference to particular individuals who may from time to time stand forward as advocates of other views than those which I felt it my conscientious duty to adopt. I therefore shall to-night, with your kind permission, leave out of sight both myself and the gentleman who, on two several occasions, has advocated the other side of the question, and come at once to the discussion of those topics which I think of deeper interest and higher moment than any thing that can concern me a humble individual, or any thing that can possibly affect the gentleman who appears on the other side. I may assume, I think, that in doing this, it will not be attributed either to fear of my opponent on the one hand, or to inability on the other hand, for I believe that even my opponent himself will grant, that with regard to these other weapons which are sometimes brought into play on occasions of this kind, we are at least on equal terms. I assure him, that however I may seem to diverge from this resolution in the progress of my reply, I intend to say nothing, that can be personally offensive to him or to any particular individual connected with this great question. *(Applause.)*

However, Ladies and Gentlemen, before I come to that line of argument which I have marked out for myself to-night, I shall just glance at one or two statements, made on Friday night, for the purpose of clearing the way before us. It was then stated that we ought to leave this great question to the Committees of the House of Lords and the House of Commons, whose reports are not yet before the public. Now I humbly submit that we have had quite enough experience of the efficiency of reports sent forth by the House of Commons, and by the House of Lords; quite enough of such committees. Parliamentary speeches and reports, and their efficiency, call upon us most imperatively not to waste a moment, either whilst the committees are sitting, or the reports printing and circulating, knowing that the great measure of emancipation has never been advanced a single step by any thing like a voluntary movement of Parliament, but always in obedience to the impulse of public opinion. *(Hear, hear.)* We have had quite sufficient experience to guide us on the present occasion, without any such delay;

with volumes upon volumes before us, touching the character and the operations of slavery, why should we waste a single moment till these reports are laid before the British public? *(Applause.)* Surely it will not be contended, even by the most zealous supporter of slavery, that we have yet to learn what slavery is? On the howing of my friend himself we can learn the ancient history of slavery from the Scriptures; we can learn the modern history of slavery from every one who has been in the West Indies; and yet, with this accumulation of evidence from past and present ages,we are called upon to delay expressing our opinion on the subject, until the House of Commons and the House of Lords have put us in possession of fresh information! We shall be glad to add that to our stock of information; but surely we are not to wait till that information is laid before us. *Applause.)* I beg to make another remark in reference to an illustration which was given of the possibility of a negro infant rising from the condition in which he was born to fill one of the highest stations in the colonies. That illustration was, that a slave in the colony of Demerara eventually became a member of the House of Assembly in that island. I beg to remind Mr. Borthwick (though I am sure it was an unintentional mistake on his part) that there is no House of Assembly in Demerara; he might, however, have become a member of the Council; it is true that that gentleman was the child of a slave mother, but who was the known and avowed parent of that child? A West India planter, a gentleman residing in that colony, who, happening to adopt a line of conduct which I wish every planter under similar circumstances would adopt, acknowledged his son, brought him up as such, and raised him to the same rank in society which he himself held. *(Hear, hear.)* It was only in consequence of that father being a freeman that the child of a slave raised himself to that eminence, which is so boldly adduced by the gentleman on the other side, to prove that there is nothing in slavery which dooms the child of a slave to interminable bondage. *(Cheers.)* With regard to the attempt made to vitiate a statement which I made relative to the punishment of five negroes for trespassing on Mr. Wildman's estate for the purpose of picking grass; it has not been denied that their only crime was trespass; it was not denied that they were punished in the way described; the block and tackle were not got rid of; the stripes, the shrieks, and groans were not argued away;—what, then, is the vindication of this crime, from which every person endowed with the common feelings of humanity must revolt?—why, forsooth, the magistrate only pronounced the punishment pronounced by the law! Oh, shame on Jamaica, if there be a law to inflict on five innocent individuals so dreadful a punishment as these were compelled to endure! It is stated that they were not brought before the magistrate as before a slave protector. I give Mr. Borthwick the full benefit of that distinction, claiming still that he shall grant I spoke the truth when I said that these poor negroes were flogged for picking grass; that I spoke the truth when I described the nature of the punishment inflicted on their bodies, and claiming also the benefit of his admission, that though the guilty knowledge of the mistress did not appear till after their conviction, it did appear previous to the punishment following that conviction. Oh! then, how cruel, not to give them the benefit of this discovery! Suppose they had been condemned to be hanged instead of flogged, would their sentence still have been carried into execution? Shall it be said that because it did not appear before conviction, the parties were not to have the benefit of this discovery of their innocence? Oh, shame, then, on the law of Jamaica, if it could not prevent the evil, even at the eleventh hour!—shame! if an old woman, the mother of a family, were to be exposed naked, before a daughter of fifteen, and a boy of fifteen, who saw her writhing under the murderous lash, and there was not justice enough, there was mercy enough, not humanity enough, to save five slaves from a most cruel punishment, simply because their innocence did not appear prior to convicton before a single magistrate! *(Cheers.)*

I shall not attempt to reply to the comparison which the gentleman drew between me and a certain illustrious individual, who, when he came amongst the sons of God, and was asked whence he came, said, "From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it." I may so far resemble that personage that I have come here from walking up and down upon the earth; but unless the gentleman can show that our objects are similar, I do not think the comparison will serve his purpose. *(Laughter and applause.)*

One word in behalf of the missionary Smith. I learned from the report published in the *Chronicle*, (for I was not present myself,) that Mr. Borthwick said that the death of the missionary Smith was in no way accelerated by the treatment to which he had been subjected in the colony of Demerara. I hold in my hand the substance of two debates in the House of Commons, on the 1st and 11th of June, 1824, on a motion submitted by Mr. (now Lord) Brougham on the subject of the Rev. John Smith, late missionary in Demerara; and also, bound up in the same volume, the report of the London Missionary Society on the proceedings against Mr. Smith, who was tried under martial law on a charge of aiding and assisting the negroes in the rebellion. I beg to refer to page 8 of the substance of the debate in Parliament. Mr. Brougham, in the course of opening the subject, said,

"It appears that Mr. Smith had officiated in the colony of Demerara for seven years. He had maintained during his whole life a character of the most unimpeachable moral purity, which had won not alone the love and veneration of his own immediate flock, but had procured him the respect and consideration of almost all who resided in his neighbourhood. Indeed, there was not a duty of his ministry that he had not discharged with fidelity and zeal. That this was his character is evident even from the papers laid upon the table of that House. These documents, however, disclose but a part of the truth on that point. Before I sit down I shall have occasion to advert to other sources, which show that the character of Mr. Smith was such as I have described it; and that those who were best qualified to form an opinion, had borne the highest testimony to his virtuous and meritorious labours. Yet this Christian Minister, thus usefully employed, was dragged from his house, three days after the revolt began, and when it had been substantially quelled, with an indecent haste that allowed not the accommodation even of those clothes which, in all climates, are necessary to human comfort, but which, in a tropical climate, were absolutely essential to health. He was dragged too from his home and his family, at a time when his life was attacked by a disease which, in all probability, would, in any circumstances, have ended in his dissolution; but which the treatment he then received powerfully assisted in its fatal progress. He was first imprisoned, in that sultry climate, in an unwholesome fetid room, exposed to the heat of sun. This situation was afterwards changed, and he was conveyed to a place only suited to the purposes of torture, a kind of damp dungeon, where the floor was over stagnant water, visible through the wide crevices of the boards."

If we are told that Mr. Smith was labouring under a consumption, that only makes the matter worse for those who, seeing him in such a state, dragged him from his home without even a change of clothes, so necessary in that sultry climate; it is only the worse for those who plunged a man in the last stage of consumption, first into an uncovered room, and then confined him in a place where the atmosphere was perfectly impure; where filth and stagnant water were seen through the boards of the floor. *(Hear, hear.)* Let it not be said that Mr. Smith was hale and strong,—let it not be said that he was a healthy man when he went into prison, and was really killed by the treatment he received there; let us acknowledge that he was under the influence of a wasting consumption at the time; and then in what light do the authorities of Demerara appear when they plunge a man, whose guilt is not yet established, into a place so likely to accelerate death,—a place so unfit for his accommodation, if the hand of disease were already upon him? *(Hear, hear.)* Mr. Brougham continues thus;—

"When Mr. Smith was about to be seized, he was first approached with the hollow demand of the officer who apprehended him, commanding him to join the militia of the district. To this he pleaded his inability to serve in that capacity, as well as an exemption founded on the rights of his clerical character. Under the pretext of this refusal, his person was arrested, and his papers were demanded, and taken pos

session of. Amongst them was his private journal; a part of which was written with the intention of being communicated to his employers alone, while the remaining part was intended for no human eye but his own. In this state of imprisonment he was detained, although the revolt was then entirely quelled. That it was so quelled, is ascertained from the despatches of General Murray to Earl Bathurst, dated the 26th of August. At least the despatch of that date admits that the public tranquillity was nearly restored; and at all events, by subsequent despatches, of the date of the 30th and 31st, it appears that no further disturbance had taken place; nor was there from that time any insurrectionary movement whatever. At that period the colony was in the enjoyment of its accustomed tranquillity, barring always those chances of relapse, which in such a state of public feeling, and in such a structure of society, must be supposed always to exist, and to make the recurrence of irritation and tumult more or less probable. Martial law, it will be recollected, was proclaimed on the 15th of August, and was continued to the 15th of January following—five calendar months, although there is the most unquestionable proof that the revolt had subsided, and, indeed, that all appearance of it had vanished. In a prison, such as has been described, Mr. Smith remained until the 14th day of October. Then, when every pretence of real and immediate danger was over; when every thing like apprehension, save from the state of colonial society, was removed; it was thought fit to bring to trial, by a military court-martial, this Minister of the Gospel!"

Thus it appears that for a period of five or six months was this holy man confined in a noisome prison, and then he was *manumitted.* He left oppression, and cruelty in Demerara for that land of liberty, life, and love, where he is now enjoying that beatific vision of which the authorities in Demerara and in the other colonies would deprive those who are now being taught the way of life and salvation. *(Cheers.)* Whilst on the subject of Christian missionaries allow me, Ladies and Gentlemen, to allude, once more, to those celebrated resolutions of the year 1824, signed by John Shipman, on behalf of the other missionaries in the island of Jamaica. I hold in my hand the minutes of the 89th annual Conference of the Wesleyan Methodists, begun in Liverpool, on the 25th of July, 1832, on the subject of slavery; and perhaps I may be permitted, without the charge of trespassing too much on the patience of the auditory, to put them in possession of the whole of this article. The first question to which I shall call your attention is,

"Shall any further means be adopted by the Conference to promote the early and entire abolition of slavery in the British dominions?

"Answer 1. The conference feels that it is rendered imperative upon it, by every disclosure of the real character of colonial slavery, to repeat its solemn conviction of the great moral guilt which the maintenance of that system entails upon our country; and, year by year, until some effectual step shall be taken by Government to terminate it, to call upon the members of the Wesleyan societies throughout Great Britain and Ireland to promote that important event by their prayers, by their influence, by diffusing all such communications as may convey correct information on this subject, by supporting those institutions which are actively engaged in obtaining for our enslaved fellow-men and fellow-subjects the rights and privileges of civil freedom, and by considerately and most conscientiously giving their votes at the election of members of Parliament only to those candidates for their suffrages, in whose just views and honest conduct on this important question they have entire confidence."

And here, Ladies and Gentlemen, two ideas present themselves to my mind: first, we are charged with using improper means to influence the return of certain persons to the Commons' House of Parliament; and 2dly, we are told that when the missionaries of any other sect than the Baptists sailed to offer their services in the island of Jamaica, there was not a planter in that large and influential island that was not disposed to exert heart, hand, and purse to assist those who went out to communicate religious instruction to the negroes. Now let us hear what the Conference says on this subject.

"The Conference also feels itself called upon to express its deep sense of the injustice done to its missionaries in the island of Jamaica, and of the outrages committed upon the property of the mission there, in the destruction of five chapels by lawless mobs of white persons, notwithstanding the peaceable conduct of

the slaves connected with the Wesleyan societies during the late insurrection, and the acknowledged prudent conduct of their missionaries. These circumstances serve to impress the Conference more deeply with the painful truth, that the system of slavery is frequently even more corrupting to the heart and more destructive of religious influence in the agents of the slave proprietors in the colonies than in the slaves themselves, and afford additional and most powerful reasons for the renewed efforts of the friends of religious liberty, of negro instruction, and of the extension of the kingdom of our Saviour in the world, by the instrumentality of Christian missions, to obtain for the slaves, and for those who labour in the charitable work of their instruction, a security for the exercise of the rights of conscience, which nothing can effect but the entire and speedy abolition of the system of slavery itself. The Conference further expresses its affectionate sympathy with the missionaries in the island of Jamaica, in the sufferings and injuries to which they have been so unrighteously subjected, through the intolerance and violence of wicked and unreasonable men. And, whilst it gratefully records its testimony to their excellent conduct, in neither betraying the principles of eternal justice and morality as to the civil condition of the slaves, not mixing themselves up, whilst employed in their mission, with such discussions on the case as might be dangerous, it exhorts them still to cultivate the same spirit, to exert the same zeal for the instruction and salvation of the population of the West India colonies, and to walk steadfastly by those excellent rules which are embodied in their printed instructions."

I now come to that part which refers to the famous resolutions of 1824, and I beg you to remark the opinion of the Conference about them.

"The Conference more especially expresses it approbation of the conduct of the missionaries who have been now for several years employed in Jamaica; because at a former period, through the unfaithfulness of one, and the timid apprehensions of two others, some resolutions were published in the year 1824, bearing a construction far too favourable as to the condition of slaves, and the general state of society there, which resolutions were condemned by the missionary committee for the time being, and by the ensuing Conference. And, since these resolutions have been lately made use of as evidence in favour of the system of slavery, the Conference repeats its strong disapprobation of them, as conveying sentiments opposed to those which the Conference has, at all times, held on the subject of negro slavery, and not less so, to the views and convictions of the great majority of its missionaries who have been, and now are employed in the West India Colonies."

Nothing could be more conclusive than the passage which I have now had the honour of laying before this assembly, and I trust we shall now hear no more of resolutions got up in a spirit of truckling and intimidation by one bribed and two timid men, printed at the expense of the West India body, circulated by thousands, and still referred to, though repudiated at the time, and now in the year 1832, brought before a most numerous sitting of the annual Conference, and denounced and disowned, and the persons who got them up, described—two as timid, and one unfaithful. *(Loud applause.)*

Another word with regard to Hayti. I do not know why it is that Hayti is for ever brought upon the tapis to scare the English nation from doing their duty towards the slaves in the British colonies. Why is Hayti thus spoken of? I had the honour to introduce before you on Thursday evening a gentleman who had resided for twelve years in the Island of St. Domingo, who declared the peasantry of that island to be the happiest he had ever met with, and that gentleman has travelled much both in Europe and America, and who told you it was utterly false that the negroes were made to cultivate the soil at the point of the bayonet. On the face of it, this mode of coercion appears to be perfectly impossible. Will any body on the other side describe to us the amount of the discipline inflicted on the negroes in St. Domingo, as we can describe the discipline on

cane pieces in the West India colonies? It is easy to imagine a gang of thirty slaves on every such cane piece,—men, women, and children, under the management of the athletic driver, leading them on to labour by the cruel whip,—stimulating their languid frames by the whip, and supplying motives to the mind by torturing the body; but here, in St. Domingo, there are a thousand motives for exertion free from personal coercion, and I am sure no one can point out how a mode of discipline like that generally spoken of by the opposite party, as existing in St. Domingo, can be maintained. How can men be kept to labour by the point of the bayonet? The gentleman who addressed you lived for twelve years on the island; he travelled over its length and its breadth again and again; he has gone from one end of it to the other with mules laden with treasure, and slept, night after night, in open places, and never met with the slightest molestation; he had been present at all descriptions of labour, and he never saw any thing like coercion used to obtain the products of the earth. He likewise declares that never was greater industry displayed in the world than may be seen about the docks and quays of that island,—and this, too, in the absence of all coercive measures. He himself saved 50 per cent. in wages in one year by introducing a graduated scale of task work, instead of paying the labourers by the day, as before; and he declares that he never saw men put forth greater energies, or work with more willingness than those employed by himself and other persons in the island in this manner.

Now with regard to East India sugar, and West India sugar; it cannot be shown that the produce sold here as the produce of free labour is the produce of slave labour; it cannot be shown that the slavery of the East Indies bears any resemblance to the slavery in the West Indies. It has been shown by a gentleman now on this platform, that the two systems are not comparable in atrocity, and it is well known that the anti-slavery world are most willing to enter into the details of this part of the subject. But even if what is called East India slavery were all that it is said to be, will Mr. Borthwick vindicate the continuance of slavery on that score? Will two blacks make a white? two wrongs a right? Will our friends on the other side never leave off palliating one crime by reference to another crime? *(Applause.)* One word more with regard to Mr. Jeremie:—not one of his facts has been impugned; it has not been shown that he has erred in one single circumstance which he has stated; and the only mode of defence, or rather the only mode of opposition adopted against those invaluable documents, the "Four Essays on Colonial Slavery," is the assertion that St. Lucia was a French colony, and that we are not answerable for the abominations and crimes committed on an island which but recently came into our possession. But Mr. Jeremie went to St. Lucia in 1826, and remained there till 1829, and that island was ceded to us in 1815, so that there was quite sufficient time to introduce improvements if any had been intended. It is universally acknowledged that the French slave-owners are more lenient in their treatment of their slaves than the English proprietors, and as an instance of this I may mention the following fact, the truth of which can be vouched by the most unquestionable authority. An English gentleman went to the island of Trinidad during the time it was in the possession of the French, and whilst there visited an estate, the proprietor of which, a Frenchman, told him that his slaves were contented and happy. The gentleman was anxious to see the slaves himself, in order that he might ascertain their real condition; he was accordingly led to the plantation, but the gang of slaves upon it, the moment they observed the stranger, seemed very much terrified, and endeavoured to fly. The gentleman thinking it was of their master they were afraid, said to him, "Are these your happy slaves, who are frightened and run away the moment you come near them?" The planter replied, "I never saw any thing like this before; it must be of you that they are afraid; but we will ask themselves." They accordingly approached the slaves; the master asked why they had fled at the

approach of himself and his friend, and the answer he got was, that they saw an Englishman, that they were afraid they were about to be sold to an Englishman, and therefore fled, because an English master was the worst master an unfortunate slave could have. *(Hear.)* Well, then, if the French be more humane to their slaves than the English, what possible service can it render to the other side to say that the crimes practised at St. Lucia were chargeable on the French? *(Applause.)* Neither will the gentleman forget the affecting anecdote related by Mungo Park of one of those abandoned negroes whom we have heard described as such insensate beings, not only without two ideas, but almost without one,—an anecdote almost sufficient to make us blush for our race. Mungo Park relates that being invited into the hut of one of these rude and barbarous beings, and hesitating a little on the threshold with some appearance of distrust, the owner said to him, "Why do you fear to enter my hut? Do you take me for a white man?"—an affecting instance of the light in which the negroes view the honesty and humanity of the whites in comparison with their own.

Looking at the line of defence which has been adopted on this occasion, I do not admit that the appeals you have heard from Mr. Borthwick can be called any thing but a defence of colonial slavery. Let every thing, therefore, be called by its proper name. We are seeking to obtain the emancipation of the negro;—how?—by fair and manly means. On what principles?—on Christian principles. To whom do we appeal?—to unpacked audiences of 3000 of our countrymen; half collected by the West India body, half by ourselves. *(Applause.)* We appeal to your judgments; for authority we appeal to the Scriptures; for argument and illustration to the wrongs and woes, the sighs and groans of captives for centuries, of the men and women in the colonies, whose natural rights ever have been, and still are, as sacred as our own. *(Loud applause.)* What then!—this being our object, this being our glorious goal, whilst we are patiently and steadily pressing onwards towards that goal, who comes across our path? Men who call themselves evil genii; men who come to hunt the advocates of this measure on these principles, like an evil genius, and yet we are called upon by them to say and to believe that they are working in the same vineyard with ourselves; that they are sowing for the same harvest with ourselves; fighting for the same glorious conquest with ourselves. *(Applause.)* If they be, why, then, vituperate us; why defame our society; why revile and desecrate our principles? why thwart our benevolent views? If our objects be one; if our wishes be one, why are we thwarted? I say to defend slavery. *(Cries of "No, no," and "Yes, yes.")* I repeat it—to defend British colonial slavery. No other object can those have who would resist or thwart measures which have for their object the safe, equitable, and righteous settlement of this long-debated question. *(Loud applause.)* What! do they fear lest we should run too fast in the race of humanity? Do they fear lest the system should come to the ground too soon; that the slave should rise into the condition of a free and happy peasant too soon? Would they wait till the last Ethiopian stretched out his hands to God, before they granted the boon of freedom? Would they have us refrain from lifting up our voices, like the sound of the ram's horn, before we bring down the walls of their infernal Jericho, and leave not a stone standing? *(Loud applause.)* It is declared that the only difference between us is, the difference between to-day and to-morrow. What! all this fuss about to-day and to-morrow,—we wanting to do it to-day and they to-morrow: we wanting to do it immediately and they gradually? Why, do they not remember that ours *was* a society to procure gradual emancipation for the negro; that ours *was* a society for the gradual abolition of slavery? And were they less hostile to us then than they are now? When we were professing the very principles which they now profess, did they labour with us? Did they subscribe to the funds of our society? No: they were as hostile to us then as they are now; but now the only part of the political machine which served their interests being about to be done away with in a reformed Parliament, they find it

necessary to make up the deficiency by an active agency, like that which I have had the pleasure of witnessing in this place. *(Applause.)* They tell us that they were friends to the abolition of the slave trade; whence then arose the necessity for the unceasing and protracted labours of a Clarkson, a Wilberforce, and a Granville Sharpe? How was it that when Granville Sharpe, in this very town, was collecting evidence on the subject of the slave trade, he was nearly pushed from the pier into the sea, to be buried beneath the waters? Why was that deadly hostility continued up to the very hour that the diabolical traffic was destroyed? Those who defended the slave trade then are those who defend slavery now; the same class of men, filling the same situations in society, having the same interest in the system, and many of them identically the same persons. *(Hear, hear.)* They can now have only one of two motives in view: let them take their choice. They are either acting on the motive I have described, namely, a desire to perpetuate the system, or they want to come in at the death with us and share our triumph; a very dastardly piece of conduct this. *(Laughter.)* No; it shall not be allowed, unless they will manfully say, "We have been in the wrong, and you are in the right." Let them do this, and then we will give them the right hand of fellowship, and walk onwards together until the last stone of this horrible fabric tumbles to the ground; but whilst they insidiously profess to support emancipation,—at the same time calumniating, thwarting, and opposing us,—they are the friends of slavery, and not of its abolition. *(Loud applause.)* Now for another part of the subject:—I have on previous occasions traced the history of colonial slavery and exhibited the dangers and evils of colonial slavery, and I shall now attempt very briefly to show how colonial slavery has been and still is upheld; how various influential portions of society are delightfully dovetailed together for the purpose of continuing this iniquitous system. Why has colonial slavery been continued to the present hour? Because there has always been a mighty phalanx of resistance planned and organized by bigotry and selfishness for the purpose of hindering that from being done which was sought to be done by the representatives of the feelings and opinions of the British public. Who are the defenders of colonial slavery? I will enumerate them in order that you may know who they are, who they have been, and who will be the defenders of the system until the work is accomplished, and the negro stretches his free limbs to heaven and thanks God that he is at length a man and a brother. Absentee proprietors are, and always have been the defenders of slavery. I make exceptions,—I know that there are many good and benevolent men amongst them, and therefore I speak generally when I say that absentee proprietors have been and still are the most firm and influential defenders of British colonial slavery. And where are they found? In the Privy Council of his Majesty.—Where are they found? In the House of Lords with coronets on their brows.—Where are they found? In the House of Commons legislating for this free, happy, and Christian country.—Where are they found? Amongst the most influential inhabitants of Liverpool, Bristol, Glasgow, and London.—Where do they reside? Find the biggest house, and that most probably belongs to one of them; go to the principal squares and streets in London, Bristol, Glasgow, or Liverpool,—and how are they tenanted? By titled, aristocratical, unflinching, absentee proprietors. *(Loud applause.)* Some of them possess boroughs,—I beg pardon, they *did* possess boroughs. *(Laughter and applause.)* Some did possess boroughs, many possess wealth, all possess influence, and these boroughs, that wealth, and that influence were offered on the polluted shrine of avarice and despotism. Who are the defenders of colonial slavery? The planters abroad and the resident proprietors. *("Who are they in Liverpool?")* Our friend asks "who are they in Liverpool?" Perhaps the secretary to the West India Association will tell him. I am not prepared with the Court Journal or Chronicle of the men of Liverpool. *(Laughter.)* Who are the defenders of colonial slavery? The planters in the West Indies. And

who are the planters in the West Indies? Nineteen-twentieths utterly insolvent, verging on bankruptcy, under the tyranny either of the proprietor on the one hand, or the mortgagee on the other. Do the planters speak their own words? No. Do they breathe their own sentiments? No. Do they tell honestly the result of their own experience? No. Of whom do they do the bidding? Of a proud aristocratical body in England, known by the name of the West India body, and I need not describe to the people of Liverpool how much the planter of the West Indies is the minion, the puppet, the slave of the mortgagee; I need not tell them how much interest he has to pay for the capital lent to him; I need not tell them that he is forced, by the condition of the loan, to send the produce of his plantation to that very money-lender here; I need not say how much he is, therefore, the slave and victim of the man who could be his ruin whenever interest, passion, or caprice might dictate such a course. I need not describe what interest the mortgagee has in keeping up the system, for who does not know that the name of every slave on the property mortgaged is registered on the parchments of this gentleman, and that the emancipation of the slaves would be the annihilation of the better half of his security? Why do they make eloquent speeches in Parliament? Why do they lavish their pity on the planter? Because their hearts are in their strong box,—their hearts are where their treasure is. Why not pity the slave? Why not acknowledge the rights of the slave? Because he is the slave of others,—not of his employer, for his name is written on parchment, he is transferred to others, body and soul, and therefore they must resist emancipation,—for by subscribing to emancipation they would destroy their own unhallowed securities. *(Applause.)* Now I contend in the first place, tha this system of mortgage is unholy and unnatural,—that a living, rational, and mmortal being should have his name put on paper or parchment that money may be raised on his devoted head, is unholy, unnatural, unchristian, and unlawful. *(Cheers.)* See him at work in the colonies to prevent manumissions. *(Hear, hear.)* For how can the master, however humane and benevolent he may be, manumit the slaves who belong to another? Again,—the man who holds mortaged slaves sees no hope of repaying the money borrowed but through their labour, and therefore he is reckless of their interest and welfare, and gets out of them as much as he can in order to meet the demands of the rapacious mone - lender, who, he knows, can turn him out of the possession of his West India property if the money be not forthcoming. This system of mortgage likewise contributes greatly to the ruin of the planter. How many planters it *has* ruined I need not attempt to describe, but it must be evident to all that when a man can bring himself to lend money on such security, he is very likely to tyrannise over his victim, and hasten his destruction in order that he may possess himself of the property which the other is unable to redeem.

Who, I ask again, defends colonial slavery? fifty, sixty, seventy, or eighty packed men in the House of Commons, sent there by West Indian m[illegible] West Indian influence, on the sole condition that they will uphold W[illegible] slavery; and this brings me to a part of the subject animadverted [illegible] night. I am accused of unjustly and improperly interfering in [illegible] matters;—will the Honourable Gentleman say that the interference of the boroughmongers in past times, sending seventy or eighty members to the House of Commons, who held their seats on the simple condition of defending slavery, was just and proper? What! is it improper in an Englishman to speak on this subject before an audience of 3000 of his fellow-countrymen in his native town? What! is it improper to appeal to their judgment as to the manner in which the elective franchise ought to be exercised? What! is it improper and unjust to endeavour to inform their judgment when the franchise must be exercised properly, in proportion as the judgment is informed, and the conscience awakened? Is this any thing like the influence exercised by the boroughmongers? If it is, *where* is the point of resemblance? None; there is no resemblance whatever.

It is competent to that man—it is competent to me—it is competent to any one to express an opinion on the subject; you cannot prevent it; you might as well attempt to proscribe conversation about election matters in the parlour or at the dinner table; you might as well attempt to prevent the candidates going round from door to door, finding out, for the first time, that the children are pretty, the women amiable, and the men deserving. *(Laughter and applause.)* When I speak on a great moral, momentous, and vital question, I am accused of improperly swaying the minds of the people as to the vote they shall give at the coming election; but let me describe to you the system which has hitherto prevailed—has paralyzed the efforts of the best men in the Commons' House of Parliament up to the present moment, and then you will see the propriety and justice of what is called our improper and unjust interference. As I have said, seventy or eighty packed men were sent to the House of Commons to uphold the West India interest. Now, suppose that a young Minister has just come into power—suppose that some individual has been appointed Premier in the place of another, we read in the papers, two or three days after his exaltation to office, that "a certain distinguished Nobleman has had a long audience of the Premier, at Downing-street; but the purport of the conversation between them has not transpired." Now, suppose we *make* it transpire. Imagine the Premier sitting alone, with all his blushing honours thick upon him,—bright visions of place, power, patronage, and pelf hovering round him; he sees a long vista of uncles, aunts, and cousins to be provided for, either in church or state, either at home, in Egypt, India, or some where else; and just whilst he is dreaming of the delights of office, a footman taps at the door, the Marquis of so-and-so is announced, and then the Marquis—*("Question, question.")*— That man who cries question, reminds one of the Irishman who kept the two shells and threw away the fish. I am just coming to the pith and marrow of the subject, and then he cries "question." *(Laughter.)* The Marquis having been thus announced, steps in, and taking the new Minister by both his hands, exclaims, "My dear, dear Lord, how glad I am to see you; I congratulate you most cordially on your accession to power. I always thought you were born to become a Minister. When you made your maiden speech in the House of Commons, I said, "that man is born to become a Minister." Long may you live to guide the state vessel through the quick-sands, shoals, and shelves which surround her, for no hand is better qualified to perform the task than yours. Pray, what is your opinion on the West Indian question?" *(Much laughter and applause.)* "Why, really," says the new made Minister, "your Lordship turns very sharp upon me, I have only been four days in power, and you come to me with the tremendous question—'What is to be done with the West India interest?'" And then the Minister, after a short pause, will perhaps say, "Why, my Lord, I have always been friendly to the settlement of this question, and it is my design to exercise all my influence, in order to get it satisfactorily settled." And then the Noble Marquis pulls a long face, and says, "Indeed, my Lord; and is that *really* your opinion?" "Why," says the Minister, "I consider that religion, honour, and humanity require me to pursue this course, now that I am in power." "Why," exclaims the Noble Marquis, "you will lose the colonies! You will injure the commercial interests of the country! You will alienate the good opinion of the great mass of the community, and that great and influential portion which is connected with the West India colonies? Do you not know, my Lord, that we have seventy or eighty gentlemen in the Commons' House of Parliament? And do you not know, my Lord, that we can unseat you in the very first Ministerial division, and put a stopper, and a most effectual one, upon all your lofty soarings after place and power?" Then the Minister imagines that he feels his chair totter beneath him—his bright visions are overshadowed—he anticipates a fall, and says, "On second consideration, my Lord, I give you my word of honour as a gentleman and a Peer, that I will do nothing to affect the interes

of the West India body." "Spoken like a statesman!" exclaims the other. "Whilst you hold this policy, we are your most obedient humble servants. Good morning." *(Much laughter and applause.)*

I need not further describe how Ministers from the time of Elizabeth, that glorious era in British history, when the virtuous, amiable, and good Queen Bess, was deluded by Sir John Hawkins. *(Hisses.)* I hope you will not hiss again, when I am speaking of the ladies, however you may hiss the gentlemen. If you wish me to keep my temper you must not hiss the ladies. *(Laughter.)* I say from that time down to the present hour the Ministers of England have licked the dust before the West India body, and never was I more fired with indignation when I read in the parliamentary debates, that, after thousands upon thousands of Anti-slavery petitions asserting the rights of the negro and praying for his manumission, had been presented to both Houses, and laid aside unnoticed at the very moment when the Earl of Harewood presented a petition from a body of men, who assembled in the City of London Tavern, the prayer of that petition was granted. *(Hear.)* *Why* was it granted? Because of this influence, and for no other reason whatever. Lord Goderich had repeatedly asserted that it was unnecessary to appoint committees or have any further inquiry. In a letter addressed to the governors of the Crown colonies, and dated November 6th, 1831, he declared that Government had already volume on volume of evidence, and wanted no more, and yet when the Earl of Harewood presented this petition in the House of Lords, a committee was appointed *nem. con.!* This was not as it ought to have been. A noble stand should have been made against the West India body on this occasion, for I need not describe what sort of persuasion it was that induced the Ministry to grant a committee of inquiry which they had declared a short time before to be perfectly useless. *(Hear, hear.)* What are committees of inquiry on this question? Nothing but another name for delay. As well might they call a committee of inquiry to know whether, if a man swallowed arsenic he was in danger of being poisoned, as call a committee of inquiry, as this has been called, to ascertain the true character of colonial slavery; the nature of the laws, the degree of improvement, &c. &c. to inquire whether they flog men, women, and children, in the West Indies; to inquire whether the British nation is to trample on all law, trample upon all religion, justice, and humanity by upholding a system so dreadful as that of West Indian slavery *(Loud applause.)* The petitions of the British nation were disregarded in the House of Commons. Yet on the presentation of one single petition from the City of London Tavern, in the House of Lords, a committee was immediately granted, and granted without an "if" by the House of Lords, and the Ministry assented to it. I do not impugn the motives of these men; I mention this fact to show the influence of the West India body; I say that honest as they may be, desirous as I know they are of early emancipation, knowing as they do that they are supported by the country, they can never do it, if you leave it to committees, they can never do it if you leave it to Parliament, they can never do it if you leave it to ministers themselves: public opinion alone can break down the door of the prison-house, and let the oppressed go free. *(Much applause.)* Ay,—and the end of the West India body will be gained if you leave it to committees; I warn you not to do so;—their end will be gained if you leave it to the House of Commons and the House of Lords; I warn you not;—their end will be gained if you leave it to Ministers; I warn you not. 'Tis your work,—'tis my work,—'tis every man's work,—and if in your hearts and consciences,—if in your mind and judgment the work ought be done,—*do it yourselves.* *(Loud cheers.)* It is a vulgar expression, but I will use it, however I may be censured for doing so,—what we now want is "a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether." *(Much a pplause.)*

However, thanks to schedules A and B, the strong holds of West India slavery in this country are broken down; Old Gatton is defunct; Sarum has gone to the

tomb of the Capulets; Spencer Kilderbee is a Member of Parliament no more for ever; Irving has been drummed out of Clitheroe. Whether an unbought popular constituency will send a West Indian to Parliament, I know not; but if they estimate their power aright, and remember that they act in the sight of their country and their God, they will send no man to Parliament who does not pledge himself to oppose the system of slavery. Who make Members of Parliament? The people. Who form their consciences, and teach them to say "Ay" and "No" in proper places?—The people. Who snored on the benches, and voted with Chandos? Who coughed and scraped when Wilberforce pleaded the cause of the negroes?—Those who were elected when the nation was asleep, and honour, justice, and virtue, were forgotten. (*Applause.*) I say again, you have to choose them; you make them; you form their consciences and opinions; and if you neglect your duty, you will seal the destinies of 800,000 human beings now living in slavery in our colonies. ("*What do you say to Buxton! He has slaves and puts the money in his pocket.*") He has no slaves, and I defy any one to prove that he ever had. ("*He makes his men work on Sundays.*") If he made his servants toil every Sunday in the year, is that any reason why 800,000 human beings should remain slaves? (*Loud applause.*) Is Mr. Buxton's beer brewed on the Sunday to inundate and drown the humanity of the million? If you go to Spitalfields, or Liverpool, or any other place, and tell me of the hard labour and distress existing there, I lament it; but to bring it forward when a man is pleading the cause of 800,000 human beings is mean and despicable in the extreme. (*Loud applause.*) It matters not to me, it matters not to the immutable principles of justice and mercy, if every member of the Anti-slavery Society be the vilest and most inconsistent man on the face of the earth, and every member of the West India Association the most humane, the most pious, the most heaven-like being that ever walked the earth; it matters not, if the fact be, what it is, that 800,000 human beings are personal bondmen within the precincts of the British dominions. (*Loud applause.*)

In estimating the array of force against us on this question, we ought never to forget all the family connexions of these gentlemen, their wives—Heaven bless them!—and their children, and their brothers, and uncles, and aunts, and all their dear expectant relatives and friends, waiting for dead men's shoes, and reversions of West India property. (*Hisses.*) It will not serve their cause to interrupt me thus. We ought not to forget either the ladies or the gentlemen, either the young or the old, either the beautiful or the ugly; we ought not to forget the captains, the clerks, and coopers, many of whom can lend a hand if necessary, even in the Liverpool Amphitheatre, for aiding the cause of West India slavery. (*Laughter and applause.*) Nor must we forget the delightful stories told by individual visitors to the colonies; ladies and gentlemen who have absolutely seen the West Indies, sate in the house of the planter, and come home to describe Jamaica and the other islands as so many Paradises, and persuade us that the peasantry of our own country are far worse off than the labouring population of the West Indies. And pray whom did these ladies and gentlemen go to see, the planter or the slave? The planter.—At whose table did they dine? The planter's table.—On whose couch did they sleep? The planter's couch. Whose friends were they?—The planter's friends. Whose wine did they drink? The planter's wine.—With whose daughter did they dance? The planter's daughter.—On whose horse did they ride? The planter's horse.—In whose ship did they come home? The Liverpool merchant's ship. And yet these gentlemen who came home, and ladies too—for ladies do sometimes plead the cause of slavery—these parties think themselves perfectly qualified to draw a correct picture of slavery in the West India colonies.

"Nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice."

And then the delightful patronage of this system, the popping of people into nice places, the appointment of governors and their dependants, and the very

nice and accommodating births to be filled up, as managers, overseers, clerks, and so forth, and so forth, all contribute to the support of the system. Another support is the subornation of the press, the hiring of the press. It is a notorious fact, known to all the world, that a great portion of the press of this country is bribed to uphold the system of colonial slavery. *(Hisses and applause.)* I say that the press has been bribed. I know that the conductor of a Glasgow paper has received many thousand pounds, voted to him by colonial Houses of Assembly and the West India body at home, for advocating the cause of the planters and supporting slavery. Another source from which the system receives support is the ignorance of the British public; and I say that ignorance on this subject is, to a certain extent, crime also. We have been wilfully ignorant on the subject; we have not opened our eyes to the fact before us; we have not examined into the nature of British colonial slavery, else our fears would have been alarmed, our humanity shocked, our religion exercised, and, ere this, (but for our ignorance, our wilful ignorance,) we should have got rid of this odious system. Pride has done much, and timidity has done more, to prevent its —— *(Hisses.)* I hear a hiss: is it not as I have said? He who is not with us is against us. The timid amongst mankind are hanging back, from an apprehension of the danger of emancipation, simply because they will not take the pains to ascertain the truth. Their fears would be removed if they only came to light to be examined. Compare the danger of the abolition of the system with the danger of its continuance, and that of abolition will sink to nothing. A great many inconsistent people do not like slavery themselves, and would wish to get rid of it; but they have no pity or concern for the slaves in the West Indies. Charles James Fox, who was as great a friend to liberty as any man, said that to compare personal slavery with political slavery was a base imposture; they should not be mentioned in the same breath; and there was no comparison whatever between the thraldom of the negro and that of the British community. Many are not labouring with us because they do not properly estimate their own value in society; they are for leaving it to somebody else with more riches, more power, and influence than themselves, forgetting that this is a personal question, that all men are bound to labour in this vineyard; that they can set an example to others; and though they deplore their own insignificance, and properly and laudably too; though they think meanly of themselves, such thoughts ought not to hinder them from doing what they can, remembering that what they do may reprove sin in high quarters, and tend to promote the great work of negro emancipation. *(Applause.)* Therefore, I say, let no man keep back from an idea of the insignificance of what he can do in this cause, for, as the *Westminster Review* has justly observed, every sixpence given by an old woman to promote the emancipation of the negro creates a pang in the heart of the lordly West Indian. *(Applause.)*

Allow me now just to recapitulate the various supporters of slavery; first, absentee proprietors,—then mortgagees,—then resident planters,—then all the tradespeople connected with the colonies,—then members of the West India body, or their delegates, in both Houses of Parliament,—then the families and connexions of these individuals,—the individual visitors who have tasted the planter's good cheer, without examining into the condition of the slaves,—then patronage,—the subornation of the press,—then the timidity of those men who think that danger would attend emancipation, without inquiring into the foundation of their apprehensions; and, lastly, an insignificant view of ourselves, which paralyzes all our exertions.

Now, what is the mode of defence set up for the continuance of West India slavery?—As they allege, slavery should not be touched with a hasty or inconsiderate hand, because it is a very ancient system. This one of the arguments set up for its continuance; but if crime were to be justified because it was of ancient origin, then we might vindicate murder on the very same principle, for

every body knows that Cain was a murderer when he slew his brother Abel. But then there is the scriptural argument for the system of slavery. The scriptural argument is drawn from these passages:—

"Moreover of the children of the strangers that do sojourn among you, of them shall ye buy, and of their families that *are* with you, which they begat in your land: and they shall be your possession. And ye shall take them as an inheritance for your children after you, to inherit *them* for a possession; they shall be your bondmen for ever: but over your brethren the children of Israel, ye shall not rule one over another with rigour."—*Leviticus* xxv, 45, 46.

These are the only passages quoted from the Old Testament to show that slavery is not sinful; but let us take the general tenor of the Old Testament before we come to any decision on that point. I find the state of the argument as drawn from the Old Testament to be briefly this;—slavery was invariably, when sanctioned by Almighty God, a judicial punishment appointed by himself in consequence of the crimes of the people subjected to its rigour. This was invariably the case with regard to all the instances which had in the remotest degree the sanction of Heaven. The slavery was that of condemned criminals of the Canaanitish nation, whom the children of Israel were ordered to drive out before them and utterly destroy; and every one may read in the eighteenth chapter of Leviticus a long and alarming detail of the crimes previously perpetrated by the nations whom the children of Israel were thus ordered utterly to exterminate; and I beseech the gentleman who opposes me, if he does not mean to misrepresent Scripture, to investigate this subject for himself. If he does so he will find that the slavery we were speaking of, the very slavery he seems to contend was established for ever, was a commutation of the sentence of death passed upon the Canaanitish nations; that a remnant of those nations being left, the sentence of death seems to have been commuted into a sentence of slavery, and it was from them that the children of Israel were to buy their bondmen and their bondwomen. I should enter more fully into this point if I had time and strenth; unfortunately I have neither; but I assure this large and respectable auditory, that I have at a very, very great sacrifice of own comfort and personal health, been at considerable pains, since the gentleman mooted this argument, in tracing the history of slavery as given in the Old Testament, and I am prepared to prove that the slavery of the Scriptures is invariably a judicial slavery, inflicted on nations and people who were doomed to death, and that in no one instance is man allowed without the sanction of the Almighty to seize upon his fellow man and reduce him to slavery. *(Loud applause.)* The gentleman will also find that in no one instance was it ever assumed or ever acted upon that continuance in slavery for any length of time, rendered the subjects of that system unfit for the enjoyment of liberty. Almost in every instance their emancipation was instantaneous whenever it was resolved that their crimes had been atoned for; that when their right to liberty was acknowledged it was never assumed or acted upon that their continuance in slavery presented any bar to their entrance into a state of liberty. Again, the gentleman will find that there is a great deal of difference between *prophecy* and *permission*, between *permission* and sanction; a crime prophecied is not therefore a crime *sanctioned*,—a crime permitted is not therefore a crime approved. The gentleman alluded to certain prophecies regarding slavery, but I think he will admit with me that the pre-annunciation of any crime is not the permission of that crime; that the prophecy that Canaan should be cursed, and his children the slave of slaves, was no sanction, no permission of that system of slavery which subsequently came into operation. Again, the same Scriptures invariably record God's anger and indignation against all acts of cruelty and oppression, and direct that even in the enslavement of the Canaanites, the paramount doctrines of justice and mercy were to be observed, and in that very prophecy which has been alluded to, it is said that vengeance belongs to God, and He will repay it. He will not allow mortal man to

"Snatch from his hand the balance and the rod,
"Rejudge His justice—be the God of God."

It appears, therefore, that though man, in this instance, with the sanction of Almighty God, might enslave his fellow-man, as a commutation of the sentence of death passed upon him, he might not oppress him, he might not enslave others without such sanction, and tyranize over them from any inclination or motive of his own. The gentleman has laid great stress upon the 25th chapter of Leviticus. I request his attention to the 10th verse of that chapter; for there it distinctly appears that although as long as the Canaanites remained in the land, as long as a remnant of them remained, the children of Israel were permitted to buy such as they required as servants and bondmen; yet at the year of jubilee not only the Hebrew bondmen, but also the Canaanitish slaves were to be free, as appears from the passage: "And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout ALL *the land unto* ALL *the inhabitants thereof:* it shall be a jubilee unto you, and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family." *Lev.* xxv, 10. I think that this direction is quite reconcilable with the permission to buy of the Canaanites and the stranger such bondservants as they might want, and so long as these might continue in the land to be held for an inheritance for ever. The gentleman should also know that the enslavement of the greater portion of the Canaanites was not a personal slavery but a mere payment of tribute, and that many amongst them were equally powerful and equally wealthy as the Jews themselves, though they were not admitted to the same rights and privileges. I think I have now satisfactorily disposed of th scriptural part of the questiion, as drawn from the Old Testament. Not only is the old Testament appealed to by the defenders of slavery, but recourse is had to the New Testament to vindicate the present system of slavery in the colonies. The silence of Christianity is pleaded, and the conduct of the Apostles is pleaded as an extenuation, if not a vindication, of the continuance of slavery. Now I humbly submit that the principles and exhoatations of the Apostles in the early ages of Christianity do not, in a strict sense, apply to colonial slavery in the present day. Let it be remembered that colonial slavery was not established till upwards of fifteen centuries after the introduction of the Christian religion, and that, therefore, the Apostles could not well lay down any express rules concerning it. The gentleman finds fault with us; he lays it to our charge, that we have not been Apostolic in the formation of Anti-slavery Associations, in traversing the country for the purpose of persuading and convincing the British nation that colonial slavery is criminal, and ought to be abolished in the British dominions. Surely the gentleman will not say that because there were no Anti-slavery Associations in the days of St. Paul, there ought to be none now? Why, there were no railroads in the days of St. Paul, and he might as well say that because there were no railroads in the days of St. Paul there ought to be none now, as say that because there were no Anti-slavery Societes in the days of St. Paul there ought to be none now. *(Laughter and applause.)* It is sufficient for us to know that all the doctrines, all the principles, and the genius of Christianity, are inimical to the system of colonial slavery, and that the great fundamental maxim of the Christian religion binds us to do unto others as we would that others should do unto us. *(Applause.)* We are not to be guided simply by the precept that servants are to be obedient to their masters, without considering the reciprocal duties which masters owe to their servants. One injunction laid upon him who is struck on the right cheek is, that he should turn his left also; but surely the advice given to the *smitten* is no justification to the *smiter?* Neither is the precept given to the slave any justification to the master for holding his fellow-man in a state of slavery. *(Loud applause.)* I have not time, Ladies and Gentlemen, to go into the other parts of the subject so fully as I could wish; I can merely glance at the points of defence. The alleged *inferiority* of the negro *has* been pleaded as a reason why he should not enjoy the same liberty as ourselves; but I believe that argument is not urged for the continuance of slavery at the present day; the opinion now

obtains to a very limited extent, and therefore I shall pass it over. Again, the danger of emancipation is insisted on as a reason for continuing to hold the slaves in bondage. I have endeavoured to expose the fallacy of this argument, and to show that the danger is all on the other side. What danger, Gentlemen, can there be from infants? What danger can there be from women? What danger can there be from the sick, the infirm, the aged? What danger can there be from the Christianized negroes, or from those who, we are told, are satisfied with their condition, and attached to their masters by the ties of affection and gratitude? The great danger arises from upholding a system of outrage and injustice; the great danger arises from oppression; the great danger arises from the continuance in a course of crime and impiety; and, as I said before, the danger of doing wrong is always considered greater in a well-regulated mind than the danger of doing right. *(Applause.)* The loss of the colonies is also alleged as a reason why we should not emancipate the slaves. But will any one inform us *how* we are to lose the colonies; where is the danger of losing our colonies? Do they mean to say that we shall take off our night caps some morning and find fifty fathoms of blue water over the colonies? Do they mean to say that some evil genius will run away with the colonies? *(Laughter and applause.)* How are we to lose the colonies? Who is it that threatens us with the loss of the colonies? Why, in Jamaica, some forty-two legislators disaffected towards the British Government, the greatest traitors in the islands, for it is not amongst the negroes that we are to look for traitors.—The negro slave owes no allegiance to the British Crown; he cannot be a rebel to the British Crown, for, where there is no protection, there is no allegiance. Who is a King? What is an act of Parliament? Why do kings govern, and princes decree justice? Who are senators, and who are magistrates? Who, but persons to whom power is committed in trust for the people? *(Loud applause.)* We owe no allegiance when no protection is extended to us; we do owe allegiance if protection be granted us, if our liberty is secured, our lives protected, and our property made safe, then we owe allegiance, and then we grant it; but what allegiance owes the slave in the colonies? None: there is not a clause in the contitution of the country which binds him to allegiance. It is a contradiction in terms to call a British slave a rebel. He cannot be a rebel. If you were unjustly confined in a room, would you call it an act of rebellion to slip out of the window, or even to break down the door and escape? What! rebellion against oppression! If it be rebellion, so much the more noble. He who is an enemy to slavery is said to be a brave man and a true; yet, when the negro seeks to shake off the shackles that bind him, he is called a rebel;—and speeches are made in the Liverpool Amphitheatre in justification of the gibbeting of the hapless slave. *(Applause.)* How are we to lose the colonies? It is replied, that the legislators of those colonies will give them to France or America. But are our friends quite *sure* that France or America would accept of them? It would be a beautiful item in the President's next speech to Congress, to tell them, that they were so much the greater, so much the happier, so much the more glorious, and a great many more good things, because they had got 800,000 slaves from the British. *(Laughter and applause.)* Why, the Americans are cursed with slavery themselves,—slavery is a millstone about their necks already,—they do not know what to do with the slaves they have in their own country, yet they would be made more great, more happy, more glorious and free, by the acquisition of 800,000 more slaves. Are our friends quite sure that Louis Philippe would accept the colonies on the terms which they will prescribe to him? It would be very admirable in him who lately assisted in the regeneration of his country's freedom, to tell the Chambers, at the opening of the next session, that he had consolidated their liberty and independence by the acquisition of all the British colonies in the West Indies, on the simple condition that slavery should continue. But how will they manage to give the colonies to France and America, even if France and

America should be disposed to accept them? It is the legislators of Jamaica and the other colonies that will do this. Who are those legislators? The most insignificant portion of the colonies—the most worthless portion of the colonies. Who are those men in red coats? British troops. And are the British troops paid to give the colonies to France and America, or to keep them for the British Crown? Who is the Governor? Is he not the King's representative? And is he to aid in giving the colonies to France and America? Who are those fifty or sixty thousand free coloured persons, who, on the part of themselves and their brethren, resolved, that if the Jamaica legislators came to such a determination, they should every man of them be hanged? Who are those 800,000 slaves? Will they, merely that France and America may be their masters, side with those worthy rogues in robes to rivet their own fetters the more securely? *(Loud applause.)* But there is another argument why they should not give the colonies to France and America, an argument which would convict them of equal imbecility and ingratitude if they did so, supposing it to be in their power,—interest, —interest will bind them to England. Did you ever know a sucking calf run away from its mother? Did you ever know a sucking pig run away from its venerable parent? *(Laughter.)* Never; and the colonial gentlemen are not such sucking calves, they are not such sucking pigs as to run away from England. By whom were they swaddled? England. By whom were they defended? England. By whom were they fed? England. By whom were they nurtured? England. Who bought them clothes? England. And who protected them? England. And yet they are going to *run away* from England. Why, their vapourings and their threats resemble nothing more or less than a storm in a slop basin. *(Much laughter.)* This is the most contemptible vapouring in the world, on the part of a set of men who do nothing but smoke cigars and drink sangaree, and yet are going to give the colonies to France or America.

But what a dangerous thing it would be to lose the colonies after all! It would not save us more than three or four millions a year! It would only save us a vast amount of money, a vast amount of guilt, and a vast amount of dishonour! If the loss of the colonies were to be the consequence of emancipation, that would be to many the strongest argument in the world why they should prosecute immediate emancipation. Then it is said we shall lose our trade, and that of our colonists will be ruined if we grant emancipation. Now my honourable opponent knows as well as I do, that the cry of distress on the part of the West Indian proprietors is not a *new cry*. That it was uttered years and years ago, long before the abolition of the slave trade was thought of, long before the Anti-slavery Society was instituted, and yet he and his party wish to lay all this distress at the door of No. 18, Aldermanbury. *(Laughter and applause.)* We cause it they say, and we must bear all the sins committed by the West Indians and the persons connected with them. Now bankruptcy, insolvency, and beggary are the order of the day,—alas! have long been so; a blight and a mildew have long been over the colonies,—bankruptcy and distress are no new cries. On this subject I will give you the testimony of Lord Goderich; in a despatch addressed to the Earl of Belmore, Governor of Jamaica, and dated June 6, 1831, his Lordship says:—

"The existence of severe commercial distress amongst all classes of society connected with the West Indies is unhappily but too evident. Yet what is the just inference from this admitted fact? Not, certainly, that the proprietary body should yield themselves to despair, and thus render the evil incurable; but rather that we should deliberately retrace the steps of that policy which has had so disastrous an issue. Without denying the concurrence of many causes towards the result which we all so much deplore, it is obvious that the great and permanent source of that distress, which almost every page of the history of the West Indies records, is to be found in the INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY. It is vain to hope for long continued prosperity in any country in which *the people are not dependant on their own voluntary industry for their support; in which labour is not prompted by legitimate motives, and does not earn its natural reward; in which the land and its cultivators are habitually purchased and sold on credit; and in which the management of that property is almost invariably confided by an*

absent proprietary, to resident agents or to mortgagers, who are proprietors only in name. Without presuming to censure individuals for the share they may have taken in maturing this system, I cannot but regard THE SYSTEM ITSELF as the *perennial spring of those distresses of which, not at present merely, but during the whole of the last fifty years, the complaints have been so frequent and so just.* Regarding the present orders as a measured and cautioned, but at the same time a decided, advance towards the ultimate extinction of slavery, I must, on that account, regard it as tending to the cure of the pecuniary embarrassments which it is said to enhance."

Here, then, we have it announced by no less a person than Lord Goderich himself, that the perennial spring of distress in the colonies is the system of slavery itself, and that the proprietary body, warned by the history of the past, should retrace their steps and go back to those natural and just foundations of commerce on which alone security and prosperity can be built. The Honourable Gentleman will also remember that Lord Belmore, in his farewell speech on leaving Jamaica, addressed to the gentlemen resident there, declared to them that they could never look for prosperity so long as the institution of slavery prevailed. *(Hear, hear.)*

Then there is the knotty question of compensation: on this question I have only one word to say. My only objection to compensation is, that it should be mixed up with the measure of emancipation. I hold most sacredly and seriously that we should take into consideration the rights of the negro irrespective of the rights of the colonists; that is, we should first consider the rights of 800,000 living human beings, and then consider the rights of the planters. I have no objection to compensation as an after consideration; and as the gentleman on the other side sta ted that the planters only require compensation if it be found impossible to obtain an equal amount of labour under a free system, with that which was obtained under the slave system, I am quite willing to grant compensation to the full extent of that principle, whenever a loss can be made out before a committee of impartial individuals. *(Applause.)* But, I fear, the true grounds of their opposition to us on this question are,—first, a love of power, inherited and cherished by those connected with the West India system; —and in the second place, it is very natural that a body of men so powerful and respectable as the West Indian body should be extremely jealous and irritable with respect to any interference with what they consider their rightful and legitimate property: from the number of conflicting claims it is, therefore, evident that the planters cannot grant emancipation; the merchants cannot grant emancipation; the mortgagee cannot grant emancipation; the overseers cannot grant emancipation; and that nothing but a legislative measure on the subject, passed by the British Parliament, can settle this question. *(Applause.)* If it be referred to a body of men who cannot determine it, inasmuch as they have not sole and exclusive authority over the colonies, nothing but an enactment on the part of the British Government will be sufficient to reconcile the conflicting claims which now oppose the measure of negro emancipation. This honourable gentleman and the other honourable gentleman, committed as they have been for so many years, are not likely to give up their opinions without a struggle; this struggle must take place within the walls of Parliament, and it will be a very different one from what it would have been some dozen years ago, or from what it really was forty years ago. *Now* the negro is allowed to be a human being; it is now admitted that he may possibly enter into rivalship with ourselves; that he may possibly rise to honour, fame, independence, and a deathless fame; it is now granted that he ought to have freedom, and it is only urged that he should wait awhile till certain proud and interested persons are convinced of its propriety, and consent to enter into the investigation. Though there is still a great gulf between us, we come much nearer to each other than we did some years ago.

The West Indians lay it to our charge that we are actuated by interested Why then does he hiss? Is it not as meritorious to plead for liberty for the Ethiopian as to send a squadron to bombard Algiers and liberate our countrymen

motives in seeking emancipation for the negro; but they are the very last persons in the world that should lay such a thing to our charge. What, is it the people of England who are interested in the perpetuation of slavery? And are the members of the Anti-slavery Society the only persons interested in its abolition? Surely the West Indian merchants, West Indian brokers, West Indian mortgagees, should be the last persons in the world to lay to our charge, that *we* are influenced by interested motives. These persons, in consequence of continued indulgence in the system, are, to a certain extent, blinded to its horrors, inured to its aggravating circumstances; and, therefore, there are not in a condition to constitute a jury for the discussion of the present question. *(Applause.)* I shall now, Ladies and Gentlemen, lay before you quotations from Blackstone and Paley, to show that the system of colonial slavery is perfectly *unnatural*, that it was never sanctioned by the British *constitution*, or by a British Parliament. The right has always been assumed, and then laws enacted upon that assumption; the right to hold a man in slavery has never been acknowledged by the Constitution; it has never been recognised by the Constitution: at the present moment it is contrary to the Constitution of our country to hold a man in slavery. *("We are all slaves!")* What do you mean by "we are all slaves," Sir? *(Applause and laughter.)* Blackstone, in vol. i, page 125 of his work, says:—

"The absolute rights of man, considered as a free agent, endowed with discernment to know good from evil, and with power of choosing those measures which appear to him to be most desirable, are usually summed up in one general appellation, and denominated the natural liberty of mankind. This natural liberty consists properly in a power of acting as one thinks fit, without any restraint or control, unless by the law of nature; being a right inherent in us by birth, and one of the gifts of God to man at his creation, when he endued him with the faculty of free will."

Again, at page 54:—

"Those rights, then, which God and nature have established, and are, therefore, called natural rights,—such as are life and liberty, need not the aid of human laws to be more effectually invested in every man than they are; neither do they receive any additional strength when declared by the municipal laws to be inviolable. On the contrary, no human legislature has power to abridge or destroy them, unless the owner shall himself commit some act that amounts to a forfeiture."

And again, at page 124:—

"Hence it follows, that the first and primary end of human laws is to maintain and regulate these *absolute* rights of individuals."

Now, if we can show that instead of our laws guarding the rights and liberties of the negro, they absolutely deprive him of those rights and liberties, why then those laws are no laws to him,—they are unrighteous laws, and the slave, when he tramples them under his foot, behaves like an Englishman,—and he who gibbets him for it is a murderer and a felon. *(Cheers and hisses.)* I hear a hiss; what would the man who hisses, say if he were unjustly imprisoned, deprived of his liberty, his offspring, and his life, by laws which never protected him? *(Cries of "Serve him right, turn him out.")* If instead of turning him out you would turn him nearer, that we might see him, that we might learn who he is and where he lives, and who it is that pays him his wages on Saturday night. *(Laughter and applause.)* That we might know what he is made of. That we might look into his heart; we should find out who are our opponents, whether they deserve to be respected as lovers of their kind, or to be despised as men who would monopolize liberty to themselves, and deny it to the rest of the world. *(Applause.)* Paley, speaking of the natural rights of men, says,

"The natural rights of man are, a man's right to his life, limbs, and liberty; his right to the produce of his personal labour; to the use, in common with others, of air, light, water. If a thousand different persons, from a thousand different corners of the world were cast together upon a desert island, they would from the first be every one entitled to these rights."

Is there any thing to hiss at here? Does not the man who hisses know that if he were in bondage we would plead his cause, we would ask liberty for him? there? Is it not as meritorious to plead the cause of the African as it is to sympathize with the insulted and degraded Poles? Should not the liberty of Africa

be esteemed as much as that of Colombia or Mexico? Should not a Gardner and a Sharpe, fighting for freedom, be as much venerated as a Brutus at Rome, a Bolivar in Columbia, or a Byron in Greece? I say yes, however much you may sneer at my comparison; for the negro struggles to free himself from a yoke more galling than that of the Greek, or the Roman, or the captives of the Turk. *(Applause and hisses.)* There would be no hissing if this sentiment were propounded from the hustings at a popular election, and spoken of respecting any other than the negro. Then it would be, "O what a patriotic candidate! He shall have my vote. *(Laughter.)* When we utter these sentiments with regard to the negro you hiss; but is not the negro a man as well as yourselves? If you killed a negro would it not be murder as much as if you killed a white man? *(Applause.)* What, then, is it our duty to do? I come back to the original object which I stated we had in view, which is the immediate and total abolition of colonial slavery. What do we mean by immediate? Why, that immediate steps should be taken for its abolition, in opposition to what is called gradual emancipation, which means no emancipation at all. If I told a builder to-night to build me a house immediately, should I expect to see the coping stones and chimneys up to morrow morning? No; but I should expect to see him getting materials, laying the foundation, arranging the scaffolding, and going on, from day to day, in the prosecution of the work. If a man were awoke in the night, and told to go immediately for a physician, would he go without putting on his clothes? Would he transport himself by some magical effort to the place whither he was told to go immediately? No! In like manner we would take the necessary steps to secure the abolition of slavery. Others would *temporise*, propose modifications of the system, and do what they can to perpetuate it. "Wait a little time," say they; never mind how mercy bleeds, or justice frowns, how the negro suffers, or the Englishman petitions,—do it gradually, yes, do it gradually. I wonder what they mean by gradually? When will gradual emancipation arrive? I remember an anecdote told of Charles James Fox, who, when in power, was very deeply in debt; he had a secretary, named Hare; and "like master like man," both were up to the ears in embarrassment. Mr. Fox looking one morning out at the window saw coming up the street an old money-lending Jew to whom both were indebted. "Well, Solomon," said he, "what are you after this morning? Are you Fox-hunting or Hare-hunting?" "Why, for the matter of that," said the Jew, "I am both Fox-hunting and Hare-hunting; I want both; I want my money." "You must wait, Solomon," said Mr. Fox. "I cannot wait," said the Jew; "I want my money;—have I not a right to my money?" "Certainly, Solomon; you have a right to your money, Solomon—a most undoubted right, Solomon; but it is inconvenient to me to let you have it now; you can call again, Solomon; come on such a day." The Jew went accordingly, and again the answer was,—"Wait, Solomon; both Mr. Hare and myself are so deeply involved in business that we have not time to attend to the settlement of your account;—call again, Solomon." Solomon went again, and still the answer was, "Wait, Solomon." "I cannot wait," said Solomon at last. "I will not wait a day longer than your next appointment." "Well, then, said Mr. Fox, "suppose we say, Solomon—the day of judgment, Solomon." "Oh!" said the Jew, "that will be far too busy and important a day for the settlement of your account." "Well, then," said Mr. Fox, still determined to be facetious,—suppose, Solomon, we say the day after!" *(Laughter.)* This is exactly the line of argument pursued by our friends on the opposite side—"Wait till the day of judgment,—wait till the day after,—but don't do it now!" "Why not do it now?" "Oh, there are the poor, the infirm, the old, and the young!" Well, are not the poor, the infirm, the old, and the young, provided for now? And would there not still be the same fund for their support, though it should come in another shape, and through another channel? *(Hear, hear.)* Were the poor of England worse provided for when there were no poor laws than they are now? Would it be any worse for the

planters to maintain the old, the infirm, and the young, than it is to maintain them now? Is there not wisdom enough in the British Parliament to make some arrangements for the maintenance of these poor old men, and old women, and young children? Are the planters the only persons in the world who can give the negroes four parlours and a saloon, and carry them wine when they want it?

My friends,—We are warned to do this work; every motive that can influence the human mind calls upon us to do it, to do it *now*, not to lose an hour in the performance of this solemn duty. If hurricanes or tornadoes could warn us, we have had them; if insurrections and bloodshed could warn us, we have had them; if the tremendous mortality amongst the negroes could warn us, that mortality is ever before our eyes; if the depreciation of West Indian property could warn us, that depreciation we have seen and daily see; and even whilst I speak a blight and mildew cover every part of the system, and nothing but retracing our steps can bring back peace, security, and prosperity, to the colonies. (*Loud applause.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I will not longer take up your time to-night. The subject is not yet exhausted, though my strength is entirely gone. As I understand that the gentleman who has already appeared twice before you is again to address you, I may ask on his behalf what I asked on my own, that you will hear him patiently. If I myself offered him any interruption, when he last appeared before you, and when he alluded to the philanthropic gentleman "whose name is a synonyme for every thing that is noble in a British merchant and honourable in a man," remember the impression which that statement was calculated to produce, had it gone forth from this platform uncontradicted and unexplained. It was said that I declined to lecture before that gentleman, when, if the truth had been told, it would have appeared that my sole objection to lecturing before a chairman of the West India body, an objection stated in the most handsome terms I could devise, was an apprehension of being compelled to say, in the course of my lecture, what might be thought to do violence to the feelings of the chairman. (*Applause.*) As I came to Liverpool uninfluenced by any particular body, I thought I had a right to consult my own feelings on the subject, and, therefore, I claimed for the sake of my own feelings and those of the Chairman, that we might have a disinterested person in the chair. (*Applause.*) But when I found that persisting in such determination might in the least degree disturb the harmony between the two bodies, I instantly acceded to their wishes, and expressed my perfect willingness to lecture with Mr. Horsfall, or any other gentleman as Chairman on the occasion. (*Cheers.*) This led me to request that the letter might be read; and as the letter was alluded to on this platform in a manner calculated to prejudice me in the opinion of the meeting, I think it ought to have been read in order that the auditory might be in possession of the facts. (*Applause.*) And I cannot but accuse the Chairman on that occasion of something like reservation in withholding that fact from the audience when he well knew that it was not from cowardice that I objected to lecture before him, but a regard for his own feelings as a gentleman, whom I honour from the character I have heard of him; but I still say that to sit in that chair and not give the whole truth to the auditory was an act of reservation which does little honour either to his head or his heart. (*Cheers.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have now done; I leave the cause in your hands. I believe our treaty with the West India body is nearly at an end. I have only further to say, hear patiently, judge candidly, consider deliberately, and then decide between us; and say whether the arguments adduced for the continuance of slavery, or mine for its abolition, are the strongest. If mine, speak with one heart and with one voice, and declare it for ever at an end.

Mr. Thompson concluded his address at a little after nine o'clock, amidst the loudest cheering and clapping of hands, and the audience soon afterwards quietly separated.

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ANALYSIS OF THE REPORT OF A COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY, WITH NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

On the 24th of May, 1832, a select Committee of the House of Commons was "appointed to consider and report upon the measures which it might be expedient to adopt for the purpose of effecting the extinction of slavery throughout the British Dominions at the earliest period compatible with the safety of all classes in the colonies, *and in conformity with the resolutions of this House of the 15th of May*, 1823;" the words in italics being superadded to Mr. Buxton's resolution, on the motion of Viscount Althorp—162 voting for them, and 90 against them.

The following members were thereupon selected for this Committee, on the proposition of the noble Viscount:—Mr. Buxton, Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, Sir George Murray, Mr. Goulburn, Mr. Burge, Mr. Evans, Viscount Sandon, Viscount Howick, Marquis of Chandos, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Marryat, Mr. Vernon, Mr. Holmes, Dr. Lushington, Mr. Baring, Mr. Frankland Lewis, Viscount Ebrington, Mr. Littleton, Mr. Carter, Mr. Hodges, Mr. Ord, Mr. Fazakerley, and Mr. Alderman Thompson.

The Committee commenced its sittings on the 6th of June, and closed them on the 11th of August. The following is its report made to the House on that day:—

"Your Committee, in pursuance of the instructions by which they were appointed, having assembled to consider the 'measures most expedient to be adopted for the extinction of slavery throughout the British Dominions at the earliest period compatible with the safety of all classes in the colonies,' adverted in the first instance to the condition contained in the terms of reference, which provides that such extinction shall be 'in conformity with the resolutions of the House of the 15th of May, 1823,'—that this House at that time looked forward to such a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population as might prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of his

Majesty's subjects. The House also then declared 'that it was anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose at the earliest period compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property.'

"In the consideration of a question involving so many difficulties of a conflicting nature, and branching into subjects so various and complicated, it appeared necessary to your Committee, by agreement, to limit their direct enquiries to certain heads.

"It was therefore settled that two main points arising out of the terms of reference should be first investigated, and these were embraced in the two following propositions:—

"1st. That the slaves, if emancipated, would maintain themselves, would be industrious, and disposed to acquire property by labour.

"2nd. That the dangers of convulsion are greater from freedom withheld, than from freedom granted to the slaves.

"Evidence was first called to prove the affirmative of these propositions, and had been carried on, in this direction, to a considerable extent; and was not exhausted, when it was evident the session was drawing to a close; and that this most important and extensive enquiry could not be satisfactorily finished. At the same time your Committee was unwilling to take an *ex parte* view of the case. It was therefore decided to let in evidence of an opposite nature, intended to disprove the two propositions, and to rebut the testimony adduced in their support. Even this limited examination has not been fully accomplished, and your Committee is compelled to close its labours in an abrupt and unfinished state.

"With some few exceptions the enquiry has been confined to the island of Jamaica; and the important question of what is due to 'the fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property,' as connected with emancipation, has not been investigated by your Committee.

"Many incidental topics which your Committee could not leave have presented themselves in the course of this enquiry; and some opinions have been pronounced, and some expressions used by witnesses, which may seem to be injurious to the character of persons in high stations in the colonies.

"Unwilling to present the evidence in a garbled state, your Committee have resolved not to exclude from their minutes testimony thus implicating the conduct of public functionaries; but they are bound to impress on the House the consideration which it is just constantly to remember, that no opportunity of contradicting, or explaining, those statements have been afforded to the

parties accused; and evidence of this description must be received with peculiar caution.

"Your Committee, however, are unwilling that the fruits of their enquiry should be altogether lost; and they present the evidence taken before them to the House, which, although incomplete, embraces a wide range of important information, and discloses a state of affairs demanding the earliest and most serious attention of the legislature."

The minutes of evidence extend to 655 closely printed folio pages, and are contained in a volume ordered to be printed on the 11th of August, 1832, and distinguished by the number 721. Of this immense mass it shall now be our endeavour to convey to the public, and to our readers, a clear and faithful analysis. It may be convenient, however, to preface that analysis by a brief account of the witnesses examined on this occasion, and of their opportunities of acquiring a competent knowledge of the subject on which they were called to give their testimony.

On the AFFIRMATIVE side of the question, as to the EXPEDIENCY of an immediate or early extinction of slavery, the following witnesses were produced, viz.

1. WILLIAM TAYLOR, Esq. (p. 7—64), who went to Jamaica in 1816, and left it in 1823. He returned in 1824, left it again in 1825, returned to it in 1826, and quitted it finally in 1831. Of these 15 years he resided during 13 in Jamaica. For the chief part of that time he was engaged in commercial pursuits in Kingston, intermixed with occasional visits to plantations in various parts of the island, viz.—St. Thomas in the East, Trelawny, St. Elizabeth, Manchester, and St. George; but, for the last two or three years of his stay, he was wholly occupied in the management of three sugar estates belonging to J. B. Wildman, Esq., cultivated by about six or seven hundred Negroes, lying in Vere, Clarendon, and St. Andrew's, on the last of which, Papine, he chiefly resided.

2. The Rev. JOHN BARRY (p. 64—106), a Wesleyan Missionary, who went to Jamaica early in 1825, and quitted it early in 1832, but whose actual residence there, having been absent about a year, did not exceed six years. These were passed chiefly in Kingston and Spanish Town, but partly also in the parishes of St. Thomas in the Vale, St. Dorothy, St. Mary, Trelawny, St. James, St. David, and St. Thomas in the East.

3. The Rev. PETER DUNCAN (p. 106—134, and p. 140—158), a Wesleyan Missionary, who arrived in Jamaica in January, 1821, and quitted it in March, 1832, after an uninterrupted residence of upwards of eleven years in the parishes of Kingston, St. Thomas in the East, St. Thomas in the Vale, and St. James.

4. The Rev. THOMAS COOPER (p. 134—140), a Unitarian Missionary, who, for three years and three months, between 1818 and 1821,

resided on a plantation in Hanover parish, Jamaica, belonging to R. Hibbert, Esq.

5. Mr. Henry Loving (p. 150—167), a coloured gentleman, a native of Antigua, in which island he resided from his birth, till he paid a visit a few months ago to this country. He was born a slave, but was emancipated when about nine years of age, and has been for some time, and now is, the proprietor and editor of a newspaper published in Antigua, called the Weekly Register.

6. The Rev. John Thorp (p. 167—178), a clergyman of the church of England, who resided in Jamaica two years and three months in 1827, 1828, and 1829, as curate to the Rev. Mr. Trew, of St. Thomas in the East.

7. The Rev. Wiltshire Stanton Austin (p. 178—195), a clergyman of the church of England, and a native of the West Indies, who resided in Barbadoes, Demerara, Berbice, and Surinam, and occasionally visited some of the other colonies. He quitted the West Indies last in 1824, having resided there for about 14 years after he had attained his 18th year. His father is a proprietor of slaves, whom he is destined to inherit, and whom he was engaged in managing for some years before he entered into the church.

8. Vice-Admiral the Hon. Charles Fleming (p. 195—223, and p. 238—243), who has known the West Indies for 35 years, and has visited them all, with the exception of St. Kitts and Tortola, his residence in the West Indies amounting on the whole to five or six years, more than half of that time, namely, three years, between 1827 and 1830, having been passed at Jamaica, in which station he was Admiral. He has also visited Cuba, the Caraccas, and Hayti.

9. Robert Sutherland, Esq. (p. 223—229), a gentlemen of colour, who had been in Hayti in 1815, and had also resided there during 1819, 1820, and 1821. He passed a few days there in 1823 and 1824, and was there for a few weeks in 1827; and he moreover resided for three years in the Caraccas as a British Consul.

10. The Rev. Nathaniel Paul (p. 229—233), also a gentleman of colour, a native of the United States, who resided as a Baptist Missionary in various slave states until 1830, when he visited England.

11. The Rev. Thomas Morgan (p. 233—242), a Wesleyan Missionary, who had resided in different West India colonies, namely St. Kitts, Nevis, Antigua, St. Vincent, and Jamaica, from 1812 to 1831, 18 years in all, which, deducting an absence of two years in England, makes his residence there 16 years.

12. The Rev. William Knibb (p. 243—284, and 317—322), a Baptist Missionary, who resided upwards of seven years in Jamaica, namely from 1825 to April 1832, chiefly in the parishes of St. James, Trelawny, Hanover, and Westmoreland.

To prove the inexpediency of an early or immediate emancipation of the slaves the following witnesses were produced chiefly by the Colonial party:—

1. Captain C. H. Williams, of the Royal Navy (p. 390—307), who passed a few months of the present year in St. Kitts, Nevis, Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, during which time he was on shore three days on the estate of Mr. Huggins,* of Nevis, and two days on an estate of Mr. Hibbert's, in Hanover, Jamaica.†

2. William Alers Hankey, Esq., a banker of London (p. 307—317), and late treasurer of the London Missionary Society, who is a proprietor of 300 slaves in the island of Jamaica, but who has never visited the West Indies.

3. James de Peyster Ogden, a native of New York, in the United States (p. 322—330), who now resides in Liverpool.

4. Robert Scott, Esq. (p. 330—358), who resided in Jamaica *about* five years between 1802 and 1809, and who, during that time, had either owned as proprietor, or managed as attorney, 4000 slaves in Hanover, Trelawny, St. James, and St. Ann, the latest period of his stay there being 23 years ago.

5. James Simpson, Esq. (359—366, and 369—405), who resided in Jamaica nearly 24 years, quitting it finally in 1828. In that time he had been a merchant of Kingston, and the representative of some noblemen and gentlemen, absentee proprietors of plantations situated in Vere, Clarendon, St. Mary, St. George, St. Andrew, St. David, Port Royal, St. Thomas in the East, St. Elizabeth, and Hanover, in that island. It was of his house that Mr. William Taylor, whose evidence is analysed in the following pages, was for a time a partner.

6. William Mier, Esq. (p. 366—369), a native of the United States, who was the proprietor in Georgia of 500 slaves, whom he has since sold.

7. The Rev. John Shipman (405—416), a Wesleyan Missionary, who resided in Jamaica for ten years, from 1813 to 1824, at Kingston, Spanish Town, Falmouth, and Montego Bay, and at Grateful Hill, in St. Thomas in the Vale.

8. The Rev. Robert Young (p. 416—428), a Wesleyan Missionary, who resided in Jamaica for five years, from 1820 to 1826, chiefly in Kingston and Spanish Town, and at Stony Hill, in St. Andrew's.

9. William Shand, Esq. (p. 428—434; p. 459—484; and p. 542), who was a proprietor and attorney of estates in Jamaica from 1791 to 1826; having resided there 34 years. During that time he had under his charge 18 or 20,000 slaves, residing occasionally in almost every parish in the island. He was also a magistrate, and member of Assembly.

10. Bryan Adams, Esq. (p. 443—452), who had resided in the Caraccas.

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* Of this gentleman, an ample and horrific record will be found in the following parliamentary papers of 1812: viz. No. 204, and No. 225.

† Of this estate a very full account will be found in the pamphlet entitled "Negro Slavery, especially in Jamaica," published by Hatchard in 1824. 4th edition, p. 36—55.

11. Mr. John Ford Pyke (p. 452), who had resided in Cuba.

12. William Watson, Esq. (p. 452—459), who had resided in the Caraccas for four years.

13. H. Townsend Bowen, Esq. (p. 457—459), who had resided 11 years in Trinidad, and returned thence last year.

14. R. G. Amyot, Esq. (p. 484 and 519), chief clerk in the Registry of Colonial Slaves' Office, in London.

15. Samuel Baker, Esq. (p. 485—498), who had visited Jamaica in 1816 and 1817, and afterwards in 1832.

16. Andrew Graham Dignum (p. 498—501), who is a practising solicitor in Jamaica, where he has neither land nor slaves, but where he has resided for 14 years, namely, from 1818 to 1832.

17. Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Rowley (p. 501—508), who is acquainted with the West Indies generally, and commanded as Admiral on the Jamaica station from 1820 to 1823.

18. James Beckford Wildman, Esq. (p. 509—542), who is a West India proprietor possessing 640 slaves in Jamaica, on three estates, one in St. Andrew, another in Vere, and a third in Clarendon, of which Mr. Taylor (mentioned above) had for a time the charge. Mr. Wildman resided there from 1825 to 1828, being about four years.

19. Rev. J. Tyers Barrett, D.D. (p. 544—549), who is secretary to the Society for the Conversion of Negro Slaves.

20. William Burge, Esq. (p. 549), the late Attorney-General of Jamaica, and now the Agent of that island.

21. John M'Gregor, Esq. (p. 549), a gentleman who has resided in British America.

The Appendix moreover contains the following evidence :—

A. General Returns of Twelve Sugar Estates in Jamaica from 1817 to 1829 (p. 566—577).

B. Extracts of Reports of the Society for the Conversion of Negro Slaves (p. 588, 589).

C. Extracts from the examination of Annasamy, a native of Madras residing in the Mauritius (p. 590).

D. Remarks of Captain Elliott, Protector of slaves in Demerara (p. 590).

E. Answers of the same to Questions of Lord Goderich (p. 598).

It will appear from the report of the Committee that the main points of their enquiry were embraced by the two following propositions, including, in fact, all that Mr. Buxton, in moving for that Committee, had pledged himself, or even thought it necessary to attempt to prove, viz :—

1. That the slaves, if emancipated, will adequately maintain themselves by their own labour; and 2nd. That the danger of withholding freedom from the slaves is greater than that of granting it.

These two propositions, we conceive, the evidence before us has most irrefragably and triumphantly established; and the controversy, there-

fore, as respects the expediency of an early emancipation, may be considered as decided.* The justice and humanity of such a measure has long ceased to be a question.

We will abstract the whole of the evidence on these two points in the order in which it is given, omitting however, for the present, all merely collateral questions until this first and most important part of our task shall have been completed. We have already introduced the witnesses, who are successively to appear before them, to the notice of our readers, accompanied by a brief view of their respective opportunities of information.

I. Mr. Taylor stated that the six or seven hundred slaves placed under his management by Mr. Wildman belonged to three sugar estates on the south side of the island: one of which was in the parish of St. Andrews, named Papine; another in the parish of Clarendon, named Low Ground; and the third in the parish of Vere, named Salt Savannah. On the two first-mentioned estates the slaves wholly maintained themselves by provisions raised on land allotted for their use, to which was added the usual allowance of pickled fish, being about one salt herring a day for each adult, and half that quantity for each child. The slaves on the estate in Vere were fed chiefly by an allowance of Guinea corn, issued from the granary of the estate. They had grounds besides which they cultivated; but the seasons being adverse

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* At Manchester and at Liverpool, a Mr. Borthwick, in delivering lectures *in favour* of Slavery, took occasion to state that the evidence before the House of Commons was highly favourable to the planters. It was affirmed that it was some proof to the contrary that Mr. Burge, the Agent of Jamaica, had resisted, in the House of Commons, the motion of Sir James Graham, for printing that evidence. On this Mr. Borthwick produced, or pretended to produce, a strong denial of this fact under the hand of Mr. Burge himself, falsifying the statement which had appeared to that effect in the Times of the 7th of August, 1832. The Jamaica Courant however (the oracle of Mr. Burge, and of his constituents, the corresponding committee of the Jamaica Assembly) completely falsifies Mr. Borthwick's statement, and that of Mr. Burge too, if truly represented by Mr. Borthwick; for on the 26th of September, 1832, there appeared in that paper the following paragraph, probably communicated by Mr. Burge himself:—

" *House of Commons, August* 6, 1832.

" Sir J. Graham moved that the Report of the Committee on West India Slavery be laid on the table of the House.

" Mr. Burge objected to the motion because the evidence of the planters had not yet been taken, and that of the other party might therefore prejudice the public mind.

" Sir J. Graham replied that the motion was a matter of course, and that the hon. member had been overruled in every case before the Committee.

" The motion was then agreed to."—*Jamaica Courant, Sept.* 26, 1832.

Now even the reason here given for postponing the printing of the evidence is untrue, the *number* of witnesses on the part of the West Indian body being greater than that of the witnesses brought before the Committee by the Anti-Slavery party, and the space occupied by the evidence of the former being not inferior in extent to the space occupied by that of their opponents, being about 290 folio pages to each.

in Vere they were chiefly fed by corn grown by the master and issued to them from his stores.* The ground provisions, which the slaves raise for themselves in the other parishes, are chiefly yams, plantains, cocoes or eddoes, potatoes, &c. The slaves are not forbidden by law, as Mr. Taylor thinks, to cultivate the sugar cane, but they incur a penalty by having sugar in their possession.†

Besides the allowance of herrings given to the slaves, clothes are annually given to them; but the quantity of clothing Mr. Taylor cannot specify. The time allowed them by *law*, for raising the food by which they and their families are supported, is twenty-six days in the year, besides three holidays at Christmas. This arrangement, Mr. Taylor says, has existed since 1816; but he cannot tell what time, for this purpose, the law previously gave to the slaves.‡

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* This parish, as we shall have occasion to show, is more favourably situated in respect to the circumstances of its slave population than any other parish in the island of Jamaica. And yet, will it be believed that there is even here no increase of the slave population, even if we do not take into account the number imported into it from neighbouring parishes, the population in 1821 being 7,887, and in 1831, after a lapse of ten years, being only 7,908?

† Throughout the whole of this examination there is a wonderful ignorance manifested, especially by the planters, of the state of the law by which they and the slaves are governed. If the reader will turn to the latest Jamaica Slave Code, that of the 19th of Feb. 1831,—and in this respect it is only a transcript of preceding codes,—he will find that by the 91st Section of that Act it is enacted, "That, to prevent and punish depredations on produce," "if any slave shall have in his possession any quantity of sugar, coffee, or pimento, in quantity *not exceeding five pounds*, or of rum *not exceeding one gallon*, unknown to his owner, overseer, or manager, without giving a satisfactory account of how he became possessed of them, such slave, on conviction thereof before *any* magistrate, shall suffer punishment, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes; and, if there shall be found in his possession a larger quantity than twenty pounds of sugar, coffee, or pimento, or five gallons of rum, then such slave, upon conviction thereof at a slave court, shall suffer such punishment as the court shall think proper to inflict or direct, not extending to life, transportation, or imprisonment for life." Well, therefore, may West Indians gravely testify to the unwillingness of the slaves to grow sugar, and well may Mr. Taylor testify to the infrequency of the culture of sugar by slaves. He had never seen or heard of its being cultivated but in Manchester, where he has seen it voluntarily cultivated by slaves, and where also he has seen small sugar-mills in the Negroes' gardens—"but that," he adds, "is to be accounted for, because there they are at a distance from a sugar district." Report p. 7, 8. See this matter further illustrated in the Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. v., No. 101, p. 269.

‡ Before 1816 the law was as follows (See Privy Council Report of 1789, Part iii.; Laws of Jamaica, Act of 1788, section 17):—"And whereas it hath been usual and customary with the planters in this island to allow their slaves one day in every fortnight to cultivate their own provision grounds (exclusive of Sundays), *except* during the time of crop, but the same *not* being compulsory, be it further enacted, that the slaves belonging to or employed in every plantation or settlement, shall, over and above the usual holidays, be allowed one day in every fortnight (exclusive of Sundays) *except* during the time of crop, under the penalty of £10." This grant of time, crop lasting from four to six months, could not have been more than from thirteen to seventeen days. The dreadful mortality from hunger at that period, as shown by a memorial of the Jamaica

The younger Negroes on Mr. Wildman's estates had never received any instruction prior to his visiting Jamaica for the first time in 1826. This was done in consequence of the express injunctions of Mr. Wildman himself. The adults now receive no education whatever. As to the capacity of the slaves for receiving instruction, they were much like other human beings; some were apt, and others very stupid, and some remarkably acute. He could not say they were equally apt with the Scottish peasantry; but their circumstances were disadvantageous in a peculiar degree, and in spite of these he had seen, in a multitude of instances, a wonderful aptness for instruction. There appeared in them no natural incapacity whatever for instruction. He had been struck with the retentiveness and minuteness of their memories, and especially in the children.

With respect to the provident or improvident use of money, he thought them pretty much like the peasantry of other countries, but considerably less given to intoxication than the peasantry of Scotland, and infinitely less than the soldiery who go out to the colonies, the mortality among whom is attributed to their fondness for spirits. There were on the estates some Negroes who would not touch spirits, while others were incorrigible drunkards. Any money he paid the Negroes at any time for wages was generally expended in the purchase of food (page 9, 10).

Mr. Taylor had known many free blacks and people of colour: they form a numerous body. There are among them many, especially mulattoes and quadroons, the children of white book-keepers and overseers, who have been emancipated; but the great mass of them have been born free, being the children of emancipated slaves. The great increase of their number arises from births in a state of freedom. In the neighbourhood of Papine, some of these free people who had been emancipated, unable to find adequate employment as mechanics in the town of Kingston, had fixed themselves at a place called Cavaliers, belonging to Mr. Wildman, which was parcelled out to them in small patches of one, two, or three acres, for which, with a house upon it, they undertook to pay thirty shillings an acre. The run of land called Cavaliers was let by Mr. Wildman to one tenant, and by him sub-let in smaller portions, Mr. Wildman finding it difficult and troublesome to collect the rents. The tenant-in-chief cultivated a part of the land by means of free Negroes, to whom he paid wages, and the rest he sub-let. The number thus located might be from 200 to 300, men, women, and children. The cultivation consisted generally of provisions, as corn and yams, with some coffee. He had never seen any

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Assembly printed in the same Privy Council Report, sufficiently prove how necessary it was to make even this scanty allowance of time compulsory. Fifteen thousand slaves are stated by the Assembly to have perished from hunger, and the diseases consequent on hunger, in a very short time, simply because the little time allowed the slave obliged him to limit his growth of provisions to plantains, which the first hurricane was sure to sweep from the face of the earth.

sugar cultivation there, though there were sugar estates in the district, and sugar would grow any where. Of the settlers he knew nothing personally. Some he believed were orderly, and some disorderly; and it was the haunt of many bad characters and runaways. The settlement he believed was in a bad state, both morally and religiously, for they had no religious instruction, and no education. A school was latterly established among them by the Church Missionary Society, which was readily supported by some of the settlers; but others scoffed at it, and would have nothing to do with it. It might be the duty of the incumbent of the parish to afford them instruction, but he lived sixteen miles off. Mr. Taylor had further known free blacks employ themselves in working on wharfs, and at cranes, and as domestics. He had one servant himself as a slave for ten years, who continued with him after he had manumitted him. Others were employed as mechanics on estates, and others as sailors in coasting vessels, and as stewards of ships. He had met with a great number of them who were very industrious, and who gladly availed themselves of any opportunity of being employed in any way. On the other hand he had met with free blacks who would not work at all, just as in other communities. He had only known one case of an emancipated slave working on a sugar estate in making sugar. Mr. Wildman discovered that one of his slaves had been born in England; and, conceiving that he could have no right to hold him in slavery, he very honourably, in spite of the protestations of his colonial friends, when he first went out to Jamaica, determined on making him amends for the services unjustly exacted from him for thirty years. He gave him, though he was addicted to drinking, a right of residence on his estate, hired him as a carpenter, and appointed 2*s.* 6*d.* a day to be paid him, whether he worked or not. When Mr. Taylor entered on the management of the estate he thought it wrong, as it respected the man himself, to let him go on in this manner. He therefore let him understand that when he got drunk his pay should be stopped for that day. The consequence was he gradually left off drinking, and he worked and made up money. Sometimes he would have a drunken fit, and at other times, for weeks and months together, would remain steadily at labour. Under this system he worked very well as a carpenter, and even took his turn of duty in the boiling house.

He had never known an instance of a free black taking the hoe, and working in the field with the gang, or in the boiling house; but he had known slaves to work for wages in their extra time on sugar estates. Soon after he took charge of Papine, a long line of fence was to be made between that and the Duke of Buckingham's estate, formed by a trench of four feet deep, with a mound thrown up. It is usual to do such labour by task work, at so many feet a day. The labourers complained that they could not perform it in the usual hours of labour. The overseer on the other hand affirmed that they were imposing upon me, and it was solely owing to sloth that they did not easily get through their task. The overseer wished of course to get as much work as he could, and *they* had

naturally an indisposition to do more than they could help. They were told to resume their work the following morning, and, if they performed it within the time, they should be paid for every minute's or hour's additional work they might perform. They began the task at five in the morning, and had finished it by half-past one, and the very slaves who had before complained, received pay for four hours' extra labour. At present all the negroes in the field perform their labour under the fear or impulse of the lash. Physical coercion is employed on every estate in the island to obtain labour from slaves. By banishing the use of the whip, Mr. Taylor found that discipline was necessarily relaxed. This coercion is necessary with slaves in all kinds of labour. The carpenter or cooper knows that if he does not go to his shop and do his work he will be flogged. In short it was necessary, in order to induce the Negroes to work, either to pay them or to flog them. It was possible, however, to conduct the business of an estate without much flogging. Still it was the terror of the lash which produced the labour. On the estate next to Papine (Hope Estate, belonging to the Duke of Buckingham), the driver certainly carried the whip into the field, but for many months it has not been used, the negroes going on, nevertheless, most diligently with their work. But this disuse of the whip had been produced by the previous use of it. The overseer, when he first took charge of that estate, found the Negroes disposed to resist him, and the whip for a time was "most freely and strongly used," and this, Mr. Taylor thinks, not from any motive of cruelty, but from a belief that "it was the only way to establish his authority." He used the whip most freely, and this free use it was that produced the subsequent disuse* (pages 11 and 12).

With the exception of labouring in the workhouse chain, and cleaning the streets of towns, field labour is viewed by slaves as the most degrading occupation. It is considered, for example, a degrading punishment to send a household servant to the field. Many humane persons prefer doing so to flogging them. The labour of cultivating sugar is not more degrading than other field labour, but it is much more severe. "Cane-hole digging is fearfully severe," especially in certain soils. There are other field occupations that are light. Comparing the West Indian slave with the Scotch labourer, he thought cane-hole digging more exhausting than digging potatoes, or reaping corn, or following the plough. If the Scotchman had been digging, and the Negro had been cleaning young canes, the Scotchman would have done the hardest work; but if the Scotchman had been reaping or mowing, and the Negro had been digging cane-holes, then the Negro would have done the hardest work. Taking the labour of the whole year through, certainly the labour of the Jamaica slave was infinitely harder than that of the Scotch peasant, because the former has the night work in crop time, when for at least four months of the year he has only six hours' rest;

* The stimulus was still the brutal one of either the infliction or the fear of the lash.

whereas the Scotchman goes to bed every night throughout the year in good time. Besides this, the Negro works each day a greater length of time than the Scotchman, but the Scotchman puts more work out of hand. The proportion of time consumed in cane-hole digging varies very much in different parts of the island, according to the comparative fertility of the soil; on less fertile soils a third of the cane land requiring to be re-dug every year, and, on very fertile soils, not more than a tenth, or fifteenth, or twentieth part (p. 12, 13). The labour of the slaves is often so exhausting that the overseer is obliged to give them a week's rest to recruit their strength, by setting them to clear pastures, and other light work.

Mr. Taylor, being asked whether the stimulus of the whip, at present the only stimulus, being withdrawn, and the Negro made free, he thought he would be likely to work industriously for adequate wages, replied that, if the Negro is placed in a situation where he must starve or work, he would work. If in the present state of things he were to be told, Keep your provision ground, and keep your house, and come and work for a shilling or other sum a day, he would say, I will not do it; for I can make more by working my grounds. But if the grounds were taken away, and he must understand that he must starve or work, he would work. The consideration by which in the case of freemen the matter would be governed would be this, whether it were most profitable to receive wages, or to rent land and raise produce upon it. If put into a situation where the fear of want would bear upon him, and the inducement to work was plain, then he would work. He drew this opinion partly from his knowledge of emancipated slaves, but chiefly from his knowledge of the slaves under his own care, among whom the good preponderated far above the bad. He found them like the Scottish peasantry, fulfilling all the relations of life. He found them revering the ordinance of marriage. He found them, particularly on the Vere estate, an orderly and industrious people; and he was strongly impressed with the opinion that, if placed in the circumstances of the English or Scottish peasantry, they would act similarly. They were, generally speaking, very industrious in labouring on their provision grounds. It was a frequent practice to work for one another for hire, the hire being 20*d.* currency a day (14*d.* sterling), and a breakfast. Mr. Wildman indulged his Negroes with fifty-two Saturdays in the year, instead of twenty-six, the number allowed them by law, that they might be able to attend divine service, and have no excuse for continuing to work on Sunday. This gave them additional time; and as Mr. T. had a large garden, and was very unwilling to draw from the labour of the estate to keep it in order, he was frequently in the habit of hiring them to work there. Some would come and offer their services, for which he gave them their breakfast and 2*s.* 11*d.* a day currency, being 2*s.* 1*d.* sterling. He was decidedly of opinion that, when an offer was made to pay Negroes for their labour, they were always ready to work. He had known them, even when digging cane-holes, perform the task of 120 cane-holes, and, on being offered pay, dig 20 and 40 cane-holes, after

having finished their task. But, by the ordinary method, the same quantity would not have been dug except by tremendous whipping. Ninety cane-holes indeed on unploughed land was the general task; but 120 if the land had previously been loosened by the plough. The farther exertion, however, produced by the stimulus of wages was such that the driver said it was too much for them, and begged Mr. Taylor to interdict their doing so much. At the end of the week almost every slave had done so much extra work as to receive 3*s.* 4*d.*, which he paid them, according to agreement. If they had worked in the usual way under the whip they might have finished 120 holes in the course of the day, barely completing it at the end of the day; but if told that, if they did the same work, they might as soon as it was done go away, they would, by abridging their intervals of rest, finish it before three o'clock in the afternoon, beginning at five in the morning" (p. 14, 15).

Much the same quantity of labour, Mr. Taylor further remarked, was usually required from all in the great gang. They all usually worked in one line, and where the land was uniform produced the same number of holes, and the women the same as the men. By giving them, however, task work, and wages for extra work, he got the greatest quantity of work their physical strength was equal to. He got much more work, and it was cheerfully done. In general he found them willing to work in their extra time, for hire; he spoke only of Mr. Wildman's slaves. Task work indeed was very generally resorted to, planters thinking that in that way the Negro did his work in a much shorter time. At the same time he was convinced that a mixed system of slavery with its unavoidable expences, and free labour with its wages, would not answer in the long run. He conscientiously believed that if slavery were put an end to, and the slaves emancipated, it would answer to the proprietor. So entirely was he convinced of this that he offered to embark his whole property in purchasing Mr. Wildman's estates, making the slaves free, and adopting the system of free labour, and undertaking the expense of maintaining the schools established by Mr. Wildman, provided he could prevail on a few others to join him. He was now, however, of opinion, from further reflection, that it would have been disadvantageous to have had freedom on one estate and slavery on the next,—to have had freedom on Mr. Wildman's estates, and slavery on the adjoining estates of Mr. Goulburn, in Vere, and the Duke of Buckingham's in St. Andrew, and Mr. Mitchell's in Clarendon. This chequered system would not answer; though he firmly believed that if the plan were supported by due authority, and the slaves were to receive adequate remuneration for their labour, the majority of them would work, and the plan would succeed. He admitted that if a herald were at once to proclaim freedom in Spanish Town, in unqualified terms, to all slaves, anarchy and confusion might be the result. But, by proceeding cautiously, and previously providing the means of restraint, and, above all, by making it known to the slave that it was the King's pleasure that he should still labour when he became free, and if the planters concurred in using this language, so as to remove all

idea that the King and his master were at variance, the freedom of the slaves might be safely, and easily, and even profitably accomplished. He wished to draw a broad line of distinction between freedom indefinitely conferred, and freedom accompanied by effective contemporaneous arrangements, even stronger laws than are now in force, but laws equally affecting all;—strong regulations of police, which should punish vagrancy, and secure to the slave an adequate return for his labour. The police of the agricultural districts in Jamaica now consists of the attorney and the overseer of the estate, the book-keepers under him, and lastly, the drivers, who are usually slaves: the attorney and the overseer corresponding to the justice of the peace in England, and the drivers to constables. On each estate there is now its prison-house: there are also bilboes and other instruments of correction, which are employed by the overseer, &c., for restraint and punishment. Now, in removing this system, a stipendiary magistracy and a constabulary force must be instituted. In this way, by dividing the island into small districts, with a stipendiary magistrate well instructed in the law, not an ignorant planter unacquainted with the law, and a constabulary force under his orders, tranquillity, it appeared to him, would be maintained. The *only* difficulty would be the expense. As to the facility of obtaining labour in these circumstances, the well disposed and industrious would be guided entirely by the profit to be derived from it in choosing their employment; it would be a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence. If the men are paid they will work. Evil doers indeed might not submit to the regular industry of a sugar plantation, especially if they could acquire land of their own. Throughout the island there are little colonies of free labourers. How they got their land he did not know, he supposed by purchase. At present many free persons, who would object on the present system to working on a sugar estate, work on wharfs, in towns, or on board ship, or as domestics, and sometimes by connecting themselves with female slaves on estates, are domiciled in the negro villages, and occupy themselves in tilling the land allowed to their wives by the owners of the estates. He admitted that in all cases much would depend on the character of individuals, and there might be many who would not be uniformly industrious, and there would also in many be a strong disposition to seize the lightest and easiest work, and in whom the love of ease might be stronger than the love of gain. They could not, however, obtain land but by grant from the crown, or by purchase from individuals; and from three to five acres, according to the quality, would be required to maintain himself, his wife, and a family of children of the ordinary size. Many of them, in this way also, besides providing comfortable food and clothing, would be induced to better their condition and to acquire what may be termed the luxuries of life. Mr. Taylor came to this conclusion, from the conviction he had that many of the present slaves, judging from the general style of their houses, and clothes, and furniture, had a keen relish for the comforts of life; many even of the field Negroes studying great neatness and cleanliness, and even making attempts at style in their

houses and furniture, using plates and other conveniences of that sort, and even wearing shoes on Sundays, being ashamed to go to church without them, but carrying them in their hands like the peasant women in Scotland, and putting them on when they drew near the church: but though they did not walk in their shoes, they did not walk barefoot; they wore sandals. All these articles of use, or show, or luxury, were got entirely by their own labour. Mr. Taylor spoke of many of the slaves, especially on Mr. Wildman's estates, as thus acting. On these estates the respectable part of the slaves, the head men, had property of that description, consisting of mahogany furniture, glass decanters, wine, beds, bedsteads, and pictures, acquired not by the gift of their master, or of one another, but the fruit, as he must infer, of their own labour. In the parish of Vere particularly, the Negroes were well off, much better than in St. Andrew and Clarendon. Their dress was different: at the church service in Vere, he was struck with the expensiveness of their dress; the women were dressed in muslins, and Leghorn bonnets; and the men in trowsers, and broad-cloth coats. One day he remarked the difference to one of the head people on Papine, the St. Andrew estate, and received from him this explanation:—"Vere is a great corn country, and in consequence of the supply of corn furnished by the master, they rear large quantities of poultry, and on the market day hucksters come from Kingston by sea, and a considerable trade is carried on by this means, for the supply of Kingston and the shipping in its harbour with poultry; and when a good season comes, as they are then enabled to raise food enough from their own grounds, they save up their allowance of corn from the master, and with that corn rear large quantities of poultry." In Clarendon and St. Andrew the slaves of Mr. Wildman were poor, as compared with those in Vere. This appeared to arise from the sugar district in Clarendon being remote from any market, being sixteen miles from the coast, and twenty miles from Spanish Town. The slaves, therefore, could not turn their provisions into money. The Negroes said they had enough to eat, but could not convert the food into money. In Clarendon, the principal productions are cocoas and other ground provisions; of these they have abundance, but they cannot be applied to the same purposes as the corn of Vere, and, moreover, they have not the same command of a market. In St. Andrew it is better than in Clarendon, but not so good as in Vere, because the soil is not so fertile as in Vere; but the locality as to a market is more favourable than that of Clarendon, Kingston being only six or seven miles distant. On most of the estates throughout the island, the prescribed quantity of clothing is given to the slaves, and their grounds supply abundance of provisions, even where there are no markets near, where they can realize money; but slave-coopers may make money by working at their trade in their own time, viz. on Sundays and their twenty-six days besides, making pails and other articles; and slave-carpenters and masons by executing jobs about other people's houses (pages 18, 19, 20). Still he admitted that in many cases there were great poverty and misery (page 19, question 142).

There are some estates, Mr. Taylor further stated, on which slaves are allowed to have cattle running on their owner's property, and which they sold occasionally, but that that is not a general case.—p. 20.

At one time, Mr. Taylor observed, there was a strong impression on the minds of the slaves of St. Andrew that they were about to be made free. This arose from the House of Assembly, in 1830, having given to the free black and coloured people of the Colony the civil rights and privileges enjoyed by the whites. There was consequently excited among them in that parish an intense desire of freedom; and being told that many of the slaves on Papine were overheard speaking of its approach, he sent for a respectable Negro, belonging to that estate, and spoke to him on the subject of their paying for their cottages and lands by a rent arising from wages, for which they should give a certain quantity of their labour in return. He said that he thought they would be well off in such a case. He said, "Sir, suddenly to take our lands would not do. It would be better for us to have our lands and our houses, taking that as part of our hire." And certainly, if they got a fair return for their labour, Mr. Taylor thinks that they could afford to pay rent.—He also sent for a Negro from Vere, and his statement was that they did not expect freedom, but only the privilege of additional days for themselves. He also sent for another from Clarendon; but in that remote parish, away from the busy part of the island, the rumour had not been heard, and the matter was not thought of. The desire of freedom was very prevalent among domestics as well as field-slaves. He had known persons, especially in sickness and old age, indifferent to freedom, and the head man on an estate may be indifferent to it, but that is not the case generally. He could point out a head-driver, living on an estate where his privileges and means of acquiring property were great, and who, considering freedom as the being turned out upon the open Savannah,* said he would rather forego his freedom. Most of the cases of manumission he had known were among domestic slaves, and among them also most of the applications for manumission occurred; but he does not know that this is owing to a more intense desire of, but simply to greater facilities of acquiring, freedom; they therefore aim at it; but generally throughout the island, the slaves of all classes are anxious to obtain their liberty. The exceptions are the aged invalid Negro, who has survived all his relations, and has a kind and wealthy master, or the driver, whose appointments and allowances are good, who is led to connect with the idea of freedom expulsion from the community in which he lives and from office. If his office could be made to consist with freedom, he would not refuse it; but if he thought he was to be forcibly dispossessed of his house, and driven from his family, and sent out a vagabond upon the face of the earth, much as he might value freedom, he would not like it on those conditions. Though there may thus be individual exceptions, yet decidedly, as a body, the slaves are desirous

* So doubtless it was represented to him by those who knew better.

of liberty. He knew of no body of slaves who would be unwilling to exchange slavery for freedom; he had never heard of freedom being tendered to a body of slaves and refused. He could not even call to mind one instance of a slave having had his freedom offered and refusing it, but he could call to mind almost hundreds of instances where pressing applications had been made for freedom by slaves, with applications to himself for money to enable them to buy it (p. 21, 22).

On Mr. Wildman's estates the slaves had privileges that were very peculiar. They had, for the most part, in addition to the twenty-six week-days allowed by law during the year, every Saturday as it came round out of crop, and *in* crop every second Saturday, and every alternate week in crop the half of Saturday, besides which no night work was permitted on his estates during crop. His object was to give them a full share of rest and sleep, and to preserve Sunday, at least as far as he could, perfectly inviolate. Their children too were educated, and the women were exempted from flogging. He would positively have discharged any overseer who he knew had done so; and even with the men he went on the principle of having no corporal punishment: but in spite of him, and of Mr. Taylor also, the whip was still used. The whip appeared to the overseers to be essential, in some way or other, to the maintenance of order. In one instance on Salt Savannah, it took place contrary to Mr. Taylor's own express orders. Mr. Taylor admits that it would be impossible to manage an estate on the present system without the whip at one time or another: it may not be necessary to be *always* using it; but it is essential to order and to labour, as a stimulus which must be brought to act, either immediately or remotely. He conceived that labour must have some stimulus, and this was the only one applied, because the only one permitted by the state of things in Jamaica. On his entering into the charge of Mr. Wildman's estates, there was an understanding that, on his part, the estate was to be managed on a moderate and humane system, or he would have nothing to do with them; and, on Mr. Wildman's, that Mr. Taylor would conform to his mode of management, or he would have nothing to do with Mr. Taylor. The principle, therefore, on which he went, and from which he never receded, was, that the pecuniary interest of the master was to be secondary to the better interests and well-being of the slave; but Mr. Taylor found that it was quite impossible to work the existing system on that principle. There was a want of a stimulus which he could use. That which alone he had, he could not, and would not use. He accordingly wrote Mr. Wildman a letter, to intimate to him that he was disappointed in all his expectations, and that he found that the system would not work on the principle of humanity, and that it required a harsh and coercive principle. His neighbours advanced before him, simply because they could and did use a power which he would not make use of. This letter was written in October, 1830; the following is an extract from it:—"I must now advert to the subject on which you have remarked in your last letter, namely, the civil condition of your Negroes. I cannot refrain from being explicit on the subject: my mind

has been unceasingly harassed by it. The retrospect, too, of the months which have passed since your departure, only confirms me in my opinions. I do not think that your estates can possibly be made to yield, under the combined system of religion, humanity, and slavery. There is in the latter, as it exists in Jamaica, a repugnance to unite with the two former. By *our* system we take away the motive which leads to labour on the neighbouring estates,—that is, the dread of the lash: and we cannot substitute that which makes the English labourer industrious, namely, the fear of want; for the law of Jamaica compels the slave proprietor to feed his slave, to clothe him, and to house him, whatever the conduct of that slave may be.* True it is he may flog him and imprison him,—but *there* our principles come in and prevent; for the first we turn away from, and the latter is a clumsy and dreadful means of compelling obedience; so that, between the two, the discipline is relaxed. Your people are certainly quiet, and generally well conducted; but I am at the same time obliged to say that less work, I think, is produced under our moderate and mild system than under the harsh methods used by the majority of planters. The want is that of a motive. After much anxious thought on the subject, I have come to the conclusion that THE ONLY EFFECTUAL remedy is emancipation. We are, I conceive, in a strait: we must either go on to the ultimate measure of freedom, or go back (which would appear to be impossible, as well as inhuman) to the use of brute coercion. In the middle state we are perplexed and retarded in our operations, simply because there is not a sufficient stimulus. A labourer says he will not work: in England instant dismissal is the consequence: in Jamaica, instant flogging follows.—Now, dismiss a labourer, I cannot;—flog him, I will not."

In short, Mr. Taylor goes on to state, we must either have an extinction of slavery, or be content to go on with the harsh and barbarous system which now prevails. We must stimulate the slave to labour either by the fear of want, or by the lash. In Jamaica you feed and clothe him whether he works or not, but if he will not work you flog him. If it had not been for the law of Jamaica, Mr. Taylor thinks he could have worked upon him by other motives; but the law required him to swear every quarter that he had provided him with food and clothing; and therefore, unless he committed perjury, he had no hold upon him but the lash. He believed in the first instance that he should have succeeded in his plan mentioned before (see p. 325) of buying these estates, after the plan of a modified slavery had failed; but he was misled by his strong wish to try the experiment, and by the warm regard he felt for the slaves over whom he had been placed. He saw that there were immense difficulties in the way, in the then state of things, but he hoped they might be overcome; and at any rate he was so disgusted with what he was engaged in, and so anxious to make the experiment, that he proposed, had he got any others to join him, to purchase the three estates, to manumize

* Mr. Taylor must mean of course the conscientious slave proprietor, who feels bound not to violate the law.

the Negroes belonging to them, who were connected with each other by family ties, and to work them as free labourers, hoping to be supported in his plan by the local authorities. He could prevail on no one to join him. Still he made the proposal for one of the estates, but it was not accepted. Difficulties of various kinds might have arisen, but these would have been much fewer had the whole slave population been manumitted, and the government of this country been resolutely determined to preserve order. He had no fear whatever that the slaves would become unsettled, or turn vagrants, for he never saw any disposition in the negro mind to vagrancy. A Negro who has his house and grounds will never wander, or run away, but from very bad treatment. A man who has no ties on the estate, no family ties, will desert on receiving ill treatment; but a head Negro, or even a respectable field Negro who has his house and his land, his wife and his children, will bear a great deal of ill treatment before he will run away, Very few return into the woods as compared with the whole population. On one estate he recollects 25 men deserting at a very critical time of the year, in the season of planting; but it was because the overseer had treated them infamously. They watched their opportunity and withdrew into the woods when their services were most required. The proprietor of the estate happened to arrive on the island at the time, and they instantly returned. The overseer was dismissed, and another put in his room, and the Negroes never went away afterwards. It would be difficult to say that they have the *same* ties to home as the English labourer, their situations being so unlike; but still they have many strong ties to home. If a gang of Negroes is bought or sold, it is with the greatest difficulty they can be moved, and often the civil power must be called in to force them: some are sent to the workhouse, and the rest are terrified into submission. Mr. Taylor remembered an instance where a large estate was broken up and the Negroes sold in separate gangs, and one gang they had great difficulty in moving; it was at last moved about 25 miles. About eight months after, their new owner died, and, he not having paid for them, they had to be moved again, when the difficulty was as great as before (p. 24, 25).

Mr. Taylor, in reply to another series of questions, stated that the law allows twenty-six week-days in the year, exclusive of Sundays and the usual (three) holidays, for his provision grounds; and by this allowance of time, together with his Sundays, the Negro in Jamaica maintains himself and his family. Multitudes of them consume their Sundays in their grounds and in going to market. Besides this they have half an hour each day for breakfast, and two hours interval in the middle of the day. During that last interval many work on their own account in their grounds or gardens or in other matters; the half hour for breakfast is usually consumed in rest in the field, often in the shade of a tree. He cannot say how much labour in the year is sufficient to enable a slave to satisfy his wants and those of his family, nor how much land he requires for that purpose. But he knows that to a great extent they cultivate their grounds and go to market on Sunday; but he

cannot affirm that working all Sunday is universal. If, however, a Negro were to devote his Sundays to repose he certainly could not maintain himself and his family; and, in fact, by the great majority of them, Sunday is generally consumed in their grounds or in marketing. If they strictly observed the Sunday, having only their twenty-six week-days, it would not be sufficient; and even near the Missionary stations he remembered that the ministers complained that on certain Sundays the slaves never could attend service, and they had no congregation of them.—It was not the nature of the slaves' work, with the exception of cane-hole-digging, but the duration of it, of which they had to complain. As for cane-hole digging, it was so hard that he had heard overseers of plantations state as the chief objection to freedom that they never could get cane-holes dug by free men. And certainly they could not at the common rate of labour: it would require an immense inducement. The slaves will certainly do much more for themselves than when they work for their masters. Even when performing task-work, they are different beings. A Negro will lift a load for himself which it would require a severe flogging to make him lift for his master. He had seen them travelling to market, groaning under a load of hard wood timber which no overseer could make them carry. But the inducement was great: they were sure to get a high price for it, and they were labouring for themselves. He had often observed them, after working for their masters, and for their own maintenance, prolong their work to procure some little indulgences. Whenever they could contrive by task-work, or other arrangements, to obtain any extra time, their grounds were crowded with them, labouring for their own benefit. They cannot, therefore, be said to be an indolent race, or incapable of being actuated by the motives by which labour is generally prompted. His own experience assured him of the contrary. He admitted that the propensity of the Negro, as of all men in warm climates, was to indolence; but, whenever the hope of pecuniary advantage could be brought to bear on this indolence, it was powerfully counteracted. He was well acquainted with the inhabitants of Scotland, and he had never known an intelligent and well-instructed Scotchman who would work hard without an inducement; but, for the same motive of personal advantage, the Negro might most decidedly be induced to work to an immense extent. Having tried the experiment of voluntary labour for wages in his own garden, the man who most frequently applied for employment was the most idle and worthless man on the estate. The steady Negroes were far less willing to work in his garden, having large and well cultivated grounds of their own; while this fellow had neglected his ground and had therefore no temptation to go to it, and was glad the efore to be employed in the garden, or he would collect a little fruit, or procure some billets of wood, and carry them to Kingston market, converting them into cash. This man, more frequently than any other, came to work in the garden the whole day till four o'clock, and he then took his 2*s.* 11*d.* of hire and proceeded to Kingston to convert the money into comforts; while the other Negroes were unwilling to

do so, it being more profitable to go to their own grounds—thus decidedly showing their judgment in discriminating as to the kind of labour that would reward them best and selecting that. In fact the Negroes are far from being the rude uncultivated barbarians they are sometimes represented to be. The estimate in this country of their character is a great deal too low. He himself had no notion of it till he was called to manage those estates; and he had been ten years in the island and was still in great ignorance of the agricultural labourers of Jamaica; and he then found that far too low an opinion had been formed (and this he declared to many in Jamaica) of their state of civilization. The Negroes who worked in his garden worked diligently, because he discharged them if they did not. The idle man, who was the chief labourer, was well watched by the gardener, and if slothful was sent away. The fear of this operated to produce application as the fear of the whip did in the field. Working in his garden was however less hard than digging cane holes (p. 25, 26, 27).

Mr. Taylor was here asked a very important question: "How many hours a day, upon the average, is a slave engaged in the work of his master?" He was unable to answer this question with any precision, having never acted in the lower grades of plantership, either as bookkeeper or overseer.* But though Mr. Taylor cannot specify the exact

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* As Mr. Taylor could not trust to his recollection to answer this question, it may be expedient at once to refer to the infallible authority, not of an obsolete statute, but the latest slave law on this subject, namely, the Act of 19th February, 1831, clause 22:—"And be it further enacted that every field slave on any plantation or settlement shall, on work days, be allowed half an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner; and that no slave shall be compelled to any manner of *field work* upon the plantation before the hour of *five in the morning*, or *after the hour of seven at night, except during the time of crop*, under the penalty not exceeding fifty pounds, to be recovered against the overseer or other person having the charge of such slaves."

The overseer, therefore, is by this, the only existing law on the subject, empowered to compel the labour of the slaves in the field, whether they be men, women, or children, on all work days, from five in the morning till seven in the evening, being fourteen solid hours, with intervals of two hours and a half, leaving the actual field labour to which the slaves, male and female, are compellable to submit, at the immoderate amount of ELEVEN HOURS AND A HALF on each work day throughout the year. But then crop time, which lasts from four to six months in the year, is exempted even from this limitation; and there is no extent of exaction short of absolute cruelty, and not bounded by the physical powers of the human animal, which this apparently slight and parenthetic provision may not vindicate. This enactment, too, is not an act of inconsideration on the part of the Jamaica legislature. It stands thus in every successive version of it from 1788 downwards. It stood in their disallowed act of 1826 in precisely the same words, and was thus commented upon by Mr. Huskisson in his Despatch of the 22nd September, 1827:—"The provisions for the prevention of excessive labour contemplate the working of the slaves for eleven hours and a half daily out of crop, and place no limit on the continuance of the work during crop time. Considering the climate in which the labour is to be performed, and that after the work of the field there will yet remain many offices to be done not falling within the proper meaning of the term 'labour' (he should have said field labour), I should fear that the exertions of the slaves, if exacted up to

but varying duration of the slaves' labour for his master, upon one fact involved in it he speaks without any doubt or hesitation, and that is, that the *women* are employed the same number of hours with the men, except women pregnant, or having children at the breast. Their labour, also, is almost entirely of the same description as that of the men. They cannot undertake the management of cattle, or the duty of *watching* all night out of crop; but they dig cane-holes with the men, and in gangs with them; and they are exposed to the same degree of labour. The question aptly follows, "Does the population of Jamaica increase or decrease?" The reply is—IT DECREASES; and this decrease Mr. Taylor states is considered in Jamaica to arise from sugar cultivation, especially the night work of crop, and the cane-hole digging. The free blacks and people of colour, on the other hand, increase. The maroons, he knew from the returns in the Jamaica Almanac, increased largely, and they derive their whole subsistence from their own exertions. The habits of the free people as to labour he was not able to describe particularly; few of them, from the jealousy and ill-will of managers and overseers, have hitherto been allowed to settle on or near estates. A free village near an estate indeed is viewed as a great evil. Being asked to account for the increase of the free, while the slaves decrease, Mr.

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the limits allowed by law, would be scarcely consistent with the health of the labourer." Mr. Huskisson might well say so, as the murderous tendency of the whole system of slave labour in Jamaica abundantly testifies, by the debility and death of its victims, by the arrest of the prolific powers of the female slaves, and by the frightful waste of the whole slave population.

Now, in the insolent reply of the Assembly to Mr. Huskisson's Despatch, drawn up by the very Mr. Barrett who is now a delegate from Jamaica to uphold this cruel code, as it is given in the papers printed by command in 1828, Mr. Barrett seems at some loss to parry or evade the above conclusive observations of the Secretary of State. His reply is a rare example of shuffling dexterity. It is as follows:—"Mr. Huskisson fears that the exertions of the slaves, if exacted up to the limits allowed by the disallowed law, would be scarcely consistent with a due regard to the health of the labourer. Negroes do not exert themselves at work like Europeans. They seldom fatigue themselves, and it is common for them to travel many miles or to dance the entire night after the longest day's labour. It is believed by the House of Assembly that labourers work much harder and longer in Great Britain, and are rewarded with a smaller share of the necessaries and comforts of existence."

The daring insolence, the unblushing falsehood, and the unfeeling levity of such a statement, on so grave a subject, and with a wasting population around them, is quite characteristic of the Jamaica Assembly. Yet Mr. Huskisson did not do justice to the cause he advocated. He was not aware of half the exactions to which, under the shelter of this artfully framed and most insidious enactment, the slave might be subjected. There is no limitation but to work in the field, none to grass collecting for the cattle after the work of the field is over, none to the onerous duties of the slaves, male and female, in their household menage; viz. all the cooking required, the firing and water wanted for household purposes and cleanliness for them and their families;—all are left to fall on the slaves after their work is over, and they have been broiling in a tropical sun for eleven hours and a half in the field, and under the lash. Can we wonder at the dreadful waste of human life in Jamaica?

Taylor said he accounted for it partly by cane-hole digging and night work, partly by abortions caused by flogging pregnant women, before the pregnancy is apparent. Many children are thus destroyed in the womb. Some of the medical men to whom he spoke admitted that this evil prevailed to a certain extent. He believed that there was a waste or rather prevention of life from this cause (it was admitted generally in conversation) as well as from the severity and duration of the labour imposed on the women in common with the men, such as cane-hole digging, and night work (pp. 27, 28).

Mr. Taylor being again questioned as to the slave's capacity, if manumitted, to maintain himself and his family in comfort, he replied that he would be neither incapable nor unwilling. Let him be moved by the fear of want, or excited by the hope of advantage, and he will exert himself as certainly and effectively as the labourers of Europe. It would at the same time be unfair, in his present enslaved state, to require that he should be placed in comparison with the free Scotchman; yet he believed that he would be always alive to the prospect of pecuniary advantage whenever it was palpably exhibited to him, and, with that before him, he would work if free. Emancipated slaves do not become vagrants, in any legitimate sense of the term. They are much employed as hucksters, an occupation for which the peculiar state of Jamaica offers great advantages. There are in that island scarcely any inland villages with shops, as in England; but the wants of the slaves in distant parishes are supplied by hucksters, which emancipated slaves are fond of becoming. A strict watch, however, is kept over such stragglers, whether they be coloured, or black, or white persons. The slaves, if emancipated, would only think of removing from their home to better their condition; but otherwise they would cling, if allowed to do so, to their respective villages, to their houses and grounds, their wives and children. With respect to the habits of the free people of colour, little comparatively is known by the whites. Indeed the distinctions between white, and black, and brown, and bond and free, raise barriers to communication which widely separate them from each other. This is an almost necessary, but most unhappy incident of a slave state.—Certainly the desire for freedom does not arise from the slave's connecting it with an exemption from labour; for they see under their own eyes many who had been slaves labouring hard for their support. Even an old Negro on an estate, when he ceases to labour for his master, does not cease to labour for himself. There was one on the estate of Salt Savannah, who, though allowed to "sit down and to be exempt from plantation labour, was most industrious and hard-working for himself" (p. 28, 29).

Mr. Taylor, being further questioned as to the danger of disturbance among the slaves in Jamaica, replied to this effect:—Jamaica is now in a state of disturbance; but he could not answer for the future, so ignorant may an individual in Jamaica be of the state and feelings of the society around him. Had he been asked in January last, or on the very day before the news of the insurrection arrived, he would have denied

all probability of riot or insurrection; and in no parish should he have less expected it, with the exception of Kingston and Spanish Town, than in St. James. The actual transactions would have falsified all his convictions, and convinced him that, though living in the very centre of the slaves, with hundreds of them at the very door, nothing was known of them, or of what they felt or designed. This is a peculiar feature of a slave community. Slavery separates the different classes from each other. The military executions and horrors may for the present have quelled the spirit of insubordination; but, when that terror has worn away, it can hardly be doubted, from the vast increase of lettered knowledge among the slaves, which there is no controlling, that, without an early emancipation, they will break out again, and you will not be able to put them down. They will be more methodical and successful. Men cannot be expected to be quiet who read newspapers on both sides of such a question. The great error in Jamaica is madly fancying that the slaves of 1830 are the slaves of 1810. Legislation is at least half a century behind the state of the people. Whether when made free they will be turbulent or peaceable will depend wholly on the mode of doing it. If put in a situation to feel the influence of the motives which make us all work, they will work, if you only establish a good government in that country.—But it is asked, if the slave in certain situations possesses the advantages you have stated, why should you think freedom preferable to slavery? It is preferable on these grounds, and in this view of the subject the slaves almost universally concur.—Whatever advantages a slave may have, the evils accompanying slavery are such as every man would get rid of if he could. Let the comfort even of a Negro in Vere, the most comfortable in the island, be doubled, yet he would not remain in that state, if he could get rid of it without absolutely being turned adrift. Better to be the poorest labourer in England than the richest slave in Jamaica. Suppose him in the best circumstances, and with the best master, he cannot call Sunday his own. He may see his wife indecently stripped and flogged at shell blow. He may see his adult daughter put in the same situation. There is no law to prevent this, and it is done over and over again. No degree of comforts, even their greatest abundance, could be accepted on such terms (p. 29, 30).

The remainder of Mr. Taylor's evidence, extending through nearly 34 folio pages, consists chiefly of a close and eagerly pursued cross-examination, conducted, as it would appear, by Mr. Burge, who alone of the committee could have been competent to the task. Close and able as it was, it did not shake any one material position occupied by Mr. Taylor; on the contrary it has greatly strengthened them. It would be a mere waste of time and labour to repeat, under this new form, the re-assertion of the principles we have already abstracted. We shall therefore only glean what we find new and striking in this truly searching examination.

Mr. Taylor, during the thirteen years he had resided in Jamaica, between 1816 and 1831, had had abundant opportunities of knowing

something of the state and character of the slave population. During the ten years he resided in Kingston as a merchant, he visited Hermitage estate, in St. George, belonging to his partner Mr. Simpson, three or four times a year, having upon it 160 Negroes. During six months of 1816 he visited many estates in Trelawney, with his uncle Mr. Cunningham, who was both a proprietor and an attorney. He had also been a good deal in Manchester and St. Elizabeth.—The time allowed the slaves by law to raise their food, he was convinced, was wholly inadequate. The land in general was ample, but the time, without encroaching largely on the rest of Sunday, very scanty, it being only his own time, and not his master's, which he could apply to that purpose (p. 34). The labour required to keep yams, and cocoes or eddoes, free from weeds, is very considerable. The time required by a plantain walk, when once established, was certainly not great;* but still, to secure sufficient food for the slave, far more time is absolutely required (p. 35, ques. 342). At present the slave is almost wholly debarred from the religious use of two Sundays in three, and from attending the Sunday schools on those days.—The wealth found among slaves is principally among mechanics (ques. 308, p. 36); but he knows no parish where provisions are deficient (ques. 384, p. 37). As to the hours of labour, the whip is cracked generally between four and five in the morning. In general they go out as soon as they can see (ques. 392, p. 38). Half an hour is usually allowed for breakfast, and an hour and a half for dinner (ques. 396, p. 38). In duration their day's labour is thus raised to twelve hours. In most estates cane-hole digging to a considerable extent is indispensable; on very fertile lands it is much less called for (ques. 415, &c., p. 39). Cane-holing was the chief work in Clarendon, from the middle of August to the middle of November, with occasional intermissions of lighter work, as the strength of the Negroes would permit (ques. 462, p. 39). The plough and jobbing gangs are in use on many plantations, with a view of sparing the Negroes (p. 40). On estates not strongly handed, during crop, the Negroes work day and night for about 18 hours out of the 24. If the estates are strongly handed, this labour is lessened, but in none is the loss of sleep less than two nights a week† (p. 41). Mr. Taylor is asked whether the mortality is as great among the children of the free as among the child-

* But, if a hurricane comes, plantain walks are swept away, and, if the Negro has no other food to rely upon, he is reduced to a state of absolute famine. The planter who permits his slaves to *rely* on the plantain exposes them to destruction of the same kind which, in 1789, swept away so many thousands by the famine caused by the miserable penuriousness of the planters of that day in the allotment of time to their slaves.

† An intelligent person, who kept spell as a book-keeper for four years in Jamaica, is ready to testify, if called upon, to the uniform practice, in his time, to divide into two spells that part of the first and second gangs not occupied as coopers, in making casks, or as waggoners, or mule-drivers.

The following is a sketch of the working of those two spells, which we will call A and B, a white book-keeper being allowed to each, who had the same length of night duty as the slaves:—

ren of slaves (ques. 496, p. 44), but he cannot answer the question.*—No attempt was made to instruct and civilise the maroons till 1829, when Mr. Taylor was authorised by the Church Missionary Society to erect schools for them in Accomping Town. Prior to that they had been left in a state of utter ignorance and barbarism; but from that date he observed a rapid change among them (ques. 537, page 48).—Mr. Taylor affirms the ample sufficiency of his experience to justify the assertions he has made respecting the Negro character and the conduct of the slave population. His experience was as large as that of most others who had been in that island (ques. 562, p. 49). His means of acquiring a knowledge of lettered instruction among the Negroes were peculiar, and he pronounced their advance, as compared with 1816, to be *immense* (ques. 581, p. 51); meaning by lettered instruction the knowledge of reading. They acquire it in Sunday schools, which are chiefly attended by the adult slaves, and *they* carry it home and spread it diligently. The knowledge of reading was not general, but it was spreading rapidly. In these schools are many children, but the chief part is composed of adults, and this though they could only attend one Sun-

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On Sunday, at 6 P.M., the spell A went to the works and put the mill about, remaining there till midnight, when it went to rest as soon as relieved by spell B. At day-dawn, on Monday, spell A went to the field, and continued cutting canes there for the mill till noon. At noon it resumed its place at the works, and continued there till midnight on Monday, when it took rest till day-dawn on Tuesday, and was then again in the field cutting canes till noon, and thus it proceeded on each succeeding day of the week, except that on Saturday it did not always retire at midnight, but remained sometimes to two or three on Sunday morning, till all the cane juice was boiled off. During the same week, the spell B came on duty at the works at midnight on Sunday night, and continued there till noon on Monday, when it went home; but at 2 P.M. it was again in the field, cutting canes for the mill from that time until dusk, when it went home to rest, till called up again at midnight to relieve spell A. And so the work proceeded the whole week, only that at midnight on Saturday there was no call of spell B, however late might be the boiling.

The succeeding week, the spells were changed, so that the spell B began work on the Sunday evening at 6 P.M., and so had the very same tale and hours of labour, both at the works and in the field, which the spell A had had the week before, and A the same as B had had. Thus each spell during every 24 hours was 12 hours at the works and six hours in the field, the whole of their sleep being taken from the six hours which then alone remained to them. And the same must of absolute necessity be the case still, if the manufacture of sugar be continuously carried on, on estates not having more than from 200 to 250 Negroes, embracing a large majority of sugar estates. Is not this toil dreadful, and most wearing and exhausting? and it affects the women still more than the men. Can women, by any possibility, breed under such circumstances? It is altogether impossible.

* But can the slightest doubt rest upon this matter when the returns officially sent from the West Indies are examined! The increase among the maroons of Jamaica is nearly 2½ per cent. per annum, while the decrease on the sugar estates is from 1 to 2 per cent. or more. The free black and coloured people of Demerara, Berbice, and the Mauritius, increase at the rate of nearly 3 per cent. per annum.—How terrible is the waste of slave life as compared with this increase!

day in three. These schools are numerous in St. Thomas in the East, in St. George's, at Buff Bay, at Annotta Bay, at Falmouth, at Montego Bay, at Lucea, at Savannah-la-mar, and in St. Elizabeth, where the clergy, the dissenting missionaries, the Moravians, and several private families are particularly active; and the recipients of such instruction are themselves, in their turn, the active instruments of teaching others. It thus spreads rapidly. Many adults are able to read Anti-Slavery publications, not from England, but published in the island: some subscribe for them and take them in. The proprietors and land-owners know little of all this (p. 51 and 52). The Watchman and Christian Record are unsafe reading for the slaves in Jamaica. As for the Anti-Slavery Reporter, it was little known in Jamaica, and he did not believe it was read there (p. 53).—The insurrection Mr. Taylor thought had arisen chiefly from the rapid advance of knowledge among the slaves; partly from the debates in the Assembly, as to the free people of colour; partly from a desire and expectation of freedom, excited by the discussions between the colonial legislature and the government at home; and partly from the excited and divided state of the press* (p. 53).—The handsome furniture found in the houses of Negroes were exceptions; such things were almost entirely in the houses of mechanics, but slaves, generally, have a strong desire to possess better clothing and furniture (p. 55).—The Negroes always put on sandals when they walk a great distance. (ib.) The Negro house is a low-roofed cottage of three apartments; the centre is the eating apartment. The parents occupy one end and sleep there, and the children sleep in the centre apartment. The other end is for their property. Many houses have only two apartments, one for living in, and one for sleeping. They have rude bedsteads of timber nailed together. Some have mattresses stuffed with leaves, and some bed-clothes and sheets (p. 55). Mr. Taylor could affirm that those slaves who were constant at church were those most desirous to receive instruction.

Mr. Taylor is of opinion that on plantations, generally, it is in the power of the manager to inflict great cruelty on the slaves, without their being able to obtain redress; and that, within the limit of the law, most appalling cruelty may be inflicted, which cannot be punished (p. 56). The Assembly of Jamaica voted large sums for the pro-slavery publications of Macqueen, Bridges, and Barclay; and the planters support the Jamaica Courant (p. 56). With the Negroes, the flogging of women operates against marriage. They will not marry, because they cannot endure to have their wedded wives flogged (p. 57).—It is indisputable that one part of the Jamaica clergy promotes religious instruction among the Negroes to the utmost, and that another part does not (ques. 670, p. 57). The former exert themselves in every

* Mr. Taylor has entirely omitted to notice the parochial restrictions of Jamaica in August, September, and October, 1831; the appointment of delegates to England; and Mr. Beaumont's bill for abolishing female flogging, and facilitating manumissions by compelling masters to grant them at a fair appraisement.

possible way to instruct the Negroes, conceiving it their bounden duty to their flock to teach them to read the Scriptures, and to put the Scriptures into their hands, whether the masters like it or not. The other party will do nothing without permission of the owner (ques. 684, p. 58). There are not sufficient magistrates in Jamaica at present to serve as substitutes for the master in enforcing discipline (ques. 681, p. 58).—Mr. Taylor thinks that no consideration would induce an emancipated slave to submit to the degradation of joining a Negro gang to work in the field with a driver behind him; but his refusal to do this, especially as he can procure more profitable employment, is only a proof of his good sense (p. 63).

A paper was produced which Mr. Taylor acknowledged to be his, and in which he had embodied, for the information of a friend, his general views on the subject of emancipation; and he added that they were still his views, and the result of much deliberation and reflection. It was as follows:—

"First let emancipation, and strict police arrangements, be contemporaneous.—Ample materials would be found for a police corps in the coloured class, whose services could be had at a low rate of charge.—Avoid paying the emancipated Negroes by means of allotments of land, as those would detach them from regular daily labour; but pay them in money.—At first there would be difficulties, but gradually the equitable price of labour would be ascertained, and act as the producer of regular labour.—A stipendiary magistracy would be necessary, because the peculiar prejudices of the present magistracy generally unfit them for the office.—The island would have to be divided into districts, each possessing a certain portion of the constabulary force, with a stipendiary magistrate, and a house of correction or other penitentiary. Were the island thus divided, and the police and magistrates properly organized, I firmly believe that emancipation might take place with perfect security.—Of course there would be difficulties, obstacles, and disappointments, in carrying into effect the detail of the system of emancipation; but if Government would address themselves actually to the work, telling the planters on the one hand that such is their determination, and the Negroes on the other that while they aim at instituting equal laws, and securing them their civil and religious liberty, they by no means design that idleness should be at their option,—I am convinced that the result would be as beneficial, in a pecuniary way, to the planter, as it would be elevating and humanizing morally to the present degraded slave. The present system is incurable; it will not modify: it must be utterly destroyed. My experience, as a planter, assures me that to attempt to ingraft religion and humanity upon slavery, with the hope of profitable results, is a vain and fruitless endeavour. A religious man is a most unfit person to manage a slave estate. The fact is, cruelty is the main spring of the present system. As long as slavery exists, and the whip is the compeller of labour, it is folly to talk of humanity. Legitimate motives are taken away, and coercion becomes the spring of industry; and in proportion to the ap-

plication of this, that is, coercion, is the effect on labour. The Negro character has been much underrated, even, I think, by the Negro's friends. When justice is done to him, even in his present degraded circumstances, he shows a sagacity and shrewdness, and a disposition to a regular social life, which emphatically prove that he only requires freedom secured to him by law to make him a useful, and, in his situation, an honourable member of the human family." Mr. Taylor added that he firmly believed all that he had stated in this paper to be true. It had been privately written, and he never expected to see it again, but he perfectly agreed now in every sentiment it contained.

Such is the evidence of Mr. William Taylor, and certainly more important evidence has never been laid before the public on this subject. It will commend itself to every reader by its calmness, consistency, and truth, by its cautious and discriminating character, and by the straightforwardness with which he states, without regard to the impression they may produce. It bears all the marks of a thoroughly honest evidence.

II. The next witness is the Rev. John Barry, a Wesleyan Missionary. When he first went to the island, and for some time after, he found the work of education in a backward and inefficient state. The children attended only on Sundays at the chapel. They were all regularly at work during the week in St. Thomas in the Vale, where he then was, and no fit teachers were procurable. Now, however, great numbers of children, and latterly of adults, have learnt to read. The Wesleyans have no schools on any plantations, nor on any day but Sunday, and at their chapels, except in Kingston. The Negroes in St. Thomas in the Vale derived their subsistence from the provision grounds allotted by the master, and cultivated by themselves. Besides provisions, some of them reared pigs and poultry. The yearly allowance of clothing was two suits of Osnaburg, a common hat or cap, and a coarse rug coat, for bad weather; but many were clad in better clothes, procured by the sale of their surplus provisions. The whole of the 26 week days allowed by law, and any spare time they had and the Sundays, were given to the culture of provisions, or to marketing. They generally laboured in their grounds on Sundays, except when they went to market, and which market, whether Spanish Town or Kingston, was 20 miles distant from the plantations near which he lived. This use of most Sundays was invariably and decidedly necessary, though they were very industrious in employing what time they had in raising food and articles for sale. He had paid attention to their industrious habits, and had not the least doubt they would labour willingly for hire if free. They did not become less industrious by having acquired some little property. He had a servant of his own who had been a slave, but had obtained his freedom; and, though he received a liberal weekly pay for his services, he requested to be allowed to devote his hours after 8 or 9 o'clock to his own purposes, and has been known almost constantly to work till midnight, or even two in the morning, in manufacturing baskets to

sell, and increase his property and comforts. The Negroes employ themselves much, besides cultivating their grounds, in manufacturing ornamental baskets, making coarse straw hats and earthen utensils, and a variety of little articles, and sometimes in cutting grass, all which they sell. This is done to a great extent near towns. The slaves sell their provisions and other things in the public markets, as is done in England. They are very shrewd indeed in their bargains—as shrewd as any white man. They well understand the value of money. They often go as far as 25 and 26 miles to market, and sometimes as far as 35. Their plan is to prepare their loads on that Saturday which is their own, and to travel with it all Saturday night to be in time for the Sunday market; so that the violation of the Sabbath is unavoidable, for it necessarily requires the whole of the day when they go to market, to vend their goods and return home (p. 64—68).

The Negroes, Mr. Barry thinks, are remarkable for the social and domestic affections. He never knew more dutiful and obedient children. They are exceedingly attached to their parents, and will do all in their power to promote their comfort. The greatest offence that can be given to a Negro is to speak disrespectfully of his parents. At the same time, in St. Thomas in the Vale, they are generally in a state of sad demoralization. Great improvement, however, has followed religious instruction. On Mount Concord, near the missionary station, there were 130 Negroes. The adults were about 70. The overseer of that plantation called upon Mr. Barry one day and said, "Mr. Barry, the Negroes on this property perfectly astonish me. They are the most industrious, and the most intelligent, and the best Negroes I have ever seen in this island. I have just left the Port Royal mountains, and such was the state of the Negroes there that I was afraid to eat my food, lest I should be poisoned, and I always considered my life in danger." Mr. Barry replied, "I am glad to hear you bear that testimony, Mr. Jordan; for almost all of these people are members of our society." It is true that, owing to some peculiarities in the state of the Negroes, they had not sufficiently correct notions as to petty thefts and the obligations of truth and purity; but, when brought under the influence of religion, those evils were almost invariably corrected. Had the slave population, generally, been as well instructed as the 10,000 or 12,000 Negroes belonging to the Wesleyan establishments, they might be considered as on a par, in point of morality, with ordinary persons. In the late insurrection not a single member of the society was found implicated: and there were only two cases even of suspicion. The Governor himself stated as much to Mr. Barry; and Major-General Yates said that, after the most minute investigation, it did not appear that a single Wesleyan had taken part in it. Since Mr. Barry had quitted the island, a few months since, he had heard rumours that three or four had been detected, but on no good authority (p. 68).

Mr. Barry was decidedly of opinion that, if emancipation took place under prudent precautions, there would be an infinitely greater opportunity of communicating religious instruction, and a more rapid advancement in morality and civilization. He called once, in travelling

through St. Mary's, on a Mr. Clarke, the possessor of about forty slaves who had been receiving instruction for two or three years. The change, he said, was remarkable; he no longer employed a driver, and seldom visited his slaves while at work. Previously to their becoming religious, he had employed two drivers, and constantly visited the slaves himself. Now he got infinitely more work from those very slaves than he could get by his own care, and that of his drivers; and this he attributed to the influence of religion. Religious slaves, however, are not exempted in general, under the present system, from the infliction of punishment. If they work under drivers, as is the common case, they will share in it, however attentive they may be to their duties. If emancipated, he believes, they would do more work than now (p. 69).

Many plantations have no religious instruction at all. St. Mary's had a population of 25,000 slaves: when first he visited it, in 1825, the only places of worship were the parish church at Port Maria and another small church that only held 200 people, both very distant from the dwellings of the great majority of the slaves. This is a fair picture of the provision of places of worship generally throughout the island. In some parishes the advantages are greater, but in no due proportion to the number of slaves. The aggregate number of slaves even partially under religious instruction, by all the religious bodies, did not exceed 50,000, being only a seventh of the whole. The proportion of the free black and coloured inhabitants who attend religious instruction is much larger. A great degree of immorality, however, prevails among both slave and free, the constitution of society in Jamaica tending much to general demoralization, and more generally among the whites than the other classes. It prevails to a very great extent indeed; and among the whites of all grades it is nearly universal. This general profligacy pervading all ranks, whether slave or free, has had its origin in slavery, and especially in the master's unlimited power over the body of his female slave. It is true he has not the same power over the *free* women; but the example and influence of the whites are so corrupting that the mothers of free females generally prefer seeing their daughters the concubines of white men than the wives of men of their own colour. Emancipation would tend greatly to improve this state of things. Religious and moral improvement would then necessarily advance; and, under the influence of religion, the present loose habits would be abandoned. In the Wesleyan Societies in Jamaica there are hundreds of fine young women who will labour incessantly rather than submit to such a state of degradation. In some instances women have had the strongest inducements held out to return to their former keepers, which they have almost uniformly refused. The discredit which still attaches to white men who *marry* women of colour is great, notwithstanding the new rights and privileges conferred on that class. Such marriages cause an almost entire exclusion from white society. The emancipation of the slaves would tend to obviate this evil (p. 70 and 71).

The free coloured and blacks maintain themselves by their own industry in a great variety of ways; they work as carpenters, smiths,

masons, coopers, wood cutters, cabinet makers, watch makers, and at all other trades carried on by whites. Many of them who have themselves been slaves are employed in the very first works in the island. Numbers of them are domestic servants, and a great many cultivate lands of their own, and sell the produce. They never work in the field of plantations: indeed their services are never asked for there, and they have constant work otherwise; and at all events in cultivating land of their own, which they purchase. The present system of labour excludes them from plantation work in the field. A planter would not willingly admit free persons to work with his slaves, and the free persons would feel it a deep degradation to work with a gang of slaves in the field: extreme necessity alone could drive them to it. Land may be had, but not always in convenient situations. Mr. Barry himself paid 7*l.* currency, or 5*l.* sterling, for an acre of very good grass land, which he wanted for his own use. There are immense tracts of uncultivated land both in the plains and on the mountains, partly belonging to the crown, and partly to individuals (p. 72).

Mr. Barry professes to be well acquainted with the habits of the free blacks and people of colour. They have certainly greatly improved in information, intelligence, and wealth, during his residence in the island. Some of the best educated men he has known in Jamaica are people of colour, and they promote education among the young. Being allied by blood and marriage with the slaves, they communicate with them to a great extent, and thus the slaves acquire much general knowledge.—There is scarcely a transaction which takes place even in England with which they are not acquainted. They take a deep interest in what relates to emancipation. When in the last session Mr. Beaumont brought in his bill for compulsory manumission, the greatest possible excitement existed among the slaves, and their expressions of joy were almost unbounded; and the great mass not only of the slaves, but of the free black and coloured classes, were eager for the measure. He knew slaves that were head men and tradesmen on estates, who were able to purchase their freedom, and desirous of obtaining it, but could not obtain it. He had known instances of aged and infirm slaves who did not desire to be free; but he never knew an instance of a vigorous Negro who did not desire it. It is very common for emancipated slaves to pay large sums for the redemption of their wives and children: the desire to do so is universally very strong, and very exorbitant prices are often paid for them (p. 73).

When Mr. Barry first went to Jamaica, from what he had heard, he was led to think that emancipation could not be effected without danger. But now he was of a contrary opinion. He was now convinced, by a more close observation of the Negro character, that, with proper regulations, it might be effected without any danger; and that such is their willingness to labour at their own hours, whether field slaves or mechanics, that no apprehension need be entertained of the result.—The cause of religion and morality would be most essentially promoted by it. Under the present system the slaves are generally precluded, for weeks together, from attending places of religious worship and in-

struction. Any system of police, however severe, would be preferable to the evils of slavery. And not only would the free people, generally, be perfectly competent to discharge police duties, but thousands of the slaves themselves, if emancipated, might safely be put into a corps of that description. They would keep order themselves, and aid in keeping others in order. The present magistracy, however, would be inadequate, and there ought to be stipendiary magistrates to superintend the whole. The feeling of freedom has got so firm a hold of the slaves now that they will never be satisfied till they attain it, and even its delay will be attended with considerable danger. During the late insurrection, those who were judicially executed, with very few exceptions, died glorying in their death, and stating that, had they twenty lives, they would sacrifice them all rather than return to slavery. No mere amelioration of their condition will ever reconcile the Negroes again to slavery. Religious instruction tends indeed to restrain turbulence and outrage, but it never can repress the desire of freedom (p. 74, 75).

The Negroes are generally a shrewd and intelligent people. Many possess strong intellectual powers. They are strongly attached to their homes. They are grateful to those who treat them kindly. Taking all their circumstances into account, they are much the same as other men. Plantation field slaves have little opportunity of working for hire. Plantation mechanics will work assiduously after hours, as long as they can see, and often by candle-light. It cannot be doubted, however, that in case of emancipation all would work, for fair wages, at plantation or any other work. They dislike sugar planting more than any other work; but, for a proper remuneration, they will work even on sugar properties. They know the value of money, and they will labour for it (p. 76).

Mr. Barry did not think that the present means of education and divine worship were at all sufficient for the slave population. Difficulties, too, are thrown in the way by masters. One Sunday, in St. Thomas in the Vale, a woman came into the chapel with a wooden tray on her head, filled with dirty clothes. Mr. Barry felt inclined to reprove her for the indecorum, but the steward told him she was not to blame, as what she had done was to elude the opposition of her owner. His opposition to religion was so strong that his Negroes were obliged to leave the estate with their best clothes put into the tray, and their working dress on, that he might be led to suppose they were going to their grounds or to market; but when they came near chapel they put on their best clothes, and put their dirty ones into the tray, and all this was done to elude the opposition to their attending religious worship. But the grand hindrance is the necessary attention that must be paid to their provision grounds, and the impossibility of going to market if they attend chapel. They cannot attend any school but a Sunday school—their master's interest stands in the way: and from Sunday schools they are frequently altogether debarred. Even the children, from the age of five to ten, are constantly employed in gangs under a driveress, to perform various works on the estate. Mr. Wild-

man, and Mr. S. M. Barrett, are the only planters he knew to pay any great attention to the religious instruction of the slaves, both children and adults. Mr. Nicholas Palmer's wishes on that point were wholly frustrated by his attorney. Mr. Palmer sent out as a catechist a Mr. Stockman and his wife, from Bristol, to his estate in St. Dorothy's. But, when Mr. Stockman arrived, Mr. Bailey, the attorney, would not permit him to go on the estate, and, though informed of Mr. Palmer's wishes, would neither make him any allowance nor suffer him to perform his duties. The consequence was that Mr. Stockman, having opened a school at Old Harbour, in a very hot and inconvenient house, fever ensued, of which he died; and Mr. Palmer paid the expenses of his widow's return to Bristol. He did not know of any specific opposition to Mr. Wildman's plans of education, but he became very unpopular in consequence of them (p. 77).

Mr. Barry could not tell, from his own observation, whether the field slaves worked harder on the plantation, or for their own profit on their grounds; but he had seen carpenters working as hard for their own profit as it was possible for men to do. There is, however, a great difficulty in entering a plantation to obtain information as to the state of the slaves. Attorneys and overseers never like it (p. 77, ques. 949).

He had known instances, during the late insurrection, of slaves who had shown attachment to their masters or managers, and had defended their property. One man in particular, James Muir, had defended his master's property to the last; and, when at length compelled to abandon the house to the insurgents, he secured the most valuable of his master's effects and carried them to Montego Bay, where he resided. This man was one of the principal slave members of the Wesleyan Society (ques. 950, p. 78).

Mr. Barry explained the mode by which members were admitted into that Society. There are subordinate leaders in the Society. If any of these should be applied to by an individual for admission, he states the fact to the missionary, who examines particularly whether, if a slave, his conduct as far as known is irreproachable, and whether he has been faithful to his master. If the examination be satisfactory, he is admitted for two or three months on trial. If, at the end of this probation, the leader can still recommend him for moral conduct, a ticket is then given him which recognizes him as a member. At the weekly meeting of the leaders the missionary further enquires of each as to the moral conduct of every member of his class during the week, and if a slave has been guilty of any act of immorality or dishonesty, or of running away, the slave is immediately called up and examined, and, if proved to be guilty, is expelled. This course is invariably pursued. He does not, however, necessarily become a leader: that requires higher qualifications. In fact, there are not above five slave leaders in the island. The office of a leader requires that he should undertake the moral and religious instruction of a certain number of members; and, before any such appointment, he is brought to the leader's meeting, and the missionary examines into his knowledge of Christianity, and his moral character,

and whether he is in debt, or any pecuniary embarrassment, and it is only when the missionary is satisfied on these points that he is appointed a leader. There would have probably been more slaves appointed leaders, but for the prejudices existing in the colony, which are so strong that it was always avoided as much as possible. But for this, vast numbers of slaves were as fit to be leaders and subordinate teachers as any freemen in Jamaica. The Negroes are not allowed to preach. Mr. Barry had often heard them pray and communicate religious instruction; but none of them are allowed to become public teachers for the same reason, that of obviating prejudice (p. 78).

Mr. Barry had resided as a missionary not only in St. Thomas in the Vale, but in Kingston and Spanish Town, occasionally exercising his ministry in St. Dorothy's, at Old Harbour; and in Clarendon, on the estate of Lime Savannah, belonging to M. de la Beche. He had not, however, an opportunity of visiting the slaves in their huts, or conversing much with them, except in the way of religious instruction on Sunday, and on evenings in the week. Four times a year, however, he had direct and personal intercourse with every individual of the congregations in order to ascertain his religious and moral state. Mr. Barry does not believe that there is any essential difference in the characters of the Negroes in different parts of the island, or on different plantations, except in the grosser ignorance of some of the parties. On the sugar estates they are generally very destitute of instruction indeed. The difference of character arose mainly from their respective advantages or disadvantages (p. 81).

Mr. Barry did not know what time was required for the cultivation of different articles of Negro provisions. Plantain walks required little time when once established. Yams required considerable labour in the cleaning and weeding (p. 83).

Mr. Barry never knew emancipated slaves to work in the field on sugar estates. No freeman would willingly submit to the degradation of working in the field with slaves on plantations, and planters would not allow of it; many of them had themselves told him so; and they were generally indisposed to the intrusion of the free on estates.

Being asked how sugar would be cultivated if the slaves were immediately emancipated, he replied that, on his first arrival in Jamaica, he was opposed to such a plan, and did not think that emancipation would be safe. As he became more fully acquainted with the Negro character he changed his opinion. He was convinced of their general disposition to labour for a fair remuneration, and he believed that any danger which might possibly arise from emancipation bore no possible proportion to the danger that must result from the perpetuation of slavery. With respect to sugar plantations, though some difficulties might exist in the first instance, in inducing the Negroes when free to work upon them, yet with due precautions, and the sense the Negroes had of the value of money, he certainly thought they would be induced to labour even on sugar estates. He was aware of their dislike to sugar culture more than to any other work, and this might operate on their minds for

a time, in the event of freedom; but he felt convinced, from their hard-working habits, and their love of money, that a proper remuneration would lead even those on sugar plantations to continue to work upon them. This conclusion had been drawn from a long course of observation, which had enabled him, as he believed, to form a correct judgment of the habits and views of the Negroes, and from frequent conversations with coffee planters around him. He had conversed little with sugar planters. He repeated his strong and immovable conviction, from all he had seen and heard, that the Negroes, when free, would work diligently, even in cane-hole digging, if adequately remunerated for their labour (p. 85, 86).

Being asked what he meant by proper precautions accompanying emancipation, Mr. Barry replied that he meant more particularly a strong police force, and the appointment of a magistracy for the special purpose of preserving the public peace. In the event of a general emancipation he should consider this as a proper precautionary measure, to repress any partial tumult or disorder; and, as a measure of prudence, it ought to be maintained for some years afterwards, say five or six or more, according to circumstances. A large force properly distributed might be expedient, in the first instance; but, believing that there would not be any general indisposition in the Negroes to labour or to due subordination, a large force would not, after a time, be requisite; and in some districts, little or no difficulty of any kind would be experienced (p. 86).

Being further questioned as to his manner of reconciling the necessity of coercion to compel the slave to labour, with his view of the industrious habits of the Negroes, he said that the infliction of punishment often depended on the *driver* alone. Besides, the slave now considered himself to labour without remuneration. The whole system was compulsory, and he himself was the object of that compulsion. While the present system of slavery endured, such compulsion, by the corporal punishment both of females and males, was, he believed, necessary (p. 87).

In St. Thomas in the Vale, the members of the Wesleyan Society amounted to about 700, besides free people; 300 or 400 usually attending. The school here was very inefficient. In Kingston their three chapels contained about 4000; about half who attended were slaves, and of the slaves about half were domestics and mechanics residing in Kingston; the rest plantation slaves; but the plantation slaves could not attend every Sunday, and many only every third or fourth Sunday, on account of their own engagements. There was a vast number in the Sunday schools, both children and adults, many capable of reading the Scriptures. The schools have been much more efficient of late. The children are taken in at all ages, from four years and upwards. The parents take a manifest interest in the progress of their children in reading. A great number of children, but by no means a majority of them, are taught to read, and a child diligently attending for twelve months may acquire a knowledge of reading. In

Spanish Town there were about eighty slaves in the school, some of them, but not many, adults. Those not taught to read are orally instructed in religion. The slave children in the town attended twice on Sunday. The general aptitude of the Negroes to learn is about as great as that of any other peasant population. There is a great number of children who are now able to read, and some can write; several adults also, who have received instruction solely in the Wesleyan Sunday School. In Kingston there is a day school, lately formed, attended by about 150 children. There is here a mixture of free and slaves, and of brown and black, but Mr. Barry does not know the proportions. The parents of the free children pay towards their schooling. These schools have been encouraged by some owners, but very generally discouraged by others. The indisposition is very prevalent to religious instruction, whether given by sectarians or not. Planters would prefer not having their slaves instructed at all by ministers of the church or of any other persuasion. This Mr. Barry asserted from what he had seen and known. He had known many severe corporal punishments inflicted for no other crime than that of merely attending public worship (p. 88, 89, 90).

Then follows a long enquiry about a set of resolutions passed by some Wesleyan Missionaries in Jamaica, on the 6th September, 1824, and afterwards disowned by the society at home; but, having no reference whatever to the points now at issue, the whole is omitted.

Mr. Barry afterwards went on to state that he knew several estates on which facilities were afforded for the instruction of the slaves, both by clergymen and by missionaries of the Scotch church. But he did not know of many instances in which additional places of worship to the parish church had been erected by voluntary contributions in Jamaica. He knew of some: some catechists had been sent out to estates, connected, he supposed, with the Church of England, but they were discouraged. A few clergymen, of the Church of England, are active in preaching in chapels to the slaves, and in forming Sunday schools; but they do not carry on preaching or instruction on the estates. There are four Scotch Missionaries on the island (p. 99, 100).

Mr. Barry denied that, to his knowledge, any Wesleyan Missionaries had ever corresponded with the Anti-Slavery Society in England. He knew them occasionally to send letters to the newspapers and other periodical publications in Jamaica (p. 100).

Mr. Barry was then questioned as to his view of the moral state of the white society of Jamaica. His view was briefly to this effect:—While he resided at Grateful Hill, in St. Thomas in the Vale, two women came to complain that, the night before, the overseer of Mount Concord had taken away three of their daughters, the eldest thirteen, and locked them up for improper purposes, and they begged him to interfere. He said no; but sent them to the nearest magistrate, Mr. Lane, who interposed and had the girls set at liberty. In this way a knowledge of facts was often obtained by the missionaries without any interference on their part. As to concubinage, it prevailed generally throughout the island.

It is impossible for any man to reside in Jamaica, or travel through it, without being perfectly acquainted with this fact. Certainly many scenes occur peculiarly offensive to morals, in England as well as in Jamaica; but, as for concubinage, it is carried on to a greater extent in Jamaica than he could ever have conceived possible in any country. Concubinage exists to a great extent among all classes, but it prevails most among the whites, merchants, planters, clerks; indeed, the whole white population. In short, the system of concubinage is universal in Jamaica: to say it is general is saying too little. That very circumstance constitutes one of the principal obstructions to missionary labours in Jamaica. To the consequences immediately resulting from the power of the master over his female slaves must be ascribed the general demoralization in which the island is plunged. A proprietor, for instance, has twenty female slaves on his estate, all of them entirely at his disposal: that of itself must lead to great demoralization. But these women have children, to whom and to the mother the master often gives freedom. Children of such parents, under such circumstances, can hardly hope for marriage with men of respectable character; and women of colour will not intermarry with those that are below them in life. The distinctions of society are all founded in colour. Hence concubinage is resorted to, and mothers prefer letting out their daughters to white men to marrying them with people of their own colour. This Mr. Barry has frequently known to take place, all originating in the original illicit commerce of whites with slaves. In case of emancipation Mr. Barry does not conceive that this evil would continue in the same degree as at present; not only will the women be less in the power of masters but religious instruction has already elevated many, and will elevate still more, among the women of colour, to make every sacrifice to escape from this state of vice and degradation. A young woman of colour had formerly lived with a merchant, who died, and from him she had received some property; but the executor or attorney of the estate, taking a fancy to this lady, requested her to live with him. She refused to do so, from religious motives, and she was obliged to purchase of this man the property that had been given to her, but for which she could exhibit no deed. This case he mentioned to show the effects of religion, in leading women of colour to resist the strongest inducements to return to their former degraded habits. She was at that time about thirty years of age. Mr. Barry adds that he could produce many instances of the same kind. The ignorance prevailing among these women of colour he affirms to be deplorable. He knew one who had seventeen children, and no two by the same father, and who rode in her carriage. No moral turpitude attaches to such female deviations from rectitude. A woman who gives her daughter to-day to live in concubinage holds the same rank in society she did the day before: he spoke of the coloured women. The white women in Jamaica are a virtuous race. The women of colour, but less so than formerly, prefer concubinage with the whites to marriage with their own colour; but this is attributable to slavery. The decrease of this evil may be traced, in almost every instance.

to religious instruction. Among the slaves too there is a strong desire to receive religious instruction, and he had never seen any general indisposition among them to receive it (p. 101, 102).

In the Wesleyan Society in Jamaica there are about 13,000 members, of whom 10,000 are slaves, a great many attending the chapels who are not members. The church in Kingston is generally well attended, so is the Kirk, but few slaves attend either. In the towns, and especially in Kingston, the proportion attending public worship is very considerable; but in the country places few attend, either slaves or free. They have few opportunities, few places of worship. It is Mr. Barry's firm belief that religion alone will keep the slaves quiet in the hope of ultimate emancipation, but nothing will ever extinguish their strong desire of freedom. As the slave becomes enlightened, his desire after freedom certainly becomes more intense, though religion will enable him to control his passions, and wait for the legitimate accomplishment of his wishes. This appeared strongly in the conduct of the Wesleyan slaves in the late insurrection. Religion must certainly increase the desire of freedom: this is in the nature of things (p. 102, 103).

Mr. Barry further declared his firm conviction that no missionaries of any denomination in Jamaica, whether Methodists, Baptists, or Moravians had ever had, even remotely, any thing to do with the late insurrection. There are circumstances in the constitution of the Baptist Society which gave a colour, though most unjustly, to the charges against them. Baptists give tickets to men enquiring about religion; but the Wesleyans only to those who are admitted as members. There was not the slightest ground for any imputation on the Baptist missionaries. The causes which appeared to Mr. Barry to have led to the insurrection were these:—The slaves had long known what had been passing in this country respecting their freedom, and had been led to entertain the notion that the king had given them their freedom, but that their masters withheld it from them. The parochial meetings that took place in Jamaica, the resolutions of which were published in all the island newspapers, requesting to be absolved from their allegiance, was one of the proximate causes. Some whites also travelling through the island frequently take newspapers with them, which they read to the slaves. Negroes attending at the tables of their masters hear their masters discussing the questions of freedom and slavery as freely as if no slaves were present. The parochial resolutions seemed to the slaves to shut the door against their hope of freedom. Then there was Mr. Beaumont's bill for compulsory manumission, which was at once rejected by the assembly. The slaves had been elated to the highest pitch of joy by its introduction, and proportionately depressed by its rejection. The uncalled-for publication of the king's proclamation, in December 1831, was also an unfortunate occurrence. It cooperated powerfully to promote the insurrection. Such were its main causes (p. 104 and 105).

His reasons for thinking that there was more danger in withholding than in granting freedom were, that the Negroes knew very well what

was going on in their favour in this country. Their minds have been long set on freedom, and they never will be satisfied without it. A feeling of liberty has gone abroad among them. Many of the Negroes who suffered during the insurrection died glorying in their death. And, with all this danger on one side, no evil bearing any proportion to it could possibly result from freedom (p. 106).

The Negroes who cultivate their own grounds are well fed, but their clothing would not be sufficient for decency, were it not for what they purchase for themselves. All this, however, is gained by the sacrifice of the slaves' Sunday (p. 106).

III. The Rev. Peter Duncan was the third witness called. He had been a Wesleyan Missionary in Jamaica for more than eleven years; had resided five years in St. Thomas in the East, two in Kingston, two in St. Thomas in the Vale, and two in Montego Bay. In St. Thomas in the East, which was a great sugar parish, there were three chapels, in all of which he did duty. There were about 1000 slaves attending at these chapels, besides free people; but the members of the society were much more numerous, for all could not attend each Sunday. The chapels were as full as they could hold. There were no Sunday schools at first: they were regarded with an unfavourable eye by the planters. At Kingston about 3000 attended in two chapels, a third has been added since; the majority of the slaves there were domestics. In St. Thomas in the Vale about 300 attended, chiefly plantation slaves. At Montego Bay the average attendance was between 600 and 700, more than half being slaves, and of these a half being plantation slaves. There were Sunday schools at all these places, principally for children, but also for adults. At Kingston there were 300 children of both sexes taught. It was not till 1825 that the Sunday schools became efficient, and that reading was taught. A day school was opened in 1830, attended both by slaves and free, about half of each. The teachers were coloured persons. The aptitude of the scholars was pretty much as elsewhere (p. 106 and 107).

From all that Mr. Duncan saw of the slaves, he thought they were just as willing to labour as the people of any other country. Hard labour being performed by slaves in Jamaica stamps it with a kind of disgrace; but, when they get above that feeling, they are much more willing to labour when free than when slaves. Their desire too to acquire comforts and luxuries, beyond their allowances as slaves, is very evident. They have in general a stronger taste for these things than the lower classes in European countries. He had seen emancipated slaves with their little settlements so arranged, and their premises so regulated, as to indicate a desire for very superior comforts and luxuries in furniture and dress: this is quite obvious to the spectator. He is persuaded that if emancipation were general, and firmly established, the Negroes would be more industrious than at present: the unthinking and worthless among them might shrink from labour, but, if slavery were done away, hard labour would be stripped of its degrada-

tion, and they would labour generally and industriously. As a body Mr. Duncan thought them the most industrious people he had ever seen. The free people he had known do not at all murmur at hard labour, but they would not submit to go and dig cane-holes, that being slaves' work. Many of them who have even had the advantage of a liberal education will pursue without complaint, and perseveringly, work as laborious as cane-holes. They have appeared to him to have energy little short of the people at home, though warm climates are less favourable to exertion (p. 108 and 109).

Mr. Duncan was well acquainted with plantation slaves, especially in St. Thomas in the East, but almost wholly in the way of religious communication. When he went on plantations he had no intercourse with the slaves, nor visited their houses, but he knew much of their habits and mode of living from conversation with themselves, and with attorneys, overseers, and others. The enquiries which were found necessary to be made into the causes of absence from divine worship revealed much of the interior of plantations, and pains were taken to substantiate excuses by the evidence of slaves on the same estate on whom reliance could be placed. The most general excuse was that they were bound to attend their provision grounds. He believed it to be quite indispensable at present for the slaves to labour in their grounds on a Sunday. He never expected to see them oftener than once a month, and this even in the case of such as had masters favourable to instruction. The number of slave members in St. Thomas in the East was 3000 or 4000, but only about 1000 attended each Sunday. It was absolutely necessary that they should devote their Sundays frequently to their provision grounds, to have even a bare maintenance for themselves and families. Indeed the slaves are compelled by their masters, in some cases, to go upon their grounds on Sunday. In one instance Mr. Duncan had to intercede with a humane master to save a Negro from being flogged, whose crime was that he had been to the parish church on Sunday, instead of going to his grounds. It was scarcely possible for the slaves to keep the Sabbath strictly, or to attend every Sunday. Some have attempted it, but have suffered materially. Religious instruction certainly tended to make the slave more patient of injury, as he had seen in many instances; but it also diffused a light which tended to make them long for its extinction. It cannot be that slavery should long continue in any country which is generally christianized, so that Christianity may be fairly said to be at issue with slavery; but, if religion get hold of the slave's mind, he will submit to his lot till freed by legitimate means. It is the duty of slaves to obey their masters; but that does not justify slavery, nor will it prevent the light from flowing in on the slaves, whether religious or not, who have an education. They cannot be indifferent hearers of the discussions going on around them. Slavery cannot stand before the light of instruction. Mere oral instruction, indeed, would do little, as in Catholic slave communities; for no substantial knowledge can be communicated without letters. The work of Christianity, however, is

still in its infancy in Jamaica. The number of slaves religiously instructed is very small as compared with the population, and the proportion of them that can read is of course still smaller. The moral state of the uninstructed Negroes is awfully degraded. Marriage is almost wholly neglected by them, and indeed is not unfrequently opposed by the whites who are living themselves in the same low and vicious habits as the Negroes. But even those slaves that are uninstructed are very acute in understanding their own interests, and in making a bargain; and he would entertain no doubt of their ready subjection to the authorities over them (p. 111, 112.)

Mr. Duncan believed that wages would induce the Negroes to labour when free, and that they would labour harder in a state of freedom than they now do. They now want the stimulus of remuneration, and that makes the toil hard which would otherwise be light. Cane-hole digging, though hard, is not harder than the work of English labourers, nor harder than that which is voluntarily undergone by many free persons in Jamaica itself. He has known such exert themselves in their own grounds, and at their trade, more than the Negroes in the cane-holes. Whether sugar would be raised in the same quantity as now in Jamaica if the slaves were free, he would not pretend to affirm; but that sugar might be raised he has no doubt, nor that numbers would labour in raising sugar for wages. There need be very little change in the mode of remuneration; the labourers might have land and increased time for their own use, only having the Sabbath as a day of entire rest (p. 113).

Mr. Duncan further stated that he had had, over and over again, the testimony of masters, attorneys, and overseers, to the beneficial effects of religious instruction in improving the morals of the slaves, and in restraining the disposition to thieving and licentiousness, and he had seen it himself in a thousand instances. The very same moralizing effects are produced by it in Jamaica as in England (p. 113).

He doubted on what footing sugar cultivation might stand, in the case of emancipation; but he believed that a great number of the present slaves, attached as they were to their domiciles, and having their provision grounds already planted on the estates, would be desirous of remaining where they were, and would continue to cultivate sugar for wages. If they had money enough to obtain land of their own, they would doubtless prefer cultivating that. With the twenty-six week days they now have, and the Sundays, they are able to raise food for their comfortable subsistence. He had heard few complaints on that head, and he mentioned it with very great pleasure. A day and a half in the week, however, is the very least that can suffice, allowing Sunday free. Seven days in the week could not fail to put him in a state of the highest comfort, if he had land in possession; and if he had land, and his time, he would soon have property. In case of emancipation the money possessed by the slaves would be expended in buying land, and forming settlements of their own. Land would then rise in value, and at length be as much

out of their reach as it is now out of the reach of the peasantry of this country. The greater part of them, however, would not be able to obtain land. They have now provision grounds cultivated and ready to their hand; they would be reluctant to leave them, and, if encouraged by the master, they would be willing to remain and labour on the sugar plantations. They receive now no food from their masters that he ever heard of, but a few herrings or other salt fish, occasionally. If free, they might pay a rent, by labouring for their former masters. The black labourer might give, say four days' labour in the week to the master, to cultivate sugar, and employ two days for himself and family. If he could do better in any other way he might prefer it; yet those who had lived long on certain estates, where they had been born and brought up, and where they had become familiar with sugar culture, would, he believed, be willing to remain and give labour in return for a certain portion of land which the owner might let them have. But if they could purchase, or rent, land of their own, some might prefer it. He had no idea of their attempting to possess themselves forcibly of it (p. 113, 114).

He did not know how much time it took the Negroes to raise their food; but the time allowed them was not more than enough for that purpose, and the little additional comforts they required. Some were well clothed, others very badly, although all of them are desirous of appearing as fine as they can. In labouring on their own grounds they generally appear very diligent, but the labour is not severe. They work with the hoe. In general they are very anxious for conveniences, and even finery, and they work very diligently, and even laboriously, in their grounds; but they have often to go a long way to market; and what between this and planting their provisions, and keeping them clean, and gathering them, and preparing them, carrying them home, and taking them to market and selling them, their time is generally fully occupied.

It is not possible for them, but in rare instances, to attend both church and market, even when the church is contiguous to the market. They cannot quit their marketing till it is finished, and then the forenoon service is over. In the afternoon they are obliged to return home early, especially in crop time, when they must be home to put the mills about on Sunday evenings.* There is, therefore, no time to sell their provisions and attend chapel too (p. 115). In point of fact, they scarcely ever do attend market and chapel on the same day. In the former case their secular engagements seem wholly to engross them. In St. James some few attended both, but crop time lasts there for six months, and the necessity of being at home to put the mills about rendered it generally impossible. At Montego bay the market was chiefly supplied by slaves, and it probably may be so in Kingston and other places. The Negroes obtain money by selling hogs and poultry, as well as provisions, especially the head men.

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* There is a law against putting the mills about on Sunday evenings, in Jamaica, of which the Jamaicans make a great boast. This evidence shows how ill it is observed.

Other Negroes who have peculiar advantages have hogs and poultry, but they complain of the overseers' often shooting their hogs and taking their poultry—sometimes for straying, sometimes from mere wantonness (p. 119.)

If compulsory manumission were the law of the island, some slaves would be able to buy their freedom, but not many as compared with the whole population (p. 117).

The fish allowed to the slaves is given them, not on the Saturday, but, according to the statement of the planters themselves, on every alternate Sunday, except in one or two parishes (p. 117).

Inconveniences might possibly arise, both to master and slave, from any great and sudden change, like that of emancipation, as they arise more or less from all great changes. But it is Mr. Duncan's firm opinion that, even if the Negroes were emancipated at a stroke, there would not be that loss or disturbance which must ensue if emancipation is long delayed. Emancipation might take place with perfect tranquillity, if a proper police were established. The public peace, however, would be very seriously endangered by any long delay, or without a reasonable hope of early emancipation. He does not take it upon him to say what would precisely be the effects of emancipation; but he is persuaded that if one set of labourers could not be got to work on a particular estate, another would. In the event of freedom, the resources of the island would be rapidly developed; machinery would be more employed; and the Negroes, he is convinced, would labour in general, as they do now, for a remuneration, only with more heart, and with more profit to the master. They would in that case, he fully believes, cultivate sugar as they now do, and go through all the process of cane-hole digging and the duties of the boiling houses. Their inducement to this would be the desire of liberty, and of their own profit, so natural to man. He would himself rather dig cane-holes all his life, than have all the money on earth and be a slave; and the Negroes partake of that feeling. It is infinitely more ardent in their minds, as late events have proved, than was supposed. He could raise provisions indeed, but he must first acquire land on which to raise it, and if he had not property he must labour for it. They would, it is true, rather pay a rent in cash than in labour, but either would be equally beneficial to the master. The 300,000 Negroes of Jamaica, if they possessed the land themselves, would have no inducement to work for others, if they could work for their own profit. But few of them could buy land at first; and if emancipation were universal, land would be more difficult to get than now. At present their provision grounds are not generally disturbed, but still complaints are often made that after having cleared, and planted, and cultivated their grounds, they are taken from them by the overseers; and, though this injustice may not be general, yet the grounds are secured to them by no legal tenure. It is not a common case; but when it does occur the complaints are very loud, and the overseer has certainly the power to do it. Mr. Duncan had heard of the difficulty which Mr. Simon Taylor had experienced in inducing his slaves to allow some cocoa trees of theirs to be cut down which were sup-

posed to interfere with the healthiness of their houses on Holland estate, but his forbearance was mentioned as a rare instance of disinterestedness, and eulogized as highly as language could praise any thing. As to what would be the actual result of emancipation, Mr. Duncan could not venture to predict; but his hope was that the Negroes would desire to retain their provision grounds, and that masters would feel it their interest to secure as many willing and efficient labourers as possible, and that they would make bargains for certain portions of ground in lieu of certain quantities of labour. This would be the mutual interest of proprietors and labourers, and that they would feel; and therefore the slaves would be ready to comply with any reasonable overtures of the masters. If the property of the master in the slave ceased, the right of the slave to his ground would also cease, and a new bargain would have to be made. The slave would still feel his dependence on his master, notwithstanding his freedom, and the master would be able to say to the slave, "There is the ground which is no longer yours, as you are a free man, but mine; but, if you will continue to work for me, you will have for your labour that land and so much time to cultivate it." He could have no doubt, from his knowledge of the Negro character, of their acceding to any such reasonable proposition, if made by one on whose veracity they could rely; and, as to the religiously-instructed slaves, there would, in his view, be no difficulty whatever. The religious slaves, too, are considered by the others as their best friends and advisers; and as for enforcing such contracts, and ousting of their grounds those who failed, an active police could easily enforce the law. In St. Thomas in the East, for example, the number of Methodist converts is from 3 to 4,000. Their influence over the rest was demonstrated during the late insurrection. The slaves of St. Thomas in the East were as much agitated as in other parishes, yet the influence of the religious slaves was so great that, while the whites of the parish were all absent, engaged in militia duty, a planter from that district stated that the Negroes there took off the crop as well in the absence of the white people as if they had been present. In the plaintain garden district of St. Thomas in the East, here chiefly referred to, religion has existed longer and been less opposed than in most other quarters. In Manchioneel district, on the contrary, where religion had been constantly opposed, the Negroes were very troublesome and discontented; but where religion had been encouraged and embraced, while in other parts of the island labour was, to a great extent, suspended, there it was going on as well as if nothing had happened (p. 117, 118, 119, 120, 121).

With respect to opposition to religious instruction, Mr. Duncan had known as much made to zealous clergymen of the established church, and of the Scotch kirk, as to any others. The erection even of additional places of worship seemed to him to arise rather from a wish to appear in England more friendly to religion than they really were, than to promote the religious instruction of the slaves; and for this reason, that the most laborious clergymen had been always as much opposed as any dissenting ministers ever were. Of the general

body of the clergy, about 42 in all, four or five have been very laborious among the slaves; and these have been as severely opposed as any Methodists or Baptists ever were. As for the established Scotch church, there is only one place of worship, namely, Mr. Wordy's, at Kingston; he had been frequently there, and never had seen one slave attending (p. 122).

As to plans of emancipation, Mr. Duncan thought that all partial plans would fail of their effect. The best was that of emancipating all children born after a certain day, but even that was attended with great and perhaps insuperable difficulties. Still that would be better than nothing. The only plan not attended with very great, perhaps insuperable difficulties, is a general emancipation. Not that there are not great difficulties in the way of that measure, but they may more easily be overcome (p. 123, 124).

Mr. Duncan then entered into some explanations respecting the resolutions of the Methodist Missionaries in 1824, already adverted to, and which were disclaimed by their superiors at home. The only part of it we shall now notice is the case laid by the Missionaries before Mr. Burge for his opinion, and his reply to it, which tended to produce in the minds of the Missionaries the alarm which led to their rash and ill-considered resolutions.

The parliamentary resolutions of May, 1823, had scarcely reached Jamaica when, however unreasonable and absurd, it was stated, and generally believed, that the Methodist Society had something to do with them. Very great prejudice was thus excited against us. It was threatened to shut up the chapels. Two Missionaries had arrived, and had applied for a license to preach in our parish; but the license was refused. An alien act was then in force, which was thought sufficient to enable the Governor to transport any suspected persons. It was even proposed that we should be transported as well as refused permission to preach. Here was a painful state of things, especially as it was uncertain what might be the sentiments of His Majesty's Government at home upon the great subject of religious toleration in Jamaica. The Missionaries got alarmed, and they applied to a legal gentleman, Mr. Burge, to know what was the law of Jamaica upon that subject, and his opinion added greatly to their alarm.

The case laid before Mr. Burge, with his opinion, was read as follows:—

"To the Honourable William Burge, Esq., His Majesty's Attorney-General, Jamaica.

"The Reverend Francis Tremayne, Wesleyan Missionary, arrived in this island in March, 1823, possessed of the regular documents of his church, viz., a letter of ordination and certificate of license, obtained before the Lord Mayor of London, authenticated in the usual way by signatures and seal. At the first court of quarter sessions held at Spanish Town, after his arrival, he applied for and obtained a license to officiate in the precinct of St. Catherine's. After having laboured with success, and to general satisfaction, for twelve months in St. Thomas in the Vale, he was removed to St. Ann's, taking with him testi-

monials from the only magistrates of the immediate neighbourhood, of their decided approbation of his conduct, which letters were produced in the court of quarter sessions held at St. Ann's Bay, on the 13th ultimo, together with his letter of ordination, English license, and the license obtained in Spanish Town, in this island, at which court he made application for leave again to take the usual oaths, to qualify him for officiating in two of our chapels which had been previously licensed by that court, which was rejected. Now the questions on which we would solicit your opinion are these—

"First,—Has not Mr. Tremayne sufficiently complied with the law to authorise him to preach in those chapels?"

"As I consider it necessary for the minister to qualify at the court of quarter sessions of that parish to which he removes, and in which he intends to officiate, and as Mr. Tremayne has not been admitted to qualify by the court of quarter sessions of the parish of Saint Ann's, I am of opinion that he is not authorised to preach in that parish.—W. Burge."

"Second,—Is not one personal license obtained in any parish in this island sufficient to qualify a man for the whole or any licensed house?"

"I do not consider that one personal license obtained in any parish in this island is sufficient to qualify a man for the whole or any licensed house.—W.B."

"Third,—Provided that one personal license is not sufficient, and a Missionary with such documents is denied the privilege of thus re-qualifying in any court of quarter sessions, can such a court be compelled to re-qualify such a person by writ of mandamus or otherwise?"

"I am of opinion that, if he is possessed of all the documents above referred to, and the court of quarter sessions refused to admit him to qualify, such court might by mandamus be compelled to admit him.—W.B."

"Fourth,—What could be done provided a Missionary, with only his regular home documents, should be refused a license by a court of quarter sessions in this island, could he have redress by a writ of mandamus or otherwise?"

"If the Missionary had not officiated in any parish, and consequently had not obtained his license from any court of quarter sessions, as in the case of a minister on his first arrival in the island, and had therefore only the documents authenticating and evidencing his ordination as a minister, I consider that the court of quarter sessions might by mandamus be compelled to admit him to qualify.—I cannot conclude my answer to these questions without impressing upon the serious consideration of the Wesleyan Missionaries the very great inexpediency, both as it regards the welfare of their institution in the island, and the public repose of the island, of engaging at a crisis so agitated as the present in any litigation with the local magistracy on this subject. With the limited information that is possessed respecting the distinguishing tenets of different religious sects, it is not surprising that many persons of great worth and great liberality should entertain, from the conduct of the Missionary Smith, at Demerara, strong feelings on the introduction of any Missionaries. It would be

highly imprudent, and quite at variance with the correct conduct of the Wesleyan Missionaries in this island, to incur the risk of increasing or confirming those feelings by any litigation with the magistracy. —W. B."

Now it was under the alarm and apprehensions thus produced that the resolutions were hastily adopted.

Mr. Duncan was residing at Kingston when the late insurrection broke out. He had resided two years before at Montego Bay, and therefore well knew the quarter in which it broke out. The causes he thought obvious.

1st. The ill-judged policy of the British Government, which, instead of conciliating the planters, as they vainly hoped, had greatly exasperated them. Had they carried the emancipation at once, in 1823, less loss would have resulted to the master, and far less misery to the slave. Vehement excitement, and discussions without end, were the consequence. The slaves heard and knew all this; for the planters were not very careful in expressing themselves before the slaves.

2nd. The parochial meetings, and the resolutions there adopted, in 1831, which were of the most violent character,—stating that the king's government wished to take their property from them, and make the slaves free, and that they would renounce their allegiance rather than submit to this, being determined to hold their slaves in bondage.—The slaves said naturally enough, "our masters tell us the king wants to make us free, but they will not submit, but keep us slaves still." This was their impression. Now the king has not more loyal subjects in the wide extent of his dominions than the slaves of Jamaica. They will do any thing for him. They revere his very name. Believing the two parties were at issue, they had no difficulty in taking their side with the king.

3rd. The unceasing opposition to religious instruction, in different districts of the island, on the part of the planters. And while the religious slaves desired religious liberty that they might benefit by their teachers, the more unprincipled and uninstructed availed themselves of this desire to diffuse principles injurious to the peace of society.

4th. Mr. Beaumont's bill for compulsory manumission. Many Negroes hailed it with high satisfaction; they thought it would pass, and, when they saw it thrown out by an immense majority, they gave way to a feeling of despair, and seeing their masters determined to keep them in slavery, though the king wished not, they resolved to rise and take their freedom.

5th. The dread of having the island transferred to the United States. Now not only the slaves, but the free classes, are enthusiastically loyal, and their hatred to America is as deep and deadly as their attachment to Great Britain is warm and devoted. A flame would have burst out before this but for the people of colour, who, it is known, would be ready to oppose the very first movement of the kind. *They* would not submit to such a thing; they hate the very name of America, and every thing that is British is dear to them as a body.

Mr. Duncan said that the plans of his majesty's government had produced evil. But this was not because they were evil in themselves; on the contrary, they were wise and moderate, and, if they had been acceded to by the planters, they would have done good: but the planters, instead of falling in with the views of government, uniformly opposed them. It would have been far better for the planters had the slaves been made free at once; for all opposition must have soon subsided, and it would only have been the effervescence of the moment.

Being asked how many of the whites would have remained in the island afterwards, he replied, the whole of them. It might have been followed by some inconveniences; but there would not have been either that loss to the planter, or that misery to the slave, which has been caused by the violent opposition of the planters to every wish of the government. It was his calm and decided opinion that emancipation would not tend to the effusion of blood, but that the attempt to perpetuate or prolong slavery certainly would. Even now, the violence of the whites in their persecution of religion, the destruction of places of worship, and the oppression of missionaries and their converts, was exciting an unwonted irritation in the minds of the slaves and free classes, who were prepared for stern resistance to farther outrages. Even the less religious part of the coloured people felt deeply interested in the cause of civil and religious liberty, and they were bent on actively resisting any farther attempt to infringe them. Yesterday letters were received stating that one of the Wesleyan missionaries at Falmouth was attacked by a mob of white men, who entered his premises armed with bludgeons; bedaubed him with tar; knocked down himself and his wife; attempted to set fire to him, and to throw his infant child out of the window. The timely interference of the people of colour prevented all the mischief that was intended; but, when the missionary went to lodge informations against these rioters, he could get no magistrate to take his depositions. Such things must lead to blood: indeed the prolongation of slavery must lead to it. Emancipation would be perfectly harmless compared with this state of things. Indeed so completely has the law proved ineffectual for the protection of property, that the people of colour seriously talked of arming for its defence (p. 140). Besides, the systematic opposition of the planters generally, and with a few bright exceptions, to that religious instruction for which the slaves are so eager, joined to their growing thirst for civil liberty, increased ten-fold by late events, must be fatal ere long to the public peace. Whatever dangers, therefore, there may be in emancipation, they are very greatly exceeded by the danger of prolonging the present system. The slaves who were executed died exulting in suffering for the sake of freedom; and this is a feeling likely to increase. Without a reasonable prospect of early emancipation, it is my firm and deliberate opinion the peace of the island cannot be preserved for any thing like five years (p. 131—134).

Mr. Duncan then stated the case of Henry Williams, a slave, of the cruelties practised on whom, on account of his religion, a full

account will be found in a former number of our work (see vol. iii. p. 356, 384, and 431). During the late insurrection, the estate to which Henry Williams belonged was left under his care, and he preserved it from all disturbance. He was, nevertheless, arrested, tried, and severely punished, at St. Ann's bay, "for holding unlawful meetings, and administering unlawful oaths!" This Henry Williams is a very intelligent person, who can read and write. On the last night of the year, he did what is customary among the Wesleyans: he spent it in religious services with a few of his friends. There is also a custom among the Methodists of renewing, in their chapels, on the commencement of the new year, what they call their covenant with God. As the chapels were then shut, and the missionaries forced to leave the parish, Henry Williams read over with his friends the form of this covenant or engagement; and, as is also customary, he and they lifted up their hands in token of assent. Some one having given information of this circumstance, Henry was apprehended, taken to St. Ann's bay, tried by a slave court, and sentenced to be flogged and to six months' hard labour, in chains, in the work-house, from which he effected his escape, a circumstance which Mr. Duncan regrets, although the many cruelties he had patiently borne before, and the injustice and severity of the present proceeding, seem to have subdued his constancy. He possessed great influence among the slaves, and the effect of these proceedings towards him must be bad (p. 141, 142).

Mr. Duncan then gave some account of the Colonial Church Union of Jamaica, composed of the magistrates and most influential persons in each parish. The objects of the Union were to "resist the encroachments of their enemies;" to furnish "an antidote to the falsehoods of the Anti-Slavery Society;" to collect "the whole strength of the island, and to obtain therefrom a general petition to the legislature, for the expulsion of all Sectarian missionaries;" "to strive to regain the confidence of their slaves, by a more rigid discipline in the first place," and next "by granting every indulgence that may be merited;" "to lend their influence and support, on all occasions, to those patriots who, on behalf of the paramount laws of society, hazard their personal responsibility for our preservation," and "to obey promptly and implicitly all constitutional orders of the Union." One of the resolutions adopted by them was to request all proprietors to restrain their slaves from attending any dissenting chapel. Many members of these unions are Jews (p. 142, 143).

After the most rigid enquiry, it did not appear that one Wesleyan convert was concerned in the insurrection. Some of them had successfully defended their masters' property. In no case does it seem possible that slavery and Christianity can long exist together. But, in the present state of excitement in Jamaica, it seems quite impossible that any efforts of Christian ministers can keep the slaves quiet in their present state (p. 144).

The hostility of the planters to religion has exceedingly increased of late. The growing efficiency of missionary labours and Sunday schools has aggravated it greatly (p. 144).

Mr. Duncan was present, in the House of Assembly, on the 3rd of

March, 1832, when the Order in Council of the 2nd November, 1831, was discussed. One member, Mr. Barry, after a long and violent speech, moved that the order should be thrown over the bar and burnt by the hands of the common hangman. Mr. Stamp was not for proceeding so far; but, if the British government should try to enforce it, they had, he said, 18,000 bayonets, and with such a force they would never submit to the dictation of the King's ministers. This was known to the slaves. The speeches were published and read by them, and many blacks too were present in the House at the time (p. 145).

Mr. Duncan, being asked whether the hostility of the planters to religion was not a dislike of particular sects, rather than of religion generally, replied that, wherever Christianity was promulgated, light was diffused in many cases where the religion was not embraced or obeyed, and that light could not but make slavery odious. Slavery was incompatible with the known rights of mankind, and the ideas of justice, which Christianity recognized and enforced, and must ultimately fall before it. Christianity in Europe extinguished slavery, by its influence both on the master and the slave. Ministers of the gospel were bound indeed to inculcate obedience on the slave as a duty; but Christianity also binds Christian masters to free their slaves The slave is required to obey his master, till his condition is changed; but the duty of the master is to "let the people go." This view of the matter was avoided by the missionaries in Jamaica; but the slaves who could read had access to newspapers where slavery was discussed. The influence of the island press was very injurious to the cause of Christianity, particularly in exciting the opposition of the planters. He alluded to the Jamaica Courant, the Falmouth Courier, the Cornwall Chronicle, and other papers. There was a paper on the other side, the Watchman, but he did not think it so hurtful; for, though it advocated the cause of the slaves, and exposed the oppressions of slavery, yet it inculcated obedience on the slave (p. 427).

When asked whether he persisted in saying that religion was opposed, when taught by the ministers of the Church of England and Scotland as well as by sectarians, he said he adhered to that opinion, and he believed that neither the increase of the clergy, nor the addition of places of worship, arose from any wish to give *effective* instruction to the slaves, but to make people at home think they were friendly to religion, if taught by the Church. He did not scruple to say this, though it might appear uncharitable, that such, and even worse, was the general case, judging from what he had himself seen. Many of the clergy do not labour at all among the negroes; those of them who do so, with zeal and unwearied diligence, as some of them, about five or six, do, are as much opposed and maligned as any Methodist, even by persons professing to be members of the church. It is *effective* religious instruction, whether oral or otherwise, to which they are opposed, but especially to the slaves being taught to read. The clergymen to whom he alluded had themselves told him of the severe opposition they had to encounter. They were discouraged in

every way, and their characters traduced. This was quite notorious (p. 150).

Mr. Duncan denied the allegation of their drawing *large* contributions from the slaves. The contributions they received came mostly from the free—not a fiftieth part came from the slaves (p. 151).

Being asked whether he thought the condition of the slave was more comfortable now than when he first went, twelve years ago, to Jamaica, he said he did not think so (p. 152).

Mr. Duncan produced a memorial that had been addressed to the governor, Lord Belmore, in April, 1832, stating the destruction of a number of their chapels by lawless mobs, and that, having discovered the authors of these outrages, they had furnished the Attorney General with informations, on oath, but that no step had been taken by him to bring the offenders to justice; that their missionaries were prevented from performing their duties by threats and violence; but that, notwithstanding these circumstances of outrage and oppression, they were happy in being able to affirm that not one individual connected with their societies, whether free or slave, had been connected with the late insurrection. They therefore solicited the governor's interference. On the 21st of April the governor's secretary transmitted to them a copy of a letter from the Attorney General, stating that no unnecessary delay had arisen, and that he meant to institute proceedings against the offenders at the next June grand court, but complaining that the complainants had not bound themselves in recognizances to prosecute, and had not held the offenders to bail: all which, as Mr. Duncan had said, was surely his duty, and that of the magistrates, and not theirs (p. 153).

Mr. Duncan has certainly known slaves suffer severely from the pecuniary distress of their masters, being driven from their grounds, perhaps converted into jobbing gangs, or put in gaol for their debts. But he cannot say that the slaves are the best off on the most prosperous properties.—Their education depends almost wholly on the disposition of the owner or manager (p. 156).

Mr. Duncan had known the marriage of slaves opposed by their masters in a great many instances, and this could not be ascribed to a dislike to sectarians, but to religion itself. When he has enquired into the objections on the part of the master or overseer, it was of this kind:—"I will not allow you to get married, you may live as I am living myself." This has been the general and almost only reason assigned in all parts of the island. In 1826 two respectable slaves, who had been living together in the usual way, applied to Mr. Duncan to marry them privately, as their master would not consent. Mr. Duncan refused; but, the Negroes intreating him with tears in their eyes, he wrote to their master (à Mr. William Rae of Kingston) a respectful note, saying he had no intention to interfere between him and his slaves, but intreated him to consider the case. The Negroes took the letter, and when he read it he tore it in pieces before them and gave no reply to it. A few owners and attorneys, but very few, encourage marriage; but in general they are very adverse to it, and the general answer is, "You may live as I do" (p. 157).

Our readers cannot fail to be struck with the honest boldness, and at the same time with the clear and comprehensive views, and sound principles which mark the evidence of these two Wesleyan missionaries, Mr. Barry and Mr. Duncan. They reflect credit on those who appointed them ; and it must afford general satisfaction to have such clear and indubitable indications as their evidence affords, of their calm and dispassionate judgment, as well as of their enlightened zeal and unshaken courage.

IV. The next witness was the Rev. Thomas Cooper, a Unitarian minister, who had lived on the estate of Georgia, in Hanover, belonging to Mr. Robert Hibbert. The slaves, he said, had a weekly allowance of herrings from their master, the adults seven or eight, and the children half. For raising food they had land on the back part of the estate, which they cultivated on Sundays and on the 26 days allowed them by law. The time allowed, exclusive of Sundays, was not sufficient : besides which they must attend market on the Sunday ; so that they must labour the whole of the time allowed them, and on Sunday also, to provide for themselves and families in any thing like comfort, the chief part of their subsistence being derived from their own labour. The grounds were too distant to allow of their working upon them in the intervals of their labour during the working days. Their surplus provisions they carried to market, to which they had often to travel 13 or 14 miles and back. Some were nearer the market. The least time that could enable a slave to live in comfort, he thought, was 78 days in the year, besides what little they had from their masters. Two days in the week, or 104 days in the year, would have been sufficient, he thought, to support them entirely without the master's aid. He had never known a slave to possess more than 30 or 40 dollars. If emancipated, he thought the slaves would be better labourers and better members of society. The free were highly respectable, as compared with the slaves. They were as much disposed to industry as the people of this country. He saw none idle among them. Many accumulated property, both as settlers cultivating land, and as merchants in towns. He thought that the best way of procuring labour from manumized slaves would be to pay a fair rate of hire for their labour. He had seen brown men very industrious as carpenters, &c. He had never known them work in the field as labourers, but he had known them work as boilers. He had no fears that the Negroes would return into the woods if emancipated : that would be placing themselves voluntarily in poverty and distress. That they would be industrious if free, he felt well persuaded, as he had never seen any tendency to idleness in those that were free. If they were free and worked for wages, labour would no longer be disgraceful, as now. The free coloured are rising in intelligence. They send their children to schools to be educated. Mr. Cooper had known whites living on parochial relief : he had never seen free coloured persons in such distress as to require it. He thought that in case of emancipation a few able and well disposed men would keep a Negro village in order as effectually as our police

keeps London in order. A total change, however, would be required in the magistracy. The free coloured people, he believed, were loyal. They formed a part of the militia. He never heard any distrust expressed of them by whites. The Negroes had no hope of liberty when he was in the island. They submitted to their state as a great but unavoidable evil. They seemed like persons in despair: they had no hope whatever. They were sometimes gay, and danced and jumped about. In general they exhibited that sort of gloom which must arise from being oppressed without any hope of rising. He did not recollect hearing them sing, as they returned from work in the evening: they were generally too fatigued. They sometimes had dances at night; but the planters disliked it, thinking it added to their exhaustion (p. 138).

It was doubtless possible to teach the slaves to read and write, but it was not thought consistent with the master's interest to give time for that purpose. Even the children he taught were not kept one day from work. As soon as they were fit to go to the field, they were taken from him. There was a general and very powerful prejudice against teaching them to read. He had been sent by Mr. Hibbert to instruct his slaves, and no one actually obstructed him, but he had no encouragement. He had never known a plantation slave who could read. In general, at that time (1817 to 1821), the slaves had no means whatever of religious instruction. There was no hindrance to my going on neighbouring plantations, but the overseers did not like that I should communicate with the slaves. The overseer of Georgia did not directly obstruct me, but he told me he considered the teaching the slaves a very injurious thing, and the clergyman of the parish said I was training up generals for the black army; he did not object to teach them the Lord's prayer, and the being of a God (p. 139).

Mr. Cooper had employed Negroes for hire as carpenters, and in his little garden, and they worked very well. The free blacks often complained to him of the difficulty in obtaining payment for the work they did for white people (p. 139).

Mr. Cooper had written to Mr. Hibbert to say that, if the slaves were taught to read, he thought they would certainly soon cease to be slaves; that, in proportion as they were enlightened, they would be dissatisfied; and that, when they came to see their real condition, they would themselves alter it. On Mr. Cooper telling Mr. Hibbert this, the latter begged him to discontinue teaching them to read. It appeared to him that the slaves submitted to their condition on account of their degraded state, but if instructed, and taught to read, and to understand the principles of Christianity, they would at once discover the wrong done to them, and there would be a general resistance, if no means were taken to make them free; and such was the universal opinion among the planters in Jamaica. He quite agreed with them in thinking that knowledge diffused among the slaves by reading was wholly incompatible with slavery. Slavery considers them as animals, goods, and chattels. Instruction considers them as men; and if knowledge be widely diffused among them, and emancipation be not given them, it will be seized by force (p. 140).

On Georgia and other estates, it was the duty of the book-keeper to go to the Negro grounds on Sunday, to see that the Negroes were at work there. In these cases, at least, the overseers thought that it would not do to depend wholly on the diligence and providence of the slaves for their support, but that they must be superintended even then.

V. Mr. Henry Loving resided at St. John's, in Antigua, and was proprietor and editor of the Antigua Weekly Register. In 1821, by a census, the population of the island was 1980 whites and 4066 free coloured persons. There has been no census since, but in 1828 pains were taken by himself and some friends of his, coloured gentlemen, to ascertain their numbers, and they made the total 5400, being an increase of 1334 in 7 years. This account excluded the intermediate manumissions. This account was not published then: it was not thought prudent to do so, lest the authorities should suppose they had an improper motive in exhibiting the superior strength of the coloured as compared with the white class. Of late years marriage has become much more common among the free persons of colour. Formerly, concubinage pervaded all classes, even the highest, and the force of example carried it through every rank. This change he regarded as owing to education and religious instruction, which of late had greatly advanced (p. 159).

A corresponding improvement had also taken place in the slave population. From an early period, though the Established church was asleep, the Moravians and Wesleyans were very active in the work of religious instruction, and very successful too. And, since the appointment of a bishop, Antigua has been greatly favoured by having such clergymen as Archdeacon Parry and Mr. Holberton. That gentleman is Rector of St. John's, and has endeared himself greatly by his indefatigable exertions in diffusing religious knowledge among the slaves. Schools have multiplied, and there is a unity of feeling between the clergymen and the sectarians, which promises the best results. The school under the established clergy having more ample means, and being also zealously superintended, have flourished much, and things proceed very cheeringly. The slaves in Antigua are the most intelligent and best instructed in the West Indies. Formerly, few were taught to read: now great numbers are so taught—some even on plantations. Having known Antigua from infancy, he can say that marriage has increased as religion has been diffused. He had refrained from conversing with the slaves as to their feelings about freedom, thinking it imprudent to do so; but, though he could not say that they were positively restless under their slavery, he thought it impossible their minds should be enlightened, and yet remain so debased as not to desire freedom. He had never seen any tendency to tumult in the slaves of Antigua, till the month of March, 1831, when the Sabbath market (their only market day) having been taken away by the legislature, and no other day substituted for it, a revolutionary movement took place among them, which was alarming, and they seemed determined to resist the operation of the law (p. 160).

Mr. Loving believed his newspaper was read by the slaves. He did not know of any who were subscribers to it, but many of them are purchased for ready money, and doubtless some by slaves.

The slaves had been in the habit, from time immemorial, of bringing their articles to market on Sunday; for they had no other time for doing so, having no other day given them by law. But, in alleged compliance with the wish of the Government at home, the legislature, in 1831, abolished marketing on Sunday, and thus, as no other time was given them in lieu of Sunday, in fact abolishing marketing altogether for the slaves.

The Negroes have some ground allowed them, but no time in which to cultivate it. They have an allowance of food by law.* Some proprietors, however, allow their slaves occasionally a little time, but by no fixed rule. The effect is that Sunday, instead of being religiously observed, is, in great part, devoted by the slave to labour for himself, either on his ground, or in some other way (p. 161).

The free blacks in Antigua, of whom there are many, are on all occasions willing to labour for hire; and they work cheerfully as jobbers, porters, hodmen, &c. They do not labour on plantations. Proprietors would not permit them, lest they should poison the minds of the slaves. Besides, no free black would willingly quit his present pursuits to go and labour on a plantation. Whether the present slaves, if emancipated, would do so, is another question.

There is no doubt whatever that the Negroes have a very great relish for the comforts and conveniences of life. Hence arises the very great industry with which they use every moment of time they can redeem from the hours of interval from labour. After a slave has done his master's work at night, he will travel perhaps six miles with some little article to sell to add to his little comforts. At the same time he would not probably overwork himself to obtain mere luxuries (p. 162).

Cane-hole digging is certainly very hard work, especially under a tropical sun, and still more as the whole gang are obliged to work together, the weak with the strong. Many of the slaves, when emancipated, might not like to engage in plantation labour, disgusted as they are with it, and deeming it a kind of punishment; but necessity would compel them to accept of wages for labour. Besides which, they are much attached to the place of their birth, or what they fondly call their "born ground." Their early associations are formed there; their huts, their little fruit-trees are there, and there they have their family

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* The allowance is a very scanty one indeed. It is fixed by the 1st clause of the slave law of 1798, viz.—Weekly to every adult slave, nine pints of corn, or beans, or oatmeal; eight pints of wheat, or Indian corn, or Cassava flour, or seven pints of rice, or twenty pounds of yams, with one pound and a quarter of herrings; and, to children, half of this allowance—the whole being diminished by one-fifth in crop time. This is little more than half of the prison allowance to runaways in Jamaica. By the same law, two jackets, and two pairs of trowsers, are annually given to male slaves, and two petticoats and two wrappers to females. But only one suit need be given, if a blanket and hat be given. The hours of labour are the same as in Jamaica, viz. eleven hours and a half (clause 10).

ties. They are well aware, too, that they cannot get food without labour or money; and nothing but a hatred of their master would induce them to leave the estates on which they now live. A part of them might, from a sense of former hard and cruel treatment, and a hope of bettering their condition with lighter labour, put down the plantation hoe; yet most of them would feel the necessity of continuing to labour at such labour as they had been accustomed to. If they could get land by renting or purchasing it, he thinks they would prefer any other culture to that of the sugar-cane (p. 163).

Much, he thinks, might be done by the planters to lessen the necessity of manual labour on the estates, by substituting machinery even in weeding canes. Some planters, wiser than the majority of them, use the plough, and it might be used to spare cane-hole digging almost entirely; but the planters generally have a distrust, he knew not why, in the benefits of machinery (p. 163).

Mr. Loving thinks that about nine-tenths of the slave population of Antigua attend some place of religious worship. Religion certainly will not teach men to take up arms and shed blood to obtain freedom; but undoubtedly religious knowledge cannot but be attended by other knowledge: it tends to expand the mind, and leads the slave to see the wretchedness of his condition, as compared with that of the free. The contrast is very great and striking, both physically and civilly, between the slave and the free. The latter has the use of his own faculties both of body and mind. *Morally*, many of the slaves are superior to many of the free; but, in point of the comforts of life, the free blacks in Antigua stand infinitely above the slaves. He can earn as much in a day as the slave gets from his master's allowance in a week. This is remarkably illustrated in the case of the African apprentices emancipated in 1828, to the number of 400. Their conduct since proves a good test for ascertaining the fitness of the present slaves for freedom. With a solitary exception, none of them had committed any offence, down to July, 1831, when Mr. Loving left the island, and they were then pursuing a course of industry for their own support. They lived near him, and were occasionally employed by him; and he saw with his own eyes their industrious habits, their desire of property, their love of fine clothes, and their efforts to imitate the speech, manners, and dress of the creoles, and in these respects some of them had already surpassed the creoles. A great part of the laborious work of St. John's is done by them. They are fishermen, mariners, bargemen, hodmen, porters, domestics. Agricultural labour had been forbidden to them by His Majesty's Order in Council respecting them. But, besides this, since their liberation, no planter likes to employ them, from a fear of their instilling into the minds of the slaves notions of liberty. Many of the women are active hucksters. Many of them, amounting to about twenty, have already purchased their own houses, including three freeholds; and only one man and five women had been thrown on the bounty of the Crown, and this by medical advice, they being declared unfit for labour.—Mr. Loving had been at pains to authenticate these facts. Apprehensions were entertained and loudly expressed by many in Antigua of

the state of mendicity and wretchedness to which they would be reduced, and of the consequent burden that would fall on the public, but proved totally groundless. There may have been among the Africans persons of bad principles (it would be strange were it not so); but their general conduct has been quiet and orderly. After all, their greatest crime is what in a slave colony is termed their insolence; but those who make this charge do not consider that these Africans had not forgotten the freedom of which they had been robbed, and had sense enough to know that they could not be treated as slaves with impunity. Some of their masters and mistresses attempted so to treat them; but as the indentures strictly forbade this, and the apprentices resisted it, an incurable rankling against them has been left in the minds of the defeated party. As for any danger from the Africans there is absolutely none, though some jealousy may be entertained of them by the slaves, who see these newly-imported persons thriving as they do under the effects of their freedom. Some of them have attached themselves to the Moravians, and some to the Methodists. He did not know that education was general among them;—still they were all sufficiently enlightened to know that they ought to conduct themselves as good members of society. Hence only one case of petty larceny had occurred among them before July, 1831. They were not above the slaves generally in Antigua in respect to religious instruction and knowledge; nor do they despise the slaves. They sometimes intermarry with them, and their social intercourse with each other is unchecked. This adds to the danger of delaying emancipation. When they intermarry with slaves, it is always before sectarian ministers. The clergy of the church are forbidden by law, under a penalty of £50, to be parties to intermarrying a free person and a slave (p. 165, 166).

The African apprentices were liberated by proclamation of the Governor. They were only required to exhibit proof that they could maintain themselves, and having done so they were all immediately made free. Their certificates of freedom were printed by Mr. Loving (p. 166).

VI. The Rev. John Thorp was Curate of St. Thomas in the East, in Jamaica, for upwards of two years, from 1826 to 1829. He had known many emancipated, but had never known or heard of any who were in want, or who lived by crime, or who hired themselves to plantation labour. They would regard it as a degradation to work with slaves, and they had also employments more profitable than field labour. There might not exist the same hindrance if slavery were abolished. The slaves in Jamaica are fed with food cultivated by themselves, with about six salt herrings a week to each adult, and half to each child, from the master. They maintain their children as well as themselves from their grounds, being allowed 26 days in the year for that purpose; but that is not enough; they work also on Sundays. The time allowed them is clearly not sufficient, as they are forced to work on Sundays also. Indeed, he remembered one instance, on an estate called Stanton, where some slaves who would not repair to their

grounds on Sunday were assembled in a gang, and compelled to do so, and fed in the interim by the master. In general the slaves work in their grounds on Sunday. The surplus they raise beyond their wants they carry to market. The daily duration of field labour in Jamaica is eleven hours and a half. In St. Thomas in the East they do not usually gather grass afterwards. In crop time there is no legal limit to their night labour. The usual time of sitting up in the night was six hours. When the gangs were large this labour was lightened. In general, the slaves in crop time worked 18 hours out of 24. Their labour, during the day, appeared to him severe and exhausting (p. 167—169).

The attendance of the slaves in his church was about 80. They were chiefly plantation slaves. They were clean in their dress; the head Negroes in white jackets and trowsers, the others in Osnaburgh. They did not wear shoes. The women generally appeared at church in a muslin dress. He had known two or three hundred emancipated slaves, and he knew them to be well behaved and industrious, not shrinking from hard labour—having a great desire for the comforts of life. He never knew them to work on sugar estates. He has known them to raise provisions, and bring them to market. He thought that the slaves, if emancipated, would be willing to work. His duties, as a curate, carried him occasionally to a few estates on which religious instruction, but only orally, was permitted by the owners. He visited 24 estates in this way, superintending some free brown catechists selected by the rector, Mr. Trew. He never visited the slaves in their houses. Reading was permitted to be taught on Sir George Rose's estates at Coley and Morant, but not during the owner's time. It was merely for half an hour during the dinner interval, twice a week. The number taught to read was only one in 38. When he went on the estates, he met the children at the boiling house, or at the house of the overseer. He knew no difference in the aptness of children to learn in Jamaica and in England: he had been much engaged in teaching the children of the peasantry in this country, both before and since his visit to Jamaica. The children were of the age of from six to fourteen. Their parents had a strong desire they should be taught. The adults did not attend on the estates, though they showed their desire for instruction by coming to the Sunday schools. The oral mode of instruction Mr. Thorp deems quite inefficient, but, when united with reading, the effect was good. He never had any conversation with the slaves respecting freedom, having been warned by Mr. Trew of the peculiar state of society in Jamaica. On the same ground he abstained from questioning overseers on the subject. He found, however, that the proceedings in this country about slavery were well known to both slave and free—they having access to the newspapers. Mr. Thorp, however, saw no symptoms of disaffection when he was there, except that he heard frequent complaints of the extent and exhaustion of labour, and of the consequent exclusion from the means of religious instruction. Those means were at that time more abundant than in any other parish, and there was an improved moral feeling among the slaves. For, in St. Thomas in the

East, not only was religious instruction to a considerable extent afforded by the rector, but the Wesleyans had three chapels largely attended by slaves (p. 170—172).

Mr. Thorp had seen the slaves cultivating their grounds and taking provisions to market, and not only supporting themselves, but their aged relations, by their own labour. He understood that the law compelled the owner to support the aged slaves; but certainly the law was not carried into effect; for, in cases he knew, they were supported wholly by the exertions of their relatives, without any thing from the owner but their small allowance of fish, and grounds which they were not able themselves to work, but which their relations assisted in working. He could not tell that the time so occupied was not made up by the masters, but his strong impression was that it was not* (p. 171).

Then follows a number of questions respecting the influence of general as distinct from religious knowledge; on the nature of police regulations proper to be adopted; and on the degree in which the emancipation under such regulations would be partial or complete: they elicited, however, few or no material facts, and therefore may be passed over (p. 172, 178).

VII. The Rev. Wiltshire Stanton Austin is a clergyman of the established church. The insurrection in Demerara, in 1823, he conceived, arose from the ignorance in which the slaves were kept of the real purposes of government, and the excitement produced by their being led to believe that privileges had been conceded to them by the king which their masters withheld from them. Knowing, however, as he did, the feelings and habits of the slaves, he did not imagine that the grant of entire freedom to them would endanger the public peace, especially if the slaves were allowed to cultivate the land from which they now draw their food. There would be no danger of either the young or the old suffering from want with their fellows around them able to give assistance; he never had seen natural affection more strongly exhibited than among the Negroes. Their wants indeed are few, and the soil is fertile; but yet such is the desire of the Negro to improve his condition, that he would make equal exertions with the European, if his inducements to labour were the same. A slave working for himself is a very different being from a slave working for his master: in the former case he labours cheerfully and willingly. On his father's estate, in Surinam, he was in the habit of employing the slaves to execute the work of the plantation by task, and he found that a reasonable day's task would thus be performed in much less time; and that when a double task was assigned to a man and his wife, the wife was sent to attend to her domestic

* The law on this point sounds plausibly to an English ear, but in fact it goes only to prevent masters from permitting their infirm or diseased slaves to become mendicants, or to wander from the estates, and this obviously as a regulation of police, to prevent the annoyance to the public, rather than to secure a provision for the slave. See clause 17 of the Act of February 19, 1831. It does not interdict quartering them on their relatives, or prescribe the allowances to be made them.

affairs and prepare the comfortable meal, while the husband completed the task of both in the usual time allotted to labour. In Guiana and Barbadoes the slaves at present are fed by provisions raised by the gang as a common stock, which are dealt out to them by the master. If the slave were allowed to feed himself, and were paid wages for his labour, the master might be relieved from all his present heavy expenses for food, clothing, medical charges, and the cost of providing for children and for the aged and infirm, and the master would be greatly benefited by the labour of the slave. It was his father's opinion, as well as his own, that if his 250 slaves were emancipated, and he could place them around him as a peasantry, paying rent for their houses and grounds, and having also wages for all the labour they did for him, he should be a great gainer. That he could not carry this plan into effect was owing to a heavy mortgage on the estate, comprising the slaves. Had he tried to treat them as free labourers, while they were still in fact slaves, the experiment, under existing circumstances, must have failed; and if he had emancipated them the mortgagees would have interfered. He had seen in Hanover four instances of slaves emancipated and land given to them, on which they not only raised provisions, but also canes, which were manufactured into sugar at the master's mill for half the produce. In short he was convinced that the emancipation of the slaves might be made compatible with the cultivation of sugar, and probably in equal quantities as at present, and at no greater cost. This, however, was only opinion, not experiment. The desire of the slave for comforts and luxuries is very strong, and would induce him to engage in constant profitable employment (p. 179—182).

There are in Surinam two settlements of emancipated slaves, with which he had had much intercourse. Their employment was to cut and saw timber into planks, and bring it down from the interior; and also their surplus provisions, as rice and yams, and other articles, which they bartered for whatever they wanted, besides accumulating property. Mr. Austin had in his possession 10*l.* to keep for one man; and he knew a friend with whom as much as 300*l.* had been deposited by various individuals belonging to those settlements, the produce of very hard labour; at least as hard, if not so regular, as the cultivation of sugar. Under all the circumstances of the case, his own clear opinion was that West Indian property would be improved, and not injured, by emancipation; and, as for danger to the public peace, that, he thought, would be lessened, not increased, by it. So strong was his belief of this, that he should not hesitate to return thither with his family in case of emancipation, while nothing could tempt him to return to the West Indies if slavery is to continue. He has large reversionary interests in prospect both in Guiana and in Barbadoes, and though those interests are in slaves and not in land, so that he himself might be a sufferer by the change, it was his decided feeling that, with a view to the general interests, emancipation was desirable (p. 183).

The free settlements spoken of are not settlements of Indians, but of Africans who had forcibly emancipated themselves, as stated in Stedman's History of Surinam, and with whom the Dutch had entered

into a treaty, which has been pretty well observed on both sides; and instead of being a source of danger to the colony, they are now a great protection to it. He had never heard of any want among them; and, though he had had much intercourse with them, he had never seen one of them intoxicated. Their settlements were not very far from the cultivated parts of the colony, but they did not themselves raise sugar or coffee. They are a very handsome, well-formed race, with their features sharper and more raised than the Africans generally. They consist of persons from different parts of the colony, escaping from slavery, and uniting to defend their liberty. Their number is not known; they are jealous of enquiries on that point; but the reports vary from 10,000 to 20,000. They are very prolific, and their habits are very favourable to their rapid increase. They speak what is called Negro-English, a compound of English and Dutch and African. The Bible has recently been translated into it by the Moravian Missionaries, who have planted a mission there. The settlers allow no other Europeans to reside among them. Mr. Austin made one or two attempts, but did not succeed. He had, however, frequent intercourse with them on his father's estate for a few days or even a week at a time. Generally speaking, they were heathens, with the exception of those converted by the Moravian missionaries; but their mission commenced only 15 years ago, and since Mr. Austin's intercourse with them had ceased (p. 184 and 185).

Mr. Austin stated that his opinion of the safety of emancipation was derived from his knowledge of the character of the Negroes. They were naturally peaceable, and they would be still more so when the great boon for which alone they had to contend was conceded to them. Their habits of submission, and their respect for the superiority of the whites, he thought would remain with them. What course the planter might think it right to pursue he could not pretend to say, but it would be obviously his interest to hold out every inducement to the emancipated slaves to continue as labourers on his estate. As he could have no other labourers, there could be no fear of want of employment for a time, though indeed the richness of the soil would hold out temptations to persons emancipated in the other slave colonies to migrate to Guiana (p. 186).

In Demerara the slaves had little opportunity of attending religious worship. There were only two clergymen and four missionaries, for a population of 90,000 of all classes (p. 186).

Mr. Austin had never known slaves buy their own children's freedom; but he has known parents, after being emancipated themselves, redeem their children. As slaves, had they had the means, they would have been most eager to do so, even in preference to redeeming themselves (p. 186).

In the island of Barbadoes he had seen one or two cases of blacks begging about the streets; but whether they were slaves or free he could not tell. The number, however, of such persons was extremely small indeed; while white beggars swarmed in many parts of the island. He had even seen such relieved by the slaves (p. 187).

The free blacks and people of colour whom Mr. Austin had known were remarkably industrious as mechanics, hucksters, and in a variety

of ways, and though not indeed as field labourers for others, yet as labourers on their own plots of ground. He had known Negroes of good character, both in Demerara and Barbadoes, when emancipated, continuing to live near their former master; or some kind friend, raising small patches of cane, which when ripe were sent to the master's mill and manufactured for a half or a third of the produce, as might be agreed. This, however, is much disapproved of by masters generally, from the same feeling which, in this country, leads a farmer to disapprove of his labourer growing wheat or barley, suspecting that, if he had a bad crop, he would help himself from his master's field (p. 187).

In Demerara, as late as 1822, the marriage of slaves was a thing unheard of, being considered as incompatible with slavery. This was his official reply to a question put by the government of that day (see the parliamentary returns for 1823, No. 89, p. 81). Such marriages were in fact discouraged by the planters and the governors. Two persons applied to Mr. Austin to be married, and the fees of the Secretary's office were so high that he was obliged to send them to the Methodist Missionaries to be married. They being desirous of marriage, and Mr. Austin refusing to admit them to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper till they were married, he saw no other course. Marriage appeared to him incompatible with slavery, because, under the law of Demerara at that time, the husband and wife might be separated so as never to meet again. The law may now be different; but, previous to 1824, the husband and wife might be separated. Marriage is now more encouraged than it was then (p. 188).

Mr. Austin said that his conduct, in respect of Missionary Smith of Demerara, had caused a wide breach between him and his relations in the West Indies, with all of whom, excepting his father, all intercourse had ceased for a time. He was not without fear that the evidence he was now giving might produce a similar result. But he was so deeply interested in the cause of Negro emancipation that he should be ready to promote it at any hazard or sacrifice. There was a time, he admitted, when he felt somewhat differently on this subject, or rather in his views of Christian principle and duty concerning it. As those views became clearer, he was more fully convinced of the incompatibility of religion with slavery. His opinions had never been opposed to those he now held; but they were so affected by early prejudices and views of interest, as to lead him at one time to regard Mr. Wilberforce, for example, as a great enemy to the West Indies. Reason, experience, reflection, and better feelings had led him to a different conclusion now. He then thought only of the injury emancipation might inflict on the planter; but he had latterly thought of the wrong done to the unfortunate Negro and his unoffending offspring, condemned to perpetual bondage. Even in 1821 he had expressed opinions in Demerara which Governor Murray considered as dangerous, and which proved a bar to his promotion, leading the governor to suspect his being connected with the African Institution in this country. The governor particularly objected to his opinions respecting the education of the slaves, and said he would banish any missionary who should attempt it. To these views, and to his advocacy of the

missionary Smith, he conceived he owed the hostility of the Governor, and his loss of preferment to the chaplainship of the colony on the resignation of Mr. Strahan (p. 189, 190).

Neither in Guiana, nor in Barbadoes, did the law require the owner to allot land to the Negroes; and, in point of fact, it was not the practice generally to do so, though in the former it may require the owner to provide a sufficiency of food for his slaves. He was certainly not aware that either the law or the practice of Demerara was to allot land to the slaves. Being asked whether he knew the estates of La Belle Alliance, and the Land of Plenty, he said that he knew them; they belonged to two uncles of his, and that the slaves of the latter were most kindly treated; but he was not aware, nor did he believe, that on those estates grounds were allotted to the slaves; neither did he know that from the slaves on those two estates any thing was brought to the market in George Town, but pigs and poultry occasionally. Being further asked whether he meant to state that it was not a fact that the market of George Town was supplied by provisions brought thither by the Negroes, he replied that some planters, one of them a friend of his own, sent its main supply to that market; that the Negroes certainly had it in their power to carry to market, from Sunday to Sunday, any trifle they might have, but, generally speaking, it was only fowls or pork. The Negroes from time to time had Indian corn given them by their masters, and might possibly grow a little themselves, as Indian corn was of particularly easy growth, and cheap and abundant, and with that poultry are fed. The plantain too, at some seasons of the year, abounded, and, when ripe, is a very nutritious food for pigs as well as poultry; but the slaves had not, as far as he knew, grounds of their own. They were, it is true, abundantly supplied with plantains, but they had little else in the way of food (p. 191).

When *he* knew the free Negroes who had emancipated themselves, and were placed in back settlements in Surinam, he found no religion among them, and at that time religion occupied so little of his own thoughts that he should never have thought of questioning them about it. He only knew they were sober. He never saw any drunkenness among them; but, among the slaves, drunkenness was common when they could obtain spirits. The free Negroes were also very punctual in all their engagements with himself. The free Negroes were also as far beyond the slaves in appearance, and in their manners and habits, as the gentlemen of England are above the peasantry (p. 192).

Frequent attempts had been made at education, and by himself among others, and they were successful till interrupted by the insurrection. He had commenced his own contrary to the wishes of the Governor, after having been deterred for some time by the fear of losing the prospect of preferment held out to him. After many conflicts with himself, he had at length opened a large Sunday school, which, down to the time of the insurrection, interested him much; but whether after he was driven from Demerara his successor continued it he could not tell. The children he found very apt to learn, and very eager for knowledge. There was no provision made by law, either for the

education or for the religious instruction of the slaves; but the missionaries, and also he himself, were permitted to instruct the slaves in religion, but not on the plantations. A few weeks before he quitted Demerara, two clergymen arrived there with that object in view, but before that nothing had been done under the authority of Government, nor was he aware whether oral instruction only was meant, or any other instruction (p. 192).

The Negroes throughout Guiana were, generally speaking, stronger and healthier on cotton than on coffee estates, and on coffee than on sugar estates. There are, in Demerara, many free coloured persons. They are in very good condition, many of them rich, and none poor. As president of the board of the poor's fund, he was called to investigate all cases of distress. He remembers one or two cases where the cast off mistresses of white men were reduced to great distress, but, with the exception of one or two other individuals in a wretched state of disease, he knew of no free Negroes who were claimants on this fund. The chief claimants were Barbadian whites of a very low description, and other white immigrants who had been unsuccessful in their speculations (p. 192, 193).

It was in consequence of his experience of the working of slavery that his opinions upon it underwent a change. By the time he had reached the age of thirty, he thought somewhat more seriously on the subject, and began to shake off the prejudices which had grown with his growth. He left Surinam because he was disgusted with the whole system. There was one thing which peculiarly disgusted and pained him, and which led to a separation, not in affection, but in labours, between his father and himself, and that was the flogging of women. He was so disgusted with that and some other points, that he gave up all connection with the estate. In Surinam, the Negroes were less heavily tasked than in the English colonies, but were more severely treated than in the latter. In Surinam, the Moravians are admitted on a few estates, and among them on his father's. There is no protector of slaves in Surinam; the slaves, therefore, are more at the mercy of the planters than they are in the English crown colonies since the appointment of protectors there. There is, he believes, no protector of slaves in Barbadoes (p. 193, 194).

Mr. Austin said that he had no connection with the Anti-Slavery Society. He had come as a witness on this occasion at the instance of a friend, Mr. Z. Macaulay.

He thought a more gradual plan of emancipation would meet the views of the planters better than one that was immediate; and, feeling interested himself in West India property, he should, on the whole, prefer the former to the latter; but he had no fear that immediate emancipation would affect the public peace in any way. As for the slave, he viewed him as at this moment fit for emancipation. He should think of any modified plan, only in the hope of reconciling conflicting interests. Of course, if education went on, each day would render the slave more fit for it. All such plans as freeing the children and apprenticing them to their masters were liable to great and numerous objections, both as respects the master and the slave, and they would

not satisfy the slaves generally. Notwithstanding the great facility of acquiring uncleared land in Demerara, the slave, he thought, would prefer land already laid out, as the most laborious work is that of felling trees, laying out new land, and trenching it. The Governor could undoubtedly grant the slaves new land, but it would be easier for the slaves to cultivate land already in cultivation. The owner of an estate might let it out in portions to the slaves; and, as slaves are fond of the spot where they have lived, they would prefer to buy or rent land of their masters than to go and plant themselves in new situations (p. 192, 193).

VIII. Vice Admiral the Hon. Charles Fleming thought the slaves greatly improved since he had first been among them. He did not regard them as at all deficient in natural capacity. If they were at once emancipated, he had no doubt, from what he had seen in Cuba, Caraccas, Bahamas, and Trinidad, they would not only maintain themselves, but cultivate the land as well as it is now. The slaves are not industrious except when they work for themselves, but when they do they are very industrious. He has had slaves who worked for hire most industriously; but, when working under overseers, they did as little as they could. He did not think that in Trinidad and the Bahamas the slaves were much dissatisfied, but in Jamaica they were generally much dissatisfied; and, during all the time he was there, he was in fear lest all that has since occurred should happen there, and he feared the same still. In the Bahamas there are no sugar plantations, and the slaves are not worked in gangs, and there slavery is as light as it can well be. Still, even there, they ardently desire freedom, and are availing themselves of the law for compulsory manumission as much as they can. In Trinidad, the slaves appeared better treated and better fed, and, being mostly Catholics, the priests have a great influence over them and keep them quiet. Trinidad is under the excellent laws of Old Spain, and the slaves have efficient protection from the slave protector. In Jamaica, the slaves have no protector, and the magistrates, generally, neglect their duty. If the hope of emancipation were to be extinguished, they would not remain for a moment in hopeless slavery. The only reason they are now tranquil is the hope of emancipation by the Government. No island he had visited would be tranquil for a moment if that hope was cut off. If that hope be withdrawn, insurrection will soon take place. His reason for forming this opinion is the great anxiety they show to learn what is going on in England for their own emancipation, and that of their children. In the island of Jamaica, particularly, this feeling is very strong. He resided lately for eight or ten months in Jamaica, and, during that time, he was much in the interior of the island, and lived on a coffee estate, and near a sugar estate, on the Port Royal mountains; and, in going to his house and coming from it, he had to pass through the sugar estates of the Duke of Buckingham, Mr. Wildman, and others. He had frequently been on these and other estates, seven or eight in all. At the place, too, where he lived, called Claremont, he had much intercourse with the free blacks, the whole district around

being peopled with them and the free browns, who lived in great comfort with their families, having pieces of land of their own which they cultivated themselves. They also reared vegetables, and fowls, and pigs, and cultivated the sugar cane, and coffee, and all kinds of Indian corn, which they sold in Kingston market. Some of them had slaves of their own. Persons of high naval and military rank have little access to the interior of plantations, though they are always hospitably received. They would be expected, in most cases, to give notice of an intended visit, but, on some estates, there would be no objection made. He had observed no alteration in the dress of the slaves on those occasions. He had himself been turned off estates in Jamaica, but had visited others and gone through them without giving notice. He went thither last in 1827, and left it in 1830. The admiral's regular residence was at a pen two miles from Kingston. But, when the rains set in, he was obliged to quit it, and went to reside in the mountains, about 13 miles off. He lived ashore during his being in command there more than six months at one time, and, in all, about ten months. He had not only passed constantly to and from his residence to Kingston, Port Royal, and the admiral's pen, during that time, but travelled into St. David's, about 30 miles, three or four times. He was also at Stoney Hill, 11 miles in another direction. He went on several estates to observe the management, particularly Mr. Wildman's estate of Papine, which was very differently managed from the others. Former admirals resided still more on shore than he did. Admiral Halsted lived on shore the whole time. He was turned away once, but by mistake, from the Duke of Buckingham's estate, and also from Lord Claremont's, near Stoney Hill. He thought he had seen enough, during his last visit, to form a sound opinion of the increased intelligence among the slaves, as compared with their former state. They are certainly now not inferior to the white people in intellect. He knew that reading, and listening to works read, were common among the slaves in Jamaica. He had seen a person reading the Gazette to a gang of slaves.

The Admiral was asked "*Was that at Mr. Wildman's?*" He answered it was a jobbing gang, belonging to Mr. Sinclair. The slaves generally are strongly excited to acquire knowledge, and their knowledge of what passes here and in Jamaica must put an end to slavery soon. He had viewed insurrection as probable all the time he was in Jamaica, and its occurrence was no surprise to him. The debates in the House of Commons and in the local legislatures are quickly known. When the slave law of 1829 was disallowed, the fact was instantly known to the slaves. It was even known the next day at thirty miles from Spanish Town; and he found it was known at his mountain when he went up, as well as all the way up to it. He was assured that, by means of hawkers and pedlars, news were conveyed to the whole of the interior, and publications diffused in a very short time. He did not believe that there had been any amelioration of the state of the slaves with respect to labour, punishment, &c., while their intelligence was thus increasing. The instrument carried in the field by the driver is called a cart-whip; he had never heard it called by any

other name. It differs from a waggoner's whip: it is a cart-whip. It is laid aside on some estates, but not generally. He never heard a doubt till now of its being called a cart-whip. He had extensive intercourse with persons of all classes in Jamaica, and the driver's whip was always spoken of by them as a cart-whip. He had now one in his possession bought from the driver of a jobbing gang, who was using it in the field at the time (p. 198—201).

The Admiral had been more in Cuba and knew more of it than of Jamaica. The number of free people there is very great. The whites there are about 380,000, the free coloured 136,000 to 150,000, the slaves 200,000 or 220,000. This he drew from public documents; but the returns are somewhat confused. They are made up by the priests in the different parishes. The free people generally are in good condition in Cuba; many of the browns, and of the blacks too, are very rich. He had never heard in Cuba any complaints of a want of industry in the freed classes. A great many of them are employed in cultivating sugar in Cuba. Even some whites work in the field in Cuba, who come from the Canaries, and manage all the indigo culture. He had himself seen the free people digging cane-holes, and some of them work their whole estate without slaves, growing the canes, and selling them to persons who boil the juice. He could not tell how many were so employed in Cuba; the number was considerable; and when they were deficient in hands at any time on such sugar plantations they hired additional labourers, at two pisettas, or 18d., to half a dollar a day, sometimes more, usually paid in coin, but sometimes in goods. Some free persons manufacture their own canes, but more frequently sell them, as mills and boilers are expensive, to richer persons near them. They get back a certain portion in a manufactured state. The soil is richer than in our colonies.* He knew one man who sold his canes in this way who had 45 acres in cane, all wrought by free labour. The estates are more extensive in Cuba than Jamaica, and portions of them are let off to free people. It was a continual subject of dispute with many intelligent persons in Cuba whether free labour or slave labour was cheapest. The English in general whom I met there thought slave labour the cheapest. One party argued that if the slave trade were stopped they could not cultivate the island. Another party held that they could. Many Cubans are against importing Negroes; as the new Negro is always found to take part with the Government, being influenced by the priests so to do; and the Government holds the slaves and free blacks over the whites as a rod to keep them in order. This alone has prevented the independence of Cuba, as of the other Spanish colonies. The domestic slaves in Cuba are equal in intelligence to those of Jamaica; the field slaves inferior: but in Cuba neither can read except some domestics. The same danger of insurrection certainly does not exist

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* So that now the secret of cheap sugar in Cuba is out. It is free labour; and all the minute calculations of Mr. Keith Douglas and Mr. M'Donnell, *et hoc genus omne*, may be given to the winds as waste paper. See the massy labours of the Committee on West India distress reviewed in No. 97, of the Reporter.

there as in Jamaica. There is little discontent among the slaves in Cuba. They can all obtain legal or compulsory manumission if they can make up the means, and thus free themselves, their wives, and children. They work generally by piece-work, and are not driven except on some estates held by Englishmen and Americans. The Spaniards of Cuba never drive. Freedom is never placed beyond the reach of any slaves in Cuba, and they may always change their master, even if they cannot pay their price, provided another is willing to buy them at their value; so that if a slave is valued at 200 dollars, and B will pay the money, the slave may oblige A to sell him to B. The Admiral sent home all these regulations to Sir G. Murray, and they must now be in the Colonial Office. There is a compulsory manumission law in Cuba, and a tariff fixing prices. He could not find the law and tariff in Trinidad; but he and General Grant found it at the Caraccas.* The existence of this compulsory manumission in Cuba is a great cause of the difference of feeling among the creole slaves in Cuba and Jamaica. The *new* Negroes in Cuba, as formerly in Jamaica, are comparatively indifferent about the question of freedom. Accordingly the newly-imported Africans are not permitted to be worked with the creoles in Cuba, as they require a stricter discipline than the creoles. The creoles would not like to be put on the same footing with new Negroes. The creoles are both better behaved and better treated. The Spanish planters take pains to inculcate religion on their slaves; the women teach the children born on the estates, and the priests attend every estate. The Catholic slaves are more submissive than those in the English colonies, but he does not know what their religious state is in our colonies, but he believes very defective. He has seen the annual returns of manumissions in Cuba; they are very considerable, but he is not in possession of them. They may be got either through the Colonial Office, or from the commissioners of the mixed Commission Court at the Havannah. The slaves in Cuba, working generally by task-work, have more time to work out their freedom. Besides they have the whole of their Saturdays, and all their saints' days,† and they work much fewer days for their masters than in the English colonies. And this applies not to Cuba only, but to the Caraccas. Task-work prevails on the sugar estates not only in Cuba but Caraccas. He had been frequently in Cuba from 1827 to 1830, and on many estates. He had liberated 4000 slaves in that time from Spanish slave-ships. Holding rank in the Spanish navy, and speaking freely the Spanish language, he had

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* But how came it that these documents, transmitted by Admiral Fleming to Sir G. Murray, were not laid before that Committee? They would have saved a world of trouble, and no small expenditure in paper and press-work. Is there not some ground to suspect treachery in some of our former public functionaries in Trinidad, in having kept out of view these most important documents? Some enquiry into the matter seems to be imperatively called for, and we trust will be instituted.

† The saints' days are 30; added to the Saturdays they make 82, and to the Sundays 134.—See Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 37, vol. ii. p. 233.

peculiar facilities of communication. He was treated there with great attention and hospitality. Free labour he thinks has increased in Cuba. He does not think that slaves are cheaper in Cuba than in Jamaica. The price of a good new slave in Cuba is 250 dollars, or about £55 sterling. He paid £70 currency, or £50 sterling, for a good slave in Jamaica (p. 201—205).

An estate in Cuba, making 200 hogsheads of sugar, has about 200 slaves, besides carters and others, who are usually free. The slave trade in Cuba, he believes, is chiefly carried on by foreigners and foreign capital, as Spanish capital employed in it would be confiscated (p. 205).

The moral habits of the white people of the interior of Cuba are much superior to the same class in Jamaica. In Cuba a great many people live quietly with their families, cultivating their lands, and they are very respectable indeed. In the towns on the coast their habits seem much the same as in Jamaica (p. 205).

The importation of slaves into Cuba is chiefly not by Cubans, but by foreign adventurers and by Spaniards expelled from South America. Most of the old proprietors in Cuba will not purchase Africans. A few purchase them; but rarely. They are chiefly for new estates.

The law and tariff connected with manumissions bear, he thinks, the date of 1789. It is a written law, first published, he believes, at St. Domingo after the only insurrection that had occurred in a Spanish colony in the time of Ferdinand the Fourth:* he sent a copy to Sir G. Murray, and one to General Grant. It is one of the laws of the Indies, promulgated by the King of Spain. By this law the slave is entitled to purchase a day at a time, paying the proportion of his price to the protector. His holidays or other days are never taken from him. He is fully protected, and has easy means of redress through the sindico or protector, and the priest. The bishops in Cuba, of whom he knew two, are very vigilant on this point. The slave confesses to the priest, and has free access to him on every plantation in Cuba. This is a great protection, and gives him an opportunity of stating his grievances. The priest was always looked to by the slaves in South America as their protector as well as the sindico. There is no such practice in Jamaica. Some Spaniards refused to buy new slaves from not liking to mix them with their creoles; others, even the first merchants, from conscience, thinking it was a disgraceful transaction, and illegal. Many of them are a high-minded people. The English he saw at the Havannah, and who thought that buying new slaves was the cheapest, were slave-holders from the West Indies. English officers were generally of a different opinion. He was fully convinced that there would be no more difficulty in the English colonies as to free labour than in Cuba, Caraccas, and Hayti, and in the Bahamas and Trinidad. On the sugar estates in Cuba there are more slaves than free; but in the interior, where corn is grown and cattle reared, the free labourers are more than the slaves. If slavery were abolished by law in Cuba to-morrow, he does not believe the least confusion would ensue, or that one sugar estate would be thrown out of cultiva-

* It was probably a republication, called for by the insurrection.

tion. There is no dislike in Cuba to employ free people in cultivating sugar, as in the English colonies. In estimating the profit of slave labour in Cuba the holidays must of course be taken into account: some owners give their slaves, besides these, two or three hours for going to mass (p. 207).

When Admiral Fleming first visited the Caraccas, in 1828, the slaves were all free after a certain age, females at twelve and males at fourteen. Many of the old Negroes were not free, but greater facilities were given them to obtain their freedom than even under the Spanish law. Funds were created for freeing them gradually. He never saw, during the three times he visited Caraccas, any confusion or disorder from this cause. And yet sugar was cultivated there and exported to a considerable extent. In all parts of the Caraccas sugar was grown and exported largely, though the export duty was high. There the free and the slaves worked promiscuously on the same sugar plantations. Cane-holing is carried on there, but the soil is rich and the canes seldom require to be renewed. Still he had seen cane-hole digging, and free blacks were employed in it on their own account. There the wages were ninepence a day and food. In the Caraccas he had heard the question of free and slave labour often discussed. The Spaniards and Columbians were generally for free labour; the Americans and English for slavery. The Spaniards and Columbians were in favour of freeing them all, even on the score of profit. The Marquis del Taro, a cousin of Bolivar, had immense estates; but his great number of slaves were worked as free labourers. Admiral F. had great facilities of intercourse with all of condition there. He was four months there at one time, and went 200 or 300 miles up the country. He availed himself of his facilities, and it was highly interesting to him to see a people newly emancipated, both from European oppression and from slavery, in their progress of becoming free. His opinion is, that the blacks in Caraccas are making rapid progress in civilization. Many schools are established, of which they anxiously avail themselves. Many are learning trades, and the desire of knowledge is great among them. They maintain themselves perfectly well without aid, either from their former masters or from government. The law of manumission was suddenly enacted by a decree of Congress, under Bolivar. Bolivar had previously freed his own slaves, and many of the principal people had done the same. There was no interference with the rights of landed property. Many of the proprietors of the soil, who had before wrought with slaves, cultivated it at once by free labour. No convulsion whatever was produced. A time was fixed when slavery should wholly cease. He did not recollect the year. It had not ceased when he was last in Caraccas, but it was gradually declining, and would be extinguished very shortly. There were not above a fourth of the slaves remaining then of those who were in slavery at the time of Bolivar's decree. He saw no traces of receding cultivation. It was even making a rapid progress, though Caraccas had been the seat of war, and therefore had suffered greatly. During his second visit, he found the culture of wheat advancing rapidly, though it had not been cultivated formerly. American wheat

is now no longer imported. Every body agreed that the culture had much increased. When I visited the Caraccas the second time, the improvement was manifest and rapid. There had been a year and a half of peace; party spirit had evaporated, and confidence was established. They were improving rapidly in agriculture and the arts. The revolution has tended to obliterate distinctions of colour; but the political disturbances had certainly retarded improvement, great numbers being employed in the armies. He had himself seen slaves and free blacks working together in the same field in the Caraccas. Field labour was no longer viewed as degrading there. The free might have obtained land to cultivate for themselves, on higher and colder regions, but they seemed to like the low warm country the best, and therefore readily continued to work on the established plantations. They certainly were not driven to sugar planting by necessity; they might have pursued other means of living. They might have got lands easily in the interior. They continued, however, to labour voluntarily and cheerfully on the sugar estates, and at much the same rate of wages as on other estates. The English who had estates there objected to employ the free blacks. They said they were not accustomed to that mode of working. He only knew, however, three Englishmen having estates there (p. 208—210).

General Peyango was a perfectly black man; but he was a well informed, a very well educated person, well read in Spanish history, and altogether an extraordinary man. Many English officers were serving under him. He knew many other black officers of very considerable acquirements in the Caraccas, and also in Cuba, and a black priest born in the Cape de Verds, a very intelligent man (p. 210).

The admiral referred for the particulars of the decrees about freedom, and the progress of manumissions, to the Caraccas laws and the Caraccas Gazettes, which may easily be obtained. There are commissions for freeing slaves, and the names of those freed are regularly inserted in the Gazettes. He repeated, confidently, that he had seen free persons labouring with slaves on sugar estates, not to the same extent as on other estates, for there was not so much of sugar raised as of other articles, as wheat, potatoes, cocoa, coffee, indigo, &c. There is no more indisposition to grow sugar than other articles, but, in point of fact, he believed the majority of sugar cultivators were slaves, although he had no accurate data on which to rest. He was assured that the cultivation of sugar had increased in the Caraccas and Margarita. He could not tell how many were employed in sugar culture; but the free population greatly exceeded, on the whole, the slaves. At the time emancipation was first declared, the numbers were about equal in the Caraccas. The slaves are widely scattered on estates over the country. They were not in huts as ours, but in a large square called Repartimento, where there is a chapel and an hospital, and a communication with the owner's house. A great many had entered the army, and thus became free. The time of the emancipation, he thinks, was 1821. It was not a time of civil commotion, but of tranquillity. The free blacks were numerous in town, and employed themselves industriously as other free persons. The blacks had not had much educa-

tion, except the young, who are now in the schools. They were supposed, generally, to have embraced the Catholic religion. Slaves not taught were liable to be confiscated to the king. They could all, therefore, say their prayers and their confession of faith. They were all sufficiently instructed for that. Before the late insurrection, he should have had no fear of the same system of emancipation in Jamaica as in the Caraccas. Now, he should doubt whether it would be sufficient. They had not the excitement of the press in the Caraccas; but they had the excitement of civil war, in which they took part. The civil war was between two parties in the State, but the slaves expected that if the liberal party succeeded they would be free (p. 211, 212).

Admiral Fleming had been in Hayti, in 1828 and 1829, for a short time. He had been there before, when the insurrection first broke out. In 1827 he understood that labourers were scarce. He did not hear that in 1829, and the people seemed then industrious. They worked for wages, and were paid in kind—he did not know how much exactly;—the law said a certain proportion of the produce. He never saw any compulsion used. He was told that vagrants and deserters worked by compulsion, but he did not see any himself. He had never heard of any working under the lash. The lash was prohibited by law. The Haytians appeared to him the happiest, best fed, and most comfortable Negroes he had ever seen; better off even than in the Caraccas; infinitely better than in Jamaica: there was no comparison between them. He could not speak positively of the increase of the Haytian population since 1804, but he believed it had trebled since that time. His belief, from the best testimony he could collect, was that it had increased threefold since 1804. This differed from Consul Mac Kenzie's report, but he believed it to be correct. They now fed themselves, and they exported provisions, which neither French nor Spaniards had ever done before. He did not recollect what was the population in 1804, but there were official documents on the subject. He had been in Hayti in 1797, when war was raging, and in 1828, and 1829, when things were quite tranquil. Things were greatly improved in the interval, as to the condition of the Negroes; for in 1828 tranquillity had prevailed for some years. There were no beggars in Hayti, and few in Jamaica. He saw a sugar estate near Cape Haytian, formerly Cape Français, general Bourlon's, extremely well cultivated, and in beautiful order. It was wrought by blacks, all free. It was very fine land, and had not been replanted a long time. A new plantation was forming on the opposite side of the road. The rate of wages was a franc, or 9*d.* a day, with victuals, and two francs without. Their victuals were very superior to those of Jamaica; consisting chiefly of meat, cattle being very cheap. The highest contract of beef in Hayti was 2*d.* In Jamaica it was 12*d.* He had no means of knowing the state of religion in Hayti, but all the people seemed to go to mass. He had no means of observing their moral conduct, but marriage existed among them. Promiscuous intercourse also, he believed, prevailed; but two Spanish priests with whom he had conversed said that things were improving, and that they believed marriage would

become general. It was so now among the principal people. But, whether married or not, the children were well taken care of, and they lived together in families. It was not easy to distinguish them in their habits from married people. Though the ceremony might not have been performed, the tie seemed to be practically binding. They generally lived one man with one woman. The parents *do* provide for the children. He saw no marks of destitution any where. The country seemed improving, and trade increasing between his two visits (p. 212, 214).

The estate the admiral visited near the Cape was large. It was calculated to make 300 hogsheads of sugar. The whole was cultivated with plantains, and Indian corn or manioc intermixed. It was beautifully laid out, and as well managed as any estate he had seen in the West Indies. He was told that this estate, though so good, was inferior in fertility to others in the interior. The culture of sugar, however, was comparatively not much followed in Hayti. Their means of properly manufacturing it are indifferent, and they have not capital to set up sugar works again. The reasons assigned were the entire destruction of the former works, and the want of capital to re-erect them. They had also other and more urgent and profitable things to attend to. The Haytian government too seemed to think that they might excite jealousies in other countries if they went much on sugar. He had never heard the unwillingness of the Negroes to engage in it assigned as a cause: they were very ready to work if paid. Nor had he heard the high rate of wages assigned as a cause: he believed sugar could be made cheaper in Hayti than in our islands, if the Haytian government did not discourage it. The insecurity of the country is still a hindrance to expensive works. They are hardly out of their revolutionary state. When he was there, Spain had been making a claim on them for the Spanish part, and they were raising a large army to resist it. This occupied their attention and discouraged such undertakings. His official correspondence, as admiral, with the Haytian government made him attribute much efficiency to it, and it bore very strong marks of civilization. There was a much better police in Hayti than in the New South American States; the communication through the country was more rapid; the roads were much better; one had been cut from Port au Prince to Cape Haytian that would do honeur to any government. A regular post was established. He had sent regular couriers from Cape Nicolas Mole to Port au Prince, a distance of 80 leagues. The government is one quite worthy of a civilized people. The government still feared an attack from France, even during his last visit; and this had the effect of retarding their progress. The convention with France had not been fulfilled. Only one instalment of the money stipulated to be paid had been paid. Hence partly their apprehensions. The people were very much against paying, and blamed the government much for agreeing to pay it. The Negroes of Hayti are certainly richer and happier and in a better condition than any he had ever seen elsewhere. They were all working in the fields when he was there. He rode about very much. He did not think any acts

of oppression were practised on the people of Hayti by the government (p. 213—216).

The emancipation of the slaves in the Caraccas took place, the admiral thinks, in 1821. Bolivar had taken refuge in Hayti some time before, for which benefit the Haytian government stipulated that he should emancipate his slaves, and he did so (p. 216).

He had frequently visited the Bahamas when last in the West Indies. There are more slaves there than free. Sugar is grown in small quantities both by slaves and free, but little or none is manufactured. Both are employed in growing provisions, fishing, and taking care of cattle, and in looking after wrecks. They are all very orderly, and no difficulty is found in preserving order. The proportion of free blacks and persons of colour is greater than in Jamaica: it is about one third. The liberated Africans there seem equally civilized with the creole slaves. The African apprentices, knowing they are to be free after a certain time, intermarry with free blacks, and they become civilized by this intercourse in a very short time indeed. In seven years they are quite equal to any of the creole slaves in our islands. They are all married. Concubinage is not permitted them. There are missionaries there who instruct them, and they are all required to go to divine worship. They are very industrious. They cultivate their own grounds, and also work for wages. The rate of wages in the Bahamas is about a dollar a day; but they do not get much employment, as it is only at a particular time of the year that they are wanted. The wages are high because there is not regular employment but at particular seasons. If there were regular employment they would take less. They all have land which they cultivate, selling the produce they do not want. They get nothing from government but the land. The free blacks, as well as the slaves, in the Bahamas, are much more moral than in any other colony except Bermuda. In Bermuda and Bahamas there is no sugar cultivation, and there certainly the black population, both slave and free, are much more moral than in any other island he had visited. There are more pains taken with them. Almost all are Christians. They go regularly to places of worship. They are married and much better treated. The proprietors are smaller proprietors, who live almost with the slaves, and are very kind to them. The slaves in the Bahamas and Bermuda are quite a different race; they speak better English and are much more intelligent than those elsewhere. He had no hesitation in asserting that the best effect was produced by religious knowledge on their morals, manners, and civilization; and this he asserted on his own actual knowledge of the fact. The liberated Africans become, before their apprenticeships expire, as civilized as those born and bred there. He only knew of one of these Africans being punished all the time he was in the Bahamas. He lived frequently on shore there, and he could himself observe their great advance in civilization. He found in every cottage beds, and cooking utensils of all kinds. Their huts were better than in the other islands, perhaps because more exposed to hurricanes. They had comforts far beyond the mere necessaries of life. They showed not the slightest disposition to return to the habits of savage life. On the contrary,

in a tour he had made with the governor through the islands, he found that they all wished to acquire property; that many *had* acquired property; that their children were well taken care of; that they were well clothed, and the women dressed out in unnecessary finery. He had seen no exceptions to the general industry but in two old men, who could read Arabic, and were looked on as priests, and who, besides doing something for themselves, had also supplies from the others, who looked to them with veneration as old men.—He saw in Lane Island a man who came up and complained to Governor Grant of his having been kept longer than his apprenticeship. His master, being sent for, stated that he had kept him because he had five children, and, his wife having died, he could not maintain them if he were free. The man answered, "If with two hands I can feed them in three days out of fourteen, why should I not feed them all in ten days, go to market on Saturday, and to church on Sunday?" The governor freed him. Admiral F. saw him next year, on the land that had been allotted to him; he was in perfect comfort; his land was well cultivated, and his children were all taught to read. The blacks have taken advantage of the manumission law which exists in Bahamas; and then they either hire themselves to work, or rent land from the owners. The value of slaves, however, is not fixed in the Bahamas; there is no tariff. The exports from the Bahamas are salt, cotton, onions, pine-apples to the United States, platt, salt-fish, logwood, fustic, and other woods. In all the labours of the Bahamas the free and the slaves are intermixed, and especially in cutting wood, which is the hardest work of all (p. 217—219).

He had often heard in Jamaica of transferring their allegiance to America, and it had a considerable effect in adding to the discontent of the slaves. He had heard this said in the presence of the slaves, particularly on the occasion of the disallowed slave-law of 1826, and on other occasions, and he then observed that they must first get the consent of the 300,000 slaves, which would be very difficult. There were slaves present at the time. He had even heard the same language used at his own table. "The conduct of the government," it was said, "would make the star-spangled banner be hailed with delight in Jamaica." One gentleman, on taking leave of him, said he perhaps should never visit the island again as a British Colony. That this conversation produced discontent among the slaves, he had learnt from the slaves themselves. They spoke to him frequently of it in the conversations he had with them at different times. They often asked him if it was true that the island was to be given up to the Americans. One man, who asked him the question, was Frank, a slave belonging to Prospect, who was a very intelligent person.—He had lived little with the white inhabitants of Jamaica generally; but some were always with him or he with them. He was much with Sir John Keane, who then lived in Kingston. He conversed much with the slaves, in going about, as he would have done with the peasantry in this country. Being asked whether he had not gone out with strong opinions previously formed, he said, No, till he had returned the last time to Jamaica, when he found that little or no

improvement had taken place. He was very much struck with the difference between the slaves of the Bahamas and those of Jamaica. The condition of the former was very superior. At the same time, on many estates in Jamaica, the slaves were well clothed, fed, and used; but that was by no means the case throughout the island. They were not improved to the extent he had expected since 1797. He had been in the Negro houses of sugar estates in Jamaica: some of them had the appearance of comfort. He thought the slaves had much more cause to be discontented in Jamaica than in Trinidad. They are not so effectually protected in the former as the latter, from harsh treatment. On estates where the proprietor resides, and on some others, they are well treated; but attorneys and receivers are often very oppressive. He thought that a general emancipation would now be less dangerous than no emancipation, yet more difficult than it would have been before the late insurrection. But any plan short of immediate emancipation, like that in Columbia, which should give protection to the slaves, and give them the certainty of ultimate emancipation, might perhaps avert danger and be more favourable to the interests of the planters. The danger is infinitely greater from leaving things as they are than from any even immediate emancipation (p. 219—222).

The following is the tariff which Admiral Fleming procured from the two Alcaldes in the Caraccas, who were in charge of the public documents of that colony. It was given to him on the 18th April, 1829. The value is here stated in sterling money.

	£	s.
Children of Eight days old .	7	10
Ditto of One year . .	15	0
Ditto of Five years . .	18	0
Ditto of Ten years . .	27	0
Adults of Fifteen years to Forty .	45	0
Ditto of Forty-five years .	41	5
Ditto of Fifty years . .	30	0
Ditto of Fifty-five years . .	18	15
Ditto of Sixty years . .	7	10
Ditto of Sixty-four years . .	0	15

For each intermediate year a proportionate increase or deduction is made, as the age advances to 15 or rises above 40. If upwards of sixty-four, the slaves are deemed of no value.

From the age of fifteen to forty the slaves are valued at forty-five pounds; but if they have any particular trade, acquired at the cost of the master, or taught by him, the highest value is to be given, unless it be for their manumission. And where there is any blemish, defect, or disease, which diminishes their value, the value is to be lowered according as the blemish, defect, or disease may be considered to lessen their daily labour or the expense of their care.

The above was the tariff established at Caraccas in 1801; and it was also in force at Trinidad. This document could not be found at Trinidad, but Admiral Fleming discovered it at the Caraccas. Many with whom he had conversed, at Trinidad and the Caraccas, ad-

mitted that this law was in force in Trinidad. A Columbian, in particular, of the name of Mundosa, told him that he himself had resided in Trinidad, and the law was then in force, prior to its capture by the British, and that he himself had had a slave emancipated by it. The law applied equally to domestic and field slaves. Admiral F. knew it to be common in Cuba, and that plantation slaves were freed under it (p. 239, 240).

Admiral Fleming also laid before the committee authenticated extracts from the Spanish Slave Code which he had obtained, by order of the governor of the Caraccas, from the proper officers there.

These laws are too long to be inserted here, but they breathe a spirit of morality and humanity which is highly creditable to the Spanish government. They provide for the careful instruction of slaves in the Catholic religion, and for their enjoying all the holidays of precept. They also provide for their food and clothing; for the regulation of their daily tasks, according to their ages, powers, and strength; prohibiting laborious tasks to the aged, or to children under seventeen, or to females, which last shall not be employed in labours unbecoming their sex, or in any which may oblige them to mix with male slaves. Time is also to be allowed to them for simple and innocent amusement, in which all excess in drinking is to be prevented. Separate dwellings are also to be provided for the unmarried of both sexes, and all their dwellings are to be commodious, and to have bedsteads, blankets, and other necessaries; and there is to be a separate house for the sick. Various other regulations are prescribed, all bearing the character of great benevolence, for the temporal and spiritual interests of the slaves (p. 240, 241, 242).

IX. Robert Sutherland, Esq., had visited Hayti four times since 1815. He remained there for some time in 1819, 1820, and 1821, and afterwards saw it in 1824 and 1827. His experience of the Haytians is that they are a free people, working for wages or for shares of produce, and not coerced to labour, except by their wants. Great numbers of them have land of their own, which they cultivate themselves, while others labour for hire, though the number of labourers for hire was complained of as deficient. The Code Rurale he did not consider as an oppressive code by any means. There is decidedly no such thing in Hayti, practically, as compulsory labour. All corporal punishment is abolished in Hayti. Those who resided on their own farms appeared to him to live in the happiest state possible. Those who were employed for hire on plantations wrought five days in the week, having Saturday and Sunday entirely to themselves (p. 223).

X. The Rev. N. Paul, a coloured native of the United States, and a Baptist minister. An act was passed by the legislature of New York, in 1817, abolishing slavery in 1827. The number thus freed was upwards of 10,000. No means, that he knew of, were employed to prepare these slaves for emancipation, and no disturbance of any kind was caused by it, either at the time, or at any time thereafter; and he heard no complaints of the subsequent conduct of the emancipated

persons. After their emancipation they became much more attentive to their religious duties, and were eager to acquire education. The general wages they obtained for agricultural labour when emancipated were from ten to twelve dollars a month and their provisions (p. 229, 230).

A number of slaves who have escaped from slavery in the United States into Upper Canada have formed settlements there. They had introduced the culture of tobacco to a considerable extent, and had begun to export it: it had never been thought of before.—They purchased their land of the Canada Company. They have been very industrious, and their moral conduct exemplary. They are generally either Methodists or Baptists, and their children are carefully educated. At their settlement of Wilberforce they have taken very effectual means to ensure sobriety: they have unanimously agreed to exclude ardent spirits. He visited these settlements as a Missionary, and did not find any distress among them, or any tendency to disorder (p. 231—233).

XI. The Rev. Thomas Morgan, a Wesleyan Missionary, resided in the West Indies seventeen years. He had been at Nevis, St. Kitt's, St. Vincent, Antigua, and Jamaica. In the smaller islands he was frequently on the estates, and had a good opportunity of judging of the state of slavery. The Negro certainly possesses the ordinary powers of acquiring information in common with his fellow-creatures, and only requires they should be developed. He understands and profits as much as the people of this country by religious instruction, the beneficial effect of which on those who receive it is very manifest. At the same time it is impossible, under the present system of slavery, to carry religion to any considerable extent, on account of the inability of the slaves to attend religious worship. But the disadvantages they labour under in that respect are less in the smaller islands than in Jamaica. There was no reason to complain of opposition or discouragement in either St. Kitt's, Antigua, or Nevis. In St. Vincent there was at one time great opposition, but there was afterwards a better feeling. In Jamaica there were not the same facilities. In Antigua, for instance, we may have preached on forty estates; in Jamaica we preached only on one or two. In the Leeward Islands, viz. Antigua, St. Kitt's, and Nevis, the slaves receive a small allowance from the master, consisting of Indian corn, corn meal, horse beans, and herrings. The allowance is not sufficient to maintain them. They are forced to supply the deficiency by working on Sundays; for no time in the week is allowed them by law. He had heard Mr. Rawlins, the Speaker of the House of Assembly in St. Kitt's, declare that it was impossible for the slave to subsist on what he received from his master, unless he worked on the Sunday. In St. Vincent 26 week-days are allowed the slaves for cultivating their grounds, as in Jamaica. He regarded the Negroes as a very industrious race, when they worked for themselves; and he had no doubt they would work cheerfully for fair wages in growing sugar or in any other way. The emancipated slaves maintain themselves very comfortably by labouring in various

ways for their own benefit. He never knew them to work on sugar plantations. He had never heard of such a thing being proposed to any of them. Their conduct is usually quiet and orderly (p. 234—236).

Mr. Morgan apprehended no danger whatever from emancipation. He believed the slaves when free would follow their occupations, if fairly paid for their labour. He apprehended great danger, however, from continuing the state of slavery as it exists in Jamaica. The desire for freedom is very strong among all classes of the slaves, religious and irreligious, only that the religious are unwilling to take violent steps to obtain it. They are very peaceably inclined. The emancipation, in his opinion, when it takes place, should be total, and not partial (p. 236, 237).

The free black and coloured people of Jamaica are rapidly improving in morality and knowledge, and many are acquiring wealth.

Mr. Morgan repeated over and over again his conviction that there was no danger in granting emancipation, under proper regulations of police, but the greatest danger in withholding it.

XII. The Rev. William Knibb, a Baptist missionary. He had been seven years in Jamaica, and quitted it in April, 1832. He was in that island during the late insurrection, and at Montego Bay, near the spot where it first broke out. He was well acquainted with the slaves in that quarter; many of them were Baptists; some of these took part in the rebellion, but none who were previously known to him by person. Of the congregation under his immediate charge three were tried at Falmouth and punished, but not capitally. He did not know whether they were guilty or not.—About Christmas, 1831, the slaves appeared to be generally dissatisfied. The reasons they gave for it were that a part of the time allowed them by law was taken from them; and that they were severely flogged, and, when flogged, were taunted by the overseers with their being to be free at Christmas. They came to ask him if that was true; and he told them that it was not true. —They complained also of being debarred of their religious privileges, and flogged for attending the house of God. The fact that such taunting language, about their expected freedom, was used by the overseers, was reported to him not only by slaves, but by a free man and a white book-keeper, who heard it used on Flamstead estate. It was a common topic with the planters that the Negroes were looking for their freedom at Christmas. After the rebellion many of the Negroes told Mr. K. that the parochial meetings had led them to believe it. He had heard nothing of it before from the slaves, except the enquiry to which he has alluded as to the truth of the rumour, and to which he had given a negative. He had heard, it is true, white persons using that language, but he did not believe it; he had not the slightest expectation of any rising; he thought it was idle talk, and that persons who so talked did not really mean what they said.—Meetings had been held in every parish with the exception of Kingston, at which all who chose might attend; and resolutions were passed to the effect of renouncing their allegiance to the British crown. He had himself attended that

at Falmouth, and the question of emancipation was there publicly discussed. The meeting consisted of proprietors, attorneys, overseers, and others. The speakers were Mr. Macdonald, the custos of Trelawney, Mr. Frater, a member of the assembly, Mr. Lamonas, and Mr. Dyer. Mr. Frater was the chief speaker; he and the others were very violent: they talked of resistance, if England continued to interfere with their property in slaves. There were black persons present, and they may have been slaves. He knew that slaves had attended at some of the meetings, and immediately conveyed the intelligence obtained there to their fellows. The insurrection arose partly from these meetings, partly from a knowledge of what was passing in England, and a belief that the king of England had resolved on freeing them; and partly from an idea that the planters, to frustrate this design, were going to transfer the island to America. The hatred of American rule is very strong among the blacks and browns in Jamaica. He had heard some of them declare they would spill their last drop of blood before a Yankee should get a footing there. Their detestation of America is quite notorious. The reason of it is the contempt with which the blacks and browns are treated in the United States. The slaves also dreaded a transfer to America as rendering their freedom quite hopeless. They expected too to be aided by the king. This was stated to Mr. Knibb by a man under sentence of death, whom he was requested by the custos Mr. Miller, with the concurrence of the chief justice, to confer with. He had no idea of this till after the insurrection. He knew indeed they were anxious for freedom; but, on the only occasion on which the subject had been mentioned to him, by any slave, as a thing looked for, he decidedly discouraged any such idea.

The occurrences which took place during the insurrection, and afterwards, plainly showed how intense was their passion for freedom. A man belonging to Round Hill estate went up to a party of soldiers and said, "I will never work more as a slave; give me freedom and I will work; you may shoot me." They shot him at once. The fact is stated in the Cornwall Chronicle.—One said if he had twenty lives he would risk them all for freedom.—As far as he could learn it was not their intention at first to destroy property or to injure the whites; but to insist on having wages at the rate of 2*s.* 6*d.* currency, or 20*d.* a day, the present rate of wages. But when the insurrection broke out they got drunk and fired the properties.—They certainly had inferred from the violent language at the parochial meetings, and the threat of giving up the island to America, that the king had made them free.—Many of the Baptist slaves were active in saving their masters' property. On Green park estate, in Trelawney, where there were many Baptists, they mounted guard every night, and defeated an attempt to fire the trash-house. They seized three of the insurgents and brought them to Falmouth, and were rewarded by the Assembly with £40. These men had come to him to say that the other slaves had blamed them for having arrested their fellows; but Mr. Knibb commended them, and begged them to continue their exertions; and, in point of fact, they defended the property to the last (p. 245, 246).

In the Baptist Societies there is a distinction between members who have been consistent characters, and have been admitted to full communion as being under the influence of Christian principle, and mere enquirers, who are on trial, as it were, and only admitted as members if their conduct and attendance are regular for a certain period, perhaps for two or three years, and also till they have attained some knowledge of Scriptural truth. They are in fact in a probationary state, and are often not admitted into membership at all (p. 146).

Various instances have occurred of rewards for good conduct bestowed on Baptists by the Assembly.—Charles Campbell, a slave belonging to Weston Favell, took charge of the estate, and preserved it from injury, and carried on the labours of it as at other times; all the Baptists on the estate uniting to preserve order. He obtained his freedom from his master for what he had done. He was a deacon of the Baptist church.—A man of the name of Barrett, belonging to Oxford estate, also a deacon, acted in the same way, and has since had his freedom given to him.—A slave named George Prince, another deacon, had the entire charge of the estate committed to him with written instructions from the overseer, and he kept every thing in the best order the whole time of the overseer's absence. The same occurred on Carlton estate. The Baptists were numerous on all these properties.—Six Baptists were hung belonging to Mr. Burchell's congregation; none belonging to Mr. K.'s. Some were shot at random. In Mr. Cantlow's congregation out of forty-eight leaders two were executed. One of them, of the name of Francis Escrow, had his freedom for his good conduct; but he lost his wife, who was shot by the random firing of the militia. He was required by the overseer to put a rebel to death, but he refused. On this the overseer seized a cutlass and with it literally hewed the alleged rebel to death in Escrow's presence. One of Mr. Burchell's deacons, named William Rickets, obtained his freedom for his conduct. Mr. Knibb had not heard of one deacon having been executed, and only of one or two leaders (p. 247, 248).

Mr. Knibb himself, and two other missionaries, Whitehorne and Abbott, were forced, by a militia colonel, to perform military duty, notwithstanding their remonstrances. They were after that arrested, and on the 2nd of January, 1832, sent as prisoners to head-quarters in an open boat, guarded by soldiers, and when they landed were paraded as prisoners through the open streets; and, after being sent backwards and forwards from the civil to the military power, were confined in the Court-house, guarded by four soldiers, and assailed with reproach and insult, till at midnight they were permitted to go on bail, but without being told of what they were accused, to a private house in Montego bay, which house they were not allowed to quit. During the interval, however, Mr. Knibb was ordered down to the court-house to answer a charge of having been preaching contrary to an interdict of the militia colonel, Lawson. He pleaded that he had only been performing family worship in the house where he resided. A little time after he had been sent back, some gentlemen, among whom was Mr. Manderson, a magistrate, and Mr. Roby, the collector of the customs, and Mr. Lewin, came to inform him that fifty persons

were coming with clubs to murder him and the other two missionaries. This was on the 7th of February, martial law having ceased on the 5th. The Baptist chapel was demolished on the 7th at noon by a mob of white men, though the commander in chief, Sir W. Cotton, was in the town with some troops, and there were king's ships in the bay. On hearing this, and that the same mob was coming to attack him, Mr. Knibb escaped with his wife and child and the other two missionaries, to Mr. Manderson's, and thence on board one of the king's ships. They were led to this step by the alarm they felt, partly from the representations of their friends, and partly from the threats and scurrilous language of the newspapers, the Courant and the Cornwall Courier, which said they should be tarred and feathered wherever they could be met with. On the 14th of February Mr. Knibb obtained his release both from his bail and from confinement, by the following discharge :—

"*Montego Bay, February* 14*th*, 1832.

"Having examined the evidence of Samuel Stennett, Alexander Erskine, Adam, and Paris, against W. Knibb, Baptist missionary, and finding nothing therein to support a criminal prosecution, I declare the said W. Knibb discharged with his sureties from their recognizances." (Signed) RICHARD BARRETT, Custos.

Being released from his confinement, under this order, without the slightest charge having as yet been preferred against him, though loaded during his confinement with injury and outrage, he returned to Falmouth on the 15th of February, where he found his chapel had been destroyed on the same day on which the demolition of that at Montego bay had taken place. His congregation there he found had been suffering great anxiety on his account, and they appeared delighted with his return. Persons came from thirty estates, containing perhaps 10,000 slaves, to enquire after him. They complained much that they who had defended their masters' property should suffer for the sins of others, and that their chapel should be destroyed, and no place left them to meet in, though not a single estate in which he had members had been burnt. This occurrence produced a very strong sensation among them. They enquired whether the chapel would be rebuilt, and they be permitted again to attend the worship of God. Mr. Knibb consoled them with the hope of having the chapel rebuilt by help from England, and of again enjoying their religious privileges. The chapel had been their own work, built at their own expense. Instead of being allowed to preach to them then, he did not even dare to leave the house, being threatened with murder by a party assembled for that purpose, consisting not of blacks but of whites. There was no protection of law ; mob government ruled. The custos, Mr. Miller, and Mr. Gordon, a magistrate, to whom he applied for protection, said that in the then state of feeling it was impossible, and advised his departure. A party of white men, disguised in women's clothes, came to his house at night, and threw stones while he was in bed : one stone fell on the bed. There were some coloured gentlemen, who had heard of the intended attack, and came for Mr. Knibb's defence, and when the assailants heard

them cry out, they ran away. These attempts were renewed for three successive nights, and at last Mr. K. was persuaded by his friends to quit the place and repair to Montego Bay, where he had left his wife and child. He was assured of the designs against him by two white gentlemen, one of whom had been applied to to assist in tarring and feathering him.—He knew of nothing that could have excited such ill will to him among the whites of Falmouth, except that his congregation there was composed of slaves, of whom 1000 generally attended on Sunday mornings, the number of members being 983 and of enquirers about 2500. These came from eighty plantations. The congregation had been originally formed by a preceding missionary who had died; many of them were illiterate, but many very sensible. A great many were learning to read, and about 100 adults could read. He found the desire for knowledge very intense, and he had no doubt they were stimulated to take pains by the power it would give them of gaining information relative to slavery. Since the rebellion he has learnt what he had not known before, that they were eager in obtaining and diffusing information on that subject. He had known that they read newspapers occasionally with that view (p. 249—255).

Mr. Knibb admitted the great hostility shown him by the whites; he denied, however, having ever touched, in addressing his congregation either publicly or privately, on their temporal condition. It was difficult to avoid doing it, but he thought it right and what every good man would do. When called to preach on subjects connected with the freedom of the gospel, he was at pains to make them understand that gospel freedom had respect to the soul and not to the body, and that there were slaves in the times of the apostles as well as now. He thought it imperatively his duty to preach the whole counsel of God; but he took care to make it understood that Christian freedom meant spiritual not temporal freedom, and the conduct of his congregation was a sufficient proof he was not misunderstood. The witnesses he had summoned from 70 different estates would have proved this had he had the pleasure of being tried at the March assizes, as was intended. General clamour had charged him with preaching seditious doctrines. He called loudly for the proof, but it has never been produced. At a public meeting of planters at Montego bay, the custos Mr. Macdonald in the chair, a resolution was moved and carried, "That it appeared, from a mass of moral evidence, that the Baptists had been instrumental in misleading the slaves, by inculcating doctrines teaching disobedience to their masters. As sectarianism leads to revolution both in church and state, it behoves us to adopt means to prevent any other than duly authorized ministers of the established churches of England and Scotland from imparting religious instruction to the slaves; and in furtherance of this measure we call upon all proprietors of estates, or their attorneys, to put down all sectarian meetings on their respective properties, and that the magistracy should be most strongly urged to withhold for the future their license to sectarian ministers and their places of worship." The meeting was for forming a Colonial Church Union, and the resolutions were printed in all the newspapers, and were of course known to

all the slaves. All the religious slaves who attended sectarian meetings would of course mourn over such resolutions. But although the light produced by instruction tended to increase the desire of freedom, yet in the case of truly Christian slaves, they thought it wrong to seek it by violence. They said that if God intended to give them freedom, he would give it without force on their parts. If they took it by force, it would come with a curse and not a blessing; and this sentiment, he believed, was the only security against their using force. In reply to a question whether he had been always guarded in preaching to the slaves, he said he had proffered proof of it in Jamaica, and he should be ready to produce a thousand witnesses of that fact (p. 255—257).

Mr. Knibb then entered into some explanation of the causes which led to the dislike of missionaries. The doctrines inculcated by missionaries were directly condemnatory of the general habits of thinking and acting of the white community of Jamaica, which consisted chiefly of the mere servants of the proprietors who resided in England. Certainly it was his conviction that the generality of the planters entertained the opinion that Christianity would lead necessarily to the abolition of slavery. This was the view given him of the general feeling in the island by Mr. S. M. Barrett, and many others whom he declined to name (p. 258).

In a great variety of ways English newspapers, and the contents of English newspapers, were conveyed to the knowledge of the slaves (p. 259).

At Montego bay from 90 to 100 slaves were punished capitally, either hung or shot; and some were flogged to death, dying of the infliction on the next day. One of Mr. Burchell's members (sentenced to 500 lashes), died of the flogging. The courts martial that sat were composed of militia officers: he did not know if they had Sir Willoughby Cotton's approbation. He could not answer for that fact. He thought, in some cases, they could not have had his sanction, as persons were shot at distant places on the same day. There were about 300 shot, many by drum-head courts. One person told Mr. Knibb he had caused eleven to be shot. Some were tried, and shot or hung, in half an hour, Sir W. Cotton being then absent. He had himself seen men hung at Montego bay when Sir W. Cotton was so far distant that he could not have been referred to. The trials and executions went on the most rapidly in St. James's while the general was in Westmoreland; and he was told that he had delegated to some other the power of signing the sentences of the courts martial. Mr. K. had never known more than one hour elapse between the sentence and the execution. At Montego bay he said that 90 had been hung or shot, but in fact the number was greater. At Falmouth 11 were shot, 6 were hanged, and 36 were flogged. The executions were conducted with considerable levity, four or six being sometimes executed in a day at Montego bay. Mr. Knibb saw Delaney hung, with two others. He fell from the gallows by the rope breaking. He went up again with the utmost firmness, and, the other two being dead, he swung in the centre, and kicked them. There was on this quite a horse-laugh, which was very disgusting. Blacks as well as whites

joined in it. The bodies of those shot and hung at Montego bay were buried in a trench; those put to death in the country were left to be devoured by vultures. The feeling produced by all this is very painful and alarming, as many have lost not only fathers and brothers, but wives also. The severities exercised are much more likely to excite a deep-rooted feeling of revenge, and to accelerate a recurrence to violence, than to produce terror. The firmness with which they met death was remarkable. There was not one who did not. Delaney's case was one he should never forget. He neither heard of nor saw one who manifested any symptom of fear: not even a woman who was hanged. These things were currently known in the island, and of course to the slaves generally, for they appeared in all the newspapers (p. 258—262).

A young man, a Methodist leader, belonging to the militia, having been asked to pray with some people condemned to be shot at Falmouth, was then ordered to shoot them, and did shoot them. He did it under military compulsion, and he gave Mr. Knibb to understand that the very men who had told him to pray with the convicts had then ordered him to shoot them. His own words to Mr. Knibb were, "They asked me to pray with them prisoners, and then they made me shoot them." He spoke to me of the matter as a great hardship that had been imposed upon him (p. 263, 264).

Some of the clergymen of the church of England went out and fought in regimentals, among them Mr. Burton. He joined the militia as a trooper (p. 265).

Mr. Knibb was re-examined as to the conversations that had passed between him and the slaves prior to the insurrection. He repeated that several slaves, Baptists, had come to him to ask if it were true, as they had heard, that they were to be free after Christmas. He told them no. They said they had heard the overseers frequently say that they were to be free after Christmas. He told them it was not the case—*he* had heard nothing of it, and did not believe it, and he hoped they would not harbour such thoughts. They said, at the same time, that they had never been so cruelly treated as during the preceding three or four months. The only reason they assigned for this increased severity was that sometimes, when they were laid on the ground to be flogged, the overseers said that, as they (the slaves) were to be free at Christmas, "they would get it out of them first." On the occasion of this conversation, and with a view to create a disbelief of such statements, and thus to allay their excitement, he used the words, "Did you ever know the overseers tell you any thing to do you good?" The words were used to undeceive them. He had no reason to doubt that the statements made to him by these slaves were correct, and his object was to undeceive them.

Being questioned as to some passages in a printed speech of his, which had appeared in a paper called the Patriot, he affirmed their accuracy. One respected the flogging of an infant slave; and he said that, in riding through Macclesfield estate, in Westmoreland, he had seen a child of seven or eight years old laid down, and held down by four others, and flogged. This was about two years ago.—Another case

he had mentioned, that of Catherine Williams, was as follows:—"Just as the rebellion broke out, one of my members came and said that Catherine Williams had just crawled to her house, and her back a mass of blood. I said, 'How is this? she always appeared to be a faithful servant.' My informant said that she had been confined in a dungeon for three months, and had been flogged because the overseer wanted her to live with him in fornication, and she would not. Her back, my informant stated, was very bad indeed. He had mentioned the circumstance to Mr. Blyth, a Scotch missionary, who wished it to be laid before the custos; but my informant feared the trouble it would occasion, and Mr. Blyth therefore declined doing it. I had the utmost confidence in my informant."—A third case was that of one William Plomer, an emancipated slave, who was one of the witnesses called on behalf of Mr. Gardner, the missionary, who was shut up in a room with a pot of burning brimstone, in order to induce him to accuse Mr. Burchell; the person who placed the pot of brimstone telling him that they would give him a taste of hell, as he would say nothing against Mr. Burchell. This was related to Mr. Knibb by the gentleman who had taken Plomer's examination, preparatory to the trial of Mr. Gardner, and who had inserted the fact in the brief. He had heard the person's name who had placed the pot of brimstone and used the above language, but he had forgotten it. The person, however, who took the examination of Plomer could tell (p. 265—267).

Mr. Knibb was further asked whether he had used the following language attributed to him in this speech, viz.—"A colonial Church Union, composed of nearly all the fornicators in the island, has been formed to stop the march of mind and religion, to protect the white rebels from deserved punishment, and to dry up the streams of religious instruction. Infidels, clergymen, slave owners, newspaper editors, high and low, have joined hand and heart." "Yes," replied Mr. Knibb, "that is mine" (p. 268).

Mr. Knibb stated that of the Baptist missionaries six had been arrested during the rebellion, and one Wesleyan. Thirteen Baptist chapels and four Wesleyan chapels were destroyed. The effect on the minds of the slaves of the destruction of those chapels was of the most painful description. He can never forget their tears and their emotion at the sight. Mr. Knibb told them that, if they were obedient, their chapels would be restored, and that he was sure the king would see that they were permitted to pray, but this would depend on their good conduct (p 270).

Mr. Miller, the custos, told Mr. Knibb that the Governor had requested him to find out the cause of the rebellion, that he himself was perfectly convinced of Mr. Knibb's innocence, and that he had conferred also with the Chief Justice on the subject, and they concurred in thinking that they could not do better than employ him; and the custos added, "Mr. Knibb, I have his Excellency's permission to say that if any slave will divulge that which may lead to a full disclosure of the rebellion, every effort will be made to have his life spared." This occurred between the period of finding a true bill of indictment against him, and the abandonment of the prosecution by the Attorney-

General. Mr. Knibb accordingly examined some of the prisoners, some alone, and others in the company of Mr. Murray, a Wesleyan minister. He examined each separately. He examined none that had been tried, except one who was under sentence of death. They agreed in their answers as contained in the papers now produced, a copy or the substance of which he had given to Mr. Miller. These answers were taken down at the time, in the presence of the slaves, on sheets of paper, and afterwards copied into this book. Mr. Murray is now at Montego Bay. Mr. Miller himself attended the examinations of Sharpe and Gardner. The meetings of the inhabitants and what passed there formed one of the principal reasons they alleged for the insurrection. The last of the examinations he took was that of a slave called Hilton, on the 23rd of March.—Meetings of the drivers of different estates were held at a place called Retrieve, where Samuel Sharpe appeared to be the leading man. On Christmas morning Sharpe spoke to Hilton, at the chapel at Montego bay, to be sure, if the minister asked him about freedom, or not working after Christmas, to tell him he knew he was free, and that he would not work again for any body any more unless he was paid for it. The minister, however, did not call upon him. After the morning meeting he went to Richard Bailey's, with some others, and had breakfast. Bailey looked for an old newspaper, and said, "This is not the right one; this is four months old, and tells us that eight years back women were not to be flogged." Bailey found another paper, which said that the English people would not submit to the brutish practice any longer. Hilton afterwards asked Thomas Williams, a leader, whether it was true what was said about freedom. Williams said, No;—that foolish people had put it into their heads; for he had never heard Mr. Burchell say one word about it, or that he was gone home to bring out their freedom; but that the whole had been made up at Retrieve.

The persons examined all referred to the expectation that was entertained of the island being given up to America.—In one of the examinations is found an account of a conversation among some of the slaves, which took place on Christmas day, to the following effect:—Gardner and Dove, though supposed to have been leaders, both solemnly denied that they had any connexion with the plot till Christmas day. On that day they met Guthrie, Sharpe, Taylor, and other members of the church, who were talking about freedom. Taylor strongly urged Sharpe not to refuse to go to work after Christmas. Gardner strongly advised to go to work after Christmas, saying, "If freedom is come we shall get it quietly, but if we do what is wrong we shall bring disgrace on religion." Sharpe said, "I know we are free. I have read it in the English papers. I have taken an oath not to work after Christmas without pay, and I will not." Sharpe then went away. Gardner after fell into company with Guthrie and some others, at Guthrie's house. Guthrie offered them wine or spirits: they chose wine. Guthrie poured it out, and, taking his glass, said, "Well, friends, I hope the time will soon come when we shall have our privilege, and when we shall drink wine free. I hope we shall soon have Little Breeches under our feet." Gardner asked

who was Little Breeches. Guthrie said, "He is my master, Mr. Grignon. I heard him say the king was going to make us free, but he hoped all would be of his mind, and spill their blood first. But," added Guthrie, "I'll be the first to do the job, though I am his slave; I will give him a pill as I follow him." On another occasion some one was doubting of their freedom, when John Morris said he was sure it was true, because when the women at Duckett's having young children went to Mr. Grignon for their Christmas allowance, Mr. Grignon said that they must now look to their friends in England for allowance, for he had no more to give them. Morris argued long on this fact, saying, "If we are not free, what made Mr. Grignon say so?" This made all the people stout upon it, and they said they would throw down their hoes and say they were free (p. 271—273).

One circumstance, Mr. Knibb said, which induced the slaves to think they were to be made free, was Mr. Beaumont saying in the Assembly, when discussing the bill for compulsory manumission, that they should no longer be called slaves, but labourers (p. 274).

Mr. Knibb said he believed the people told him the truth, for it agreed with what his own people told him afterwards. His church was not in St. James's, where the rebellion broke out, but in the next parish to it, Trelawney; and he earnestly requested them afterwards to tell him all they knew. They said they heard it commonly said they were to be free at Christmas, and that, if he had not contradicted the rumour, they should have continued to believe it. A young free man of colour, who had joined the rebels, and was executed at Montego Bay, told him and so did many others that they did not expect the king's troops would fight against them. This man of colour was executed for a deliberate murder. He shot a faithful slave, who was defending his master's property (p. 274).

The slaves are now in the full expectation that their freedom will come to them from England. He doubted whether they would be content to wait long for it. As the rebellion was breaking out he had himself spoken to about a thousand people, not of his flock, urging and entreating them, even with tears, to remain faithful to their masters, telling them they were misled by wicked men, and that no free paper had come out. But some who were present told him afterwards that the effect of what he said was neutralized by their being told by some of their companions, "Do not believe him; the white men have given him money to say so. The free paper *has* come out." The way in which he came to meet these people was this. On the last day of the Christmas holidays he had gone to some distance to open a new place of worship. Mr. Blyth came and told him he had heard the people were going to refuse to work, and that the militia had been called out. He went off immediately; and, after riding 32 miles, he found them assembled, and talked to them for three or four hours, assuring them they were all mistaken, and urging them, if they had any love to Christ, to go to their masters, and not suffer themselves to be misled to their ruin. He had heard of their having this impression only the night before from Mr. Blyth. A person named Stephen James also called to tell him of the rumour, and he said to

him, "Go and tell them that, if one of my members refuses to go to work after Christmas, I will exclude him instantly from the church;" and he sent his free people in all directions to the estates to tell them the same. It was three or four months before this that he had been first questioned by the slaves. He then told them not to believe any thing they heard about it: "it is not true: you must not listen to any such reports at all: you ought to be thinking about your souls: you must never speak to me on the subject; I will not hear it." He viewed it at the time as an idle enquiry which he had only to check. He was at this time preaching at a distance from home to a strange congregation. He heard no more of it, and nothing of it whatever from his own congregation. He really thought nothing more of it, till Mr. Blyth informed him of what he heard was about to take place. He was thunderstruck, and went and told Mr. Manderson. But at this time the military force was under arms, and the magistrates quite awake. In fact he found them all better informed than he was, having already had informations on oath. His first intimation was at Falmouth, from Mr. Blyth. He immediately got Lewis Williams, a free man, a deacon of his church, who is still alive, to ride from property to property, to beg them not to be led away. He himself drove in his chaise as far as he could; but did not get down till ten at night, when the country was in complete confusion. The military indeed had been called out that very day. When he got to the place to which he was going he addressed the people in the way he had already stated (p. 275—277).

Mr. Knibb certainly thought the slaves were more disposed to listen to the missionaries of the Baptists and Methodists than to the ministers either of the English or Scotch churches. There were some excellent men among the English clergy, but few slaves comparatively attend upon them. Some of them use their very utmost exertions, but not only are their habits of life and their adaptation of language and manners different, but they had other congregations to attend to, the free and the whites. The same sermon that would suit a white and intelligent man would be lost on the unlettered and simple Negro (p. 278).

In the parish of Trelawney, Mr. Knibb said, there were no catechists. There was a curate, but he did not visit any estate; he was requested to go on one; he did not go, and Mr. Knibb went. He knew one excellent and devoted curate, Mr. Hannah. He did not mean to say he was the only excellent one. There were undoubtedly others, as Mr. Dallas of Spanish Town, and many did their utmost; but they were occupied with the free, and, if there were no slaves in the island, they would have had enough to do. The Church Missionary Society had catechists; but, if there were a hundred more missionaries in Jamaica to-morrow, they would all have enough to do. In the disturbed districts there were no properties where slaves were attended by curates or catechists of the church of England; while, on all the estates on which the Baptist missionaries were allowed to go and preach, the people continued faithful. There were Baptists engaged in the rebellion; but he meant to affirm that on the estates to which he and the

other Baptist missionaries were admitted, the people defended their masters' property to the last. There was not a single member of Mr. Abbott's congregation at Lucea in Hanover who was implicated in the rebellion, or even refused to work for his owner. There was one Baptist preacher wholly unconnected with the missionaries, on the borders of St. James's and Trelawney, at a place called Spring Vale Pen, who was shot as a rebel, many of his congregation being shot too (p. 279).

Christianity, Mr. Knibb thinks, will lead every man to love freedom, but true Christianity will keep him from taking it by violence. It will inspire a love of freedom, but it will lead him to be quiet till it is granted. As the apostle Paul says, " If thou mayest be free, use it rather " (p. 280).

There is in the mind of the Negro a suspicion of what his master does, so that even when Baptist missionaries have gone on an estate at the request of the master, the slaves would not attend them. This makes them jealous of clergymen; and, if they thought the missionaries were paid by their masters, they would not come near them. Clergymen themselves have told Mr. Knibb they found this to be the case. He was himself once requested by Mr. E. B. of Bristol, a very worthy gentleman of the church of England, to visit his estates; but, in consequence of something that was reported to the slaves to have passed between him and the overseers of the estates, they came to him in a body requesting him not to come, for if he did they would not hear him. " Keep," they said, " to your own chapel, and keep away from the overseers, and we will come and hear you."

Mr. Knibb communicated with Mr. B. on this subject privately, and has seen him since his return, having been received by him with great kindness. He had felt the subject a difficult one. One of Mr. K.'s reasons for not visiting his estates was the state of concubinage in which the overseers lived. Almost every overseer and book-keeper in the island is living in fornication, and he did not think it right to associate with such characters. Slanders also were raised against himself. The attorney too took the part of the overseer against him.—He is unwilling to go farther into the matter or to mention the proprietor's name.

In the report of a speech of Mr. Knibb, he had spoke of the innocent blood that had been shed during the insurrection. He said he referred to the number who, during martial law, had suffered innocently. The feeling produced by it, he feared, was very strong: for in this, as in all servile wars, great enormities were apt to take place, and much blood shed which would not be revealed till the day of judgment. Where soldiers go out, as they did, and fire indiscriminately, a great deal of innocent blood will be shed. This feeling he believed to be very prevalent, but was directed, not against their masters residing in England, who they thought were friendly to them, but against the resident whites. The probable existence of a feeling of resentment and revenge was the subject of much conversation among all classes of the free in the island (p. 280, 281, 285).

Mr. Knibb left the island early in April. Mr. Miller and Dr. Gordon had sent for him and said, " Mr. Knibb, it is our decided opinion

that your life is not safe. I would do every thing to protect you, but I cannot protect you" (p. 281).

The Baptist leaders, in his congregation, were about fifty. Each had his own ticket entitling him to come to the sacrament. No one could have a ticket which he had not received from the minister, whether he were a deacon, a leader, or a member. Enquirers or probationers also had their tickets; and this explains why so many tickets were found; for many enquirers, after receiving their tickets, withdrew their attendance. Most of the tickets found were of this description. Nothing was paid for these tickets. All members however subscribed something quarterly, as the dissenters consider it the duty of all, bond or free, to do what they can to support the gospel; but these contributions go, not to the support of the missionaries, for they are supported from home, but to the erection of chapels for themselves, which are vested in trustees, and could not be taken from them (p. 282).

Mr. Knibb did not know, of himself, who had commanded the militia when the new chapel at Salem's Hill was destroyed, but he understood it was Captain Gordon who was over the company. He was himself a prisoner at the time, and did not see it; but the missionaries were in possession of abundance of evidence to take before any court of justice of the persons who destroyed the chapels (p. 283).

He had been informed of slaves having been threatened with death, or severe punishments, for refusing to give evidence against the missionaries. He had also heard of torture being inflicted to extort information as to slaves engaged in the rebellion; but he had no personal knowledge to that effect. A slave, whom he himself had hired as a servant, told him that he was flogged by his master, a man of colour, for refusing to assist to pull down the chapels (p. 283, 284).

Mr. Knibb was of opinion that the Negroes, if emancipated, would labour for wages. He had known Negroes who paid their masters a weekly rent (one of them paying two dollars a week for himself, and a dollar and a half a week for his wife) and maintained themselves and families at the same time. He knew one who purchased himself and his wife: he paid £250 currency for himself, and £80 for his wife. His name is Richard Brown; he lives at Falmouth. Samuel Swiney tried to purchase his wife, but could not effect it, though he bade as high as £250 (p. 284).

He had said at a public meeting in England that he believed the Baptist slaves would be flogged if they were caught praying. He had seen a slave flogged for praying, the very Samuel Swiney he had just mentioned, but who is now free. The evidence is given in full in papers laid before Parliament. Mr. Finlayson, the magistrate, said that praying and preaching were the same in law. He and his brother magistrate who pronounced this judgment were struck off the commission by order of the Government. He never heard any other ground alleged for their sentence. He had not applied to the Governor on the occasion, but sent the facts to the Society at home, that they might act as they thought proper. They laid the matter before the

Colonial Department. He did not regard himself, as a Missionary, entitled to originate any matter by applying to the Governor or the Attorney-General. An order has, he believes, gone out requiring all complaints to be made through the Governor; but he knew nothing of that then. He had published the case in a newspaper in Jamaica, because, having sent it home, he thought it fair to apprise Mr. Finlayson of his having done so. He does not think that, after what has passed, *magistrates* in Jamaica would flog slaves for praying, but he thinks overseers would do it, and with impunity. Mr. Knibb was then asked whether the overseer could by law do this, provided he limited the number of lashes to 39; but to this he gave a vague answer, professing not to know sufficiently the provisions of the new slave law.* He had never attended to the proceedings in the courts of law, as he made it a point not to interfere with the temporal condition of the slaves. He had heard them say, however, that it was of no use to complain (p. 290).

Mr. Knibb denied his ever having had any communication with the Anti-Slavery Society, or having seen any of their Reporters except by accident (p. 318).

He had no conversation with the Attorney-General on the *nolle prosequi* entered by him to the indictment preferred against him at the Cornwall Assizes. All he had learnt of it was through his attorney, who told him that if the Missionary Gardiner's case broke down the Attorney-General would not enter upon his. He went into court with his witnesses, and the Chief Justice said to him, "You will have the kindness, Mr. Knibb, to remove your witnesses." Mr. Knibb said, "I am not sure whether I am not to be tried." He said, "You are not; there is a *nolle prosequi* entered." Mr. Knibb bowed and went out (p. 319).

The above is the whole of Mr. Knibb's evidence which it seems at all material to give. We have omitted many of the offensive and discourteous questions which were addressed to him by some member of the Committee, and which, while they tended in no degree to shake the force of his testimony, manifested a most galling sense of its importance, and of the irritation it had produced in the mind of his examiner.

We have now gone through the whole of the evidence which was adduced to establish Mr. Buxton's propositions, "*That the slaves,*

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* Had Mr. Knibb been acquainted with that law, he might have replied most confidently that no overseer who limited his lashes to 39 was liable to be called in question in any court of justice for any punishment within that limit which he might inflict, whether for any offence, or for no offence. The words of the 33rd section of that Act, of February 19, 1831, authorize every overseer to inflict 39 lashes on any slave; and there is no part of that clause, nor of any other clause in that Act, or in any other Act of the Jamaica statute-book, which authorizes any magistrate to take cognizance of any complaint, made by a slave, of a flogging which does not exceed, and is not affirmed to exceed, 39 lashes; provided only they are not inflicted twice in the same day, or until the person shall have recovered from the effects of any former punishment.

if emancipated, would maintain themselves, would be industrious, and disposed to acquire property ; and that the dangers of convulsion are greater from freedom withheld from than from freedom granted to the slaves ;" and we think it will be allowed, by every candid and unprejudiced reader, that he has most triumphantly established them. But we must not forget that we have still to hear the upholders and apologists of slavery in vindication of their system, and in refutation of the strong statements that have already been brought under the view of our readers. To that part of our task we therefore now proceed.

I. Captain Charles Hampden Williams, of the Royal Navy, commanded the first ship of war which arrived at Montego Bay two days after the late insurrection had broken out. He has been promoted for his services there, and his conduct has been applauded both by the Admiral on the station and by the civil authorities. He had been sixteen months in all in the West Indies, and in that time had visited almost all the West India islands (p. 291). And yet Captain Williams states in a subsequent part of his examination (p. 297) that he had gone for the *first* time to the West Indies " in January last," which was January, 1832, only six months prior to the day of his examination. We presume, therefore, he must have meant, by January last, January 1831.

The cause of the insurrection was that the slaves understood the king had given them their liberty, but that the planters had withheld it from them, and he adds, " *I believe* they were stirred up to the rebellion by the Baptists." The gallant Captain's reasons for this belief are somewhat vague. He attended several courts martial of slaves at Lucea, and he was led to suppose from what passed that the Baptists had preached up the slave's right to liberty. It could not be brought home to any body, but this was his inference. He had spoken to several members of the court martial, and they were all convinced the Baptists had stirred up the rebellion, though they could not bring it home! " I saw several men shot, hanged, and flogged." " Every man had a fair trial before the courts, which were composed of *militia* officers, and I believe every man to have merited his punishment." " They had a very fair *chance*. I went up to one prisoner myself, and offered to assist him in his defence."* He does not think any persons were killed without trial, except they were in rebellion. He had met with no slaves in open rebellion. He went seven miles with his sailors " to try to get near them ;" but they could not come within gunshot of them. In his opinion " *all* the punishments that took place were cases required for example." The rebellion, in the opinion of this officer, was " very formidable indeed ;" and the reason he gives for thinking so, for he admits he saw nothing of it himself, is this, that when he arrived at Montego Bay he found them " in a great panic." " The militia themselves were frightened, and he had to call

* The gallant Captain does not say the offer was accepted. We rather infer from his silence that the poor prisoner was too undiscerning to appreciate its value.

their very "colonel* to order," and to tell him that he could not act with him unless "he adopted discipline and order." It, therefore, became quite necessary to "strike terror into the Negroes," and therefore 100 persons were executed by shooting and hanging, and 100 flogged. "I believe," says the Captain, "that was the exact number."† Besides these, he thinks, "400 more were shot in resistance in open warfare."‡

Captain Williams further testifies "that he went out to the West Indies with strong opinions upon Negro slavery;" he believed they were "an ill-used people," and he gives as his reason for having thus condemned the West Indians before-hand, "BECAUSE I had lived in a family that even would not eat West Indian sugar, because it was raised by slaves." But "what," he is then asked, "is your opinion on that subject now?" To this he promptly replies, "I believe they are much better off than *any* labouring classes in this country!" But, he is asked, "are you not aware that they are flogged at the will of their masters?" The reply of Captain Williams to this question is highly instructive:—"Their masters," he says, "can inflict thirty-nine lashes; but they must first of all have two or three justices of the peace, or magistrates, before they can give the punishment; and I could give my men forty-eight lashes *whenever I please*, and more severe."‖ Before he went out Captain Williams was in favour of

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* This, we suppose, was the redoubted Colonel Lawson of whom we have heard so much.

† It was but a just retaliation that the same militia officers whom the Negroes had so terrified should be made the instruments of striking a salutary terror into them in return, by shooting, and hanging, and mangling with the cart-whip 200 unarmed wretches, who had dared so to frighten them. But was it quite fair towards the persons thus summarily tried, and convicted, and shot, and hung, and lacerated, to constitute as their judges, without appeal, the very men who had been terrified and disgraced by them? Does Captain Williams think that was giving the prisoners a "fair chance?"

‡ Captain Williams has no where told us how many lives this "formidable resistance," this "open warfare," caused the gallant troops opposed to them," and for whose loss so severe a vengeance was exacted by the alarmed members of these courts martial.

‖ It is quite impossible to resist the temptation of a brief comment or two on this evidence of this leading witness of the West Indians, this advanced guard of their array. Mr. Burge, himself, must have blushed for him. He goes out to the West Indies animated with Anti-Slavery views. He sails from island to island for a few months, attending the Bishop of Barbadoes in his pastoral visits. He repairs to Jamaica, and spends a month there, and reports in that short space 100 shootings and hangings, and 100 floggings worse than either shooting or hanging. He sleeps ashore, in Jamaica, for two or three nights, having before had the happiness of sleeping under the roof of the renowned Mr. Huggins, of Nevis, for other three nights; and he comes before a Committee of the House of Commons to dissuade them from abolishing slavery, since he, Captain Williams, is able to assure them, after this ample experience, that the slaves are "*much* better off than *any* labouring classes in this country." His illustrations of this extraordinary statement are certainly somewhat unfortunate. He can give his men, his British sailors, 48 lashes *whenever he pleases*, and these more severe than the Jamaica cart-whip inflicts. Is it indeed so? If it be, then indeed might the British sea-

emancipation. He is not so now. Emancipation would produce anarchy; there would be no more returns either of produce or revenue; for the slaves, being a lazy set of persons, if emancipated, would only raise plantains and yams for their own use. Being asked his ground for this inference, his answer is, "BECAUSE they are naturally lazy!" He had seen several free blacks, "and they are very lazy." He admits they have property of their own, but he is not aware how they got it; in short, "they are very lazy" (p. 291, 294).

The only ground Captain Williams has for representing the Baptist Missionaries as the instigators of the insurrection is his conversation with the officers composing the court martial, and general rumour (p. 294). He had heard that fourteen white women had been violated, and that seven persons had been burnt (ibid.). Being asked whether he had any communication with the slaves on the causes of the rebellion, he replied, "yes, I rode round one day to two or three estates, and I desired them to remain quiet; I told them that I would shoot them or flog them if they did not behave well; but they all seemed well disposed. I merely admonished them, and told them I was the captain of the ship in the harbour." He heard of the destruction of the Baptist chapels; he believed it was effected at noon day, and by whites, not by blacks. They were destroyed as a retaliation for the missionaries having preached up rebellion; but he was not aware of any foundation on which that charge rested (p. 295).

Captain Williams further states that he had not heard it assigned as a cause of the rebellion that the Negroes were afraid of being given up to America. And yet he immediately adds, "I visited a great many islands, and *in all the islands* the whites are forming a confederacy now to cast off the mother country. It is general throughout the West Indies. The planters are dissatisfied with the late Order in Council, and they wish to throw off the mother country* (p. 296).

"The insurrection was quelled," said Captain Williams, "when I left Montego Bay" (he had been there only ten days); "but there were several executions going on at that time. When I went back to Montego Bay from Lucea" (where he had been about eighteen days), "I saw two persons hanging, and one or two flogging at the foot of the same gibbet!"

Captain Williams admitted that all he knew of the treatment of the slaves in Jamaica or the other islands "was *only* by conversation with

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man complain of his condition; but it is a slander on the British navy to say so. He takes it upon himself also to tell the Committee that the slave master must have the authority of two or three magistrates, before he can inflict thirty-nine lashes of the cart-whip on the bared buttocks of any slave, man or woman. This, we need not say, is as gross a mis-statement of the facts of the case as could have been uttered. It is directly the reverse of the truth, and that on the very point which lies at the root of the whole question of slavery. To have produced such a witness, at such a crisis, looks something very like the infatuation we have on former occasions imputed to the colonists.

* Was it possible then that the slaves should not have heard of this design, and been influenced by it?

white persons" (p. 297). He also admitted that all he knew against the Baptist missionaries was from the same source. "They could not prove it; they could not get it in evidence;" and yet he admitted "that the militia officers were particularly desirous of bringing guilt home to the Baptists;" and that "they were inveterate against them" (p. 298). He saw no professional or other persons assisting the Negroes on their trials. The courts martial began by shooting the insurgents, and afterwards by shooting and hanging them alternately. Then they hanged all, thinking death by shooting too honourable. The men did not mind being shot. He saw three men condemned to death: they did not alter their voice or countenance: they appeared prepared for it; but he heard them express sorrow and say they were legally condemned. The hundred who were flogged received from 150 to 500 lashes. The lives lost by the king's troops, including the militia, were, he had heard, ten (p. 292).

Captain Williams repeated his conviction that West Indian slavery was a happier state than that of the English peasantry. He did not think it bore a comparison, so much better off was the condition of the slaves. "They are a happy people, and they have a great many enjoyments." But, supposing that the Englishman might be sold and separated from his family, and be liable to be flogged, and to have his wife and daughter seduced without redress, like the slave, he was asked if that would better his condition. He said the Englishman was a free man, and the slave had not his feelings. He admitted, however, that the Englishman would feel aggrieved by such liabilities; but still the slaves were born in that state and were used to it. The slaves are now a happy people, and he thought they would lose by freedom; and many of them would not accept it if offered them. At the same time he did not think it a happy state for a man to work for another and receive nothing for his labour but clothing, a hut, a garden, a surgeon, and some salt fish (p. 299—301).

Being asked whether the flogging of slaves was viewed with any horror in Jamaica, he said it was not: he had never seen any *feeling* exhibited about it (p. 301).

He had affirmed the slaves to be naturally lazy; but he admits that the West India markets are supplied, by the voluntary labour of the slaves, with poultry, pigs, provisions, and vegetables, which they brought from a considerable distance to the Sunday market, and for which they knew very well how to drive a bargain; but all this industry, he added, was for themselves. And, being asked whether he knew who would work without wages if not compelled, he said he did not know any (p. 302).

Again, some of the free blacks in Jamaica have property, which he supposed they must have got by their exertions; but he persisted in thinking they were "a careless people," not raising more than sufficient for the present, "BECAUSE they are naturally a lazy people" (p. 302).

Captain Williams does not think the slaves in Jamaica will ever rebel again. They are convinced by late events that they cannot succeed. The British army and navy are able to quell any insurrection; but as for the militia, "all the militia together are not able to cope with the slaves" (p. 303).

Being asked whether he had not imbibed his impressions of emancipation and the state of the slaves from his conversations with the white people, Captain Williams said, "Yes, in all the islands." But he corrects himself by adding "from observations of my own also;" and, when asked to specify what kind of observations, he gave, as the example, his having lived three days upon an estate in Nevis, Mr. Huggins's estate, the speaker at Nevis, where he educates eighty children, and has them taught sewing, reading, and writing, the same as in England.*

Captain Williams believed that flogging was very rare now; and the reason he gives for this belief is that so many persons in England have interested themselves in favour of the slaves. The flogging of women, he believed, however, was still continued; but he did not think that would disgust the men, they were so degraded. Even in this state of degradation, he thought the slaves more happy and comfortable than the English peasant; and he was so far from regarding this state of degradation as incompatible with happiness, that he should say that "it was better to remain in that state than to have it altered" (p. 304).

In the island of Jamaica he believed it was customary for the overseers to live with black and brown women: they had their favourites. He believed this to be the case generally, nor had he ever known a master to interfere with it. It is common when English gentlemen visit an estate to have black girls offered them. A servant offers the girls in the master's name, but there is no constraint: it is a custom; and the master he believes is aware of it. This is the custom "*not only in Jamaica but in all the islands.*" *And the master is aware of it* "*not only in Jamaica, but in the whole of the West Indies*" (page 305, 306).

At the close of Captain Williams's examination a kind friend stepped in to extricate him from some of his inconsistencies, and drew from him that the labour by which the slaves raise superfluities is so very easy that it cannot be compared to free labour, and furnishes no presumption that they will work on estates even if remunerated; and that, with regard to flogging females, separating husbands and wives and children, and some other existing evils, they may be got rid of or modified without putting an end to slavery itself.

Such is the evidence of this witness, thrust forward in the van of the apologists and vindicators of slavery. May all who attempt to varnish crime, and to reconcile the people of England to blood and oppression, be equally successful in their advocacy!

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* It is no small satisfaction to learn, on such authority as that of Captain Williams, the happy revolution which has taken place in Mr. Huggins's treatment of his slaves, since Lord Liverpool thought it right publicly to characterise his treatment of them as cruel, atrocious, and even murderous.—See House of Commons' Papers for 1814, No. 205, containing the proof of Mr. Huggins having, in the public market-place of Nevis, subjected 21 of his slaves, men and women, to upwards of 3000 lashes of the cart-whip, one woman receiving 291, and one man 365.

H. William Alers Hankey, Esq., is the proprietor of a sugar estate in Trelawney, with 300 slaves upon it, yielding about 250 hogsheads, of 14 to 16 cwt. each. He never visited the West Indies. He knows Mr. Knibb, and has corresponded with him about his estate, for two or three years, on the subject of instructing his slaves, being decidedly favourable to their instruction. He felt it to be his duty to do so, a matter of absolute obligation upon himself, and essential to the best interests of the slaves. He should think so if he had merely a regard to his interests as a proprietor, but also from the situation he had held for 16 years as Treasurer of the London Missionary Society, which embraces and employs all denominations of orthodox Christians, including churchmen. The Baptists and Methodists have Societies of their own. His experience led him to believe that religious instruction even increased the value of the slave in the market, and that in no case had an insurrectionary spirit been encouraged, but checked and resisted, by missionaries. The Society does not force reading on proprietors who are averse to it, but they recommend and pursue it wherever they can. He admitted that the slaves when taught to read would read stimulating publications, and that, with the means of doing so, slavery could not long continue; and yet he was not prepared to anticipate any general measure of emancipation at this moment. He was prepared to follow the course Government meant to pursue. He should feel it rash himself to precipitate the measure. He wished the Government to settle the whole question, and it would be his duty and happiness to forward the views of the Government. His disposition to favour emancipation rested on general views of humanity, and not on any idea of pecuniary advantage from the measure, though he admitted that West India affairs could not well be in a worse state than at present. Even if his own interests were to be entirely merged in the measure, he trusted that his sense of moral and religious obligation would lead him to say the sacrifice must be made, still hoping it might not prove a sacrifice in the end. At the same time, Mr. Knibb must have misunderstood him, if he supposed him to connect the immediate emancipation of the slaves with Mr. Knibb's undertaking to instruct them. He had undoubtedly expressed himself anxious to see emancipation effected, being ready to express his abhorrence of the system in very strong terms, and he should at all times be ready to concur in any proper plan of effecting emancipation. He had also expressed and certainly felt horror at the treatment the missionaries had received in Jamaica. He had also spoken to Mr. Knibb of his desire to have his own slaves emancipated as soon as they were fully prepared, and he should be well contented, if it were prudent for Mr. Knibb, on other grounds, to return to Jamaica, that he should resume his labours among his slaves, feeling unshaken confidence in Mr. Knibb's integrity and determination to discharge aright his spiritual duties; and, in case of emancipation, he should consider the presence of such a person as highly desirable, if not necessary. He conceived, however, that measures of preparation ought to precede emancipation. Mr. Hankey inherited the estate he now has as a partner in his banking house. He is also a mortgagee of New Hope and Albany estates,

and has been through life much connected with West Indian property. The measures Mr. Hankey himself had taken, in the way of preparation, were very slight and incipient. He had instructed the attorney, at his discretion, to stop some of the supplies usually granted to the Negroes, and to give them a compensation in money, that they might have an opportunity of being cognizant of their own wants, and thus take one little step towards the management of themselves under other circumstances; but the step had not yet been taken, the time being not yet come. He carries his notions so far that he conceives there is great moral guilt in slavery, and that, that guilt being national, the nation must be content to bear its share in the atonement it may involve. But he does not think the slaves yet prepared to make a proper use of freedom, and, therefore, to give them freedom immediately would be inexpedient. He has blamed the spirit of the colonists, and he has blamed the spirit shown by the advocates of freedom in this country. He has never associated himself with either party. He is a friend to the *objects* of the Anti-Slavery Society, but not to the means it employs. He is a decided enemy to slavery in the abstract. But he thinks it a national crime rather than an individual one, and the nation should compensate the planter. He admits, however, that the Negro cannot, in *absolute* justice, be detained in slavery till this question is settled between the Government and the planter, and that the Negro, at least, owes nothing to the planter (p. 307—313).

Mr. Hankey admitted the incompatibility of Christianity with slavery as it now exists. Christianity cannot be so preached to the slave as to suppress the feelings of nature in respect to his own condition. The Negro cannot read the Bible without discovering that his state is incompatible with what the Bible enjoins; and yet he believes that Christianity furnishes the best guard against the evils apprehended from freedom, in the patience which it inspires, and the obedience to authority it requires. A period he conceives must come beyond which the proprietor cannot hold that unjust possession which he now has of his fellow man as a slave. He blames, however, the blazoning the wrongs of the Negro, as calculated to produce excitement in him without corresponding advantage. He thinks that indolence is a natural propensity of man, and that it is aggravated in the case of the Negro by his peculiar circumstances. Were he himself forced to work without remuneration he should do as little as he could. The hostility of the colonists was not caused, as he thought, by a Missionary being of this or that sect: it was directed against the pure and simple preaching of Christianity itself, whether preached by an Episcopalian or a Baptist. In his own case he had preferred the Baptists, because generally they were placed conveniently near his estate. The fundamental principles of all orthodox sects are the same. He had been only three years in possession of this estate, and he immediately began a correspondence on the subject. While Mr. Hankey thought the nation was bound to remunerate the planter for any loss he might sustain by emancipation, he fully admitted that the planter had no claim whatever on the Negro. The case was different with the nation. The nation had sanctioned and encouraged slavery, and the criminal-

ity of it was never thought of by his ancestor who advanced money on slave property. The feeling of its moral turpitude was a feeling of modern growth, although that moral turpitude was always the same* (p. 314—317).

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* High as is our respect for the character of Mr. Hankey, and much as we admire the openness and manly frankness with which he has expressed his opinions on this subject, we must confess that we have read some parts of his examination with feelings of deep regret and extreme astonishment. We think it due to him and to the public, as well as to ourselves, to state explicitly the grounds which have produced in our minds these feelings of surprise and regret.

1. Mr. Hankey admits as fully as any one can do "the moral guilt," "the moral turpitude," of slavery. He believes it to be "incompatible with Christianity," and to be "opposed to the injunctions of scripture." Still he seems to think it not an "individual" but "a national sin." We had always thought hitherto that "national sins" were neither more nor less than the aggregate of the sins of the individuals composing a nation, and especially of those who, having a conscience of any particular sin, did not at least wash their own hands of it, and heartily concur in employing their influence, by all lawful means, to point out its criminality to others, and to induce them to aid in putting an end to it. We feel utterly at a loss to understand the process of reasoning by which Mr. Hankey, on his own principles, has arrived at his conclusions on this subject. With Mr. Hankey, we admit that the crime is national, and that the suffering for it ought to be national also; but surely it is not enough that we should suffer nationally, and nationally confess our sin, and endeavour to repair it; but that every individual for himself should renounce his share of the "accursed thing,"—should relinquish at least the "Babylonish garment," and "the wedge of gold," before he can stand clear in the sight of God or of his own conscience.

2. Mr. Hankey, however, feels some difficulty in pursuing this course, lest he should heap further wrongs on the slaves themselves. They are not "fit," they are not "prepared," to receive the measure of justice to which he avows that they are fully entitled. *He* at least must wait the *fiat* of the Government before he "lets the people go." Be it so. Then has not Government intimated, in terms that cannot be mistaken, that there are certain measures which ought to be taken by all proprietors, and which they have themselves enforced, as far as they have had it in their power, on all proprietors who are subject to their legislation? Those measures it is in the power of every proprietor to adopt as the rule of his own conduct, whether his slaves are placed in a crown or in a chartered colony. Can Mr. Hankey show that he has gone this length? The wishes of the Government were very clearly and repeatedly announced and urged upon the attention of the colonists; and it is obvious that there was not one of them which any proprietor who chose to do so might not have adopted into his own plan of plantation economy. Did he wish to rescue his slave from all necessity of Sunday labour? He might have done as Mr. Wildman did on his Jamaica estates: he might have given his slave, instead of the twenty-six week-days allowed by law, fifty-two week-days in the year, or, what would have been still better, seventy-eight days. He might also, with Mr. Wildman, have abolished the exhausting night labour of crop. He might have entirely interdicted, with that gentleman, the flogging of females. He might, moreover, have put down the driving whip in the field, as the immediate stimulus to labour. He might have introduced regulations as to marriage. He might have established for his own slaves the principle of compulsory manumission, and aided its operation in a variety of ways. And he might, moreover, have had a regular record of punishments, properly vouched, and transmitted to him from time to time. He might have done all this without going one step beyond the declared wishes of Government, and without infringing any one of the severe and oppressive enactments which load the statute-

III. James de Peyster Ogden, Esq., a native of New York. This gentleman proves that emancipation was attended with no danger or inconvenience in the State of New York, the slaves being few,

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book of the colonial legislatures. Now which one of all these practicable and approved methods of lightening the oppressive yoke of slavery, and "preparing" the slave for freedom, has Mr. Hankey adopted? Has he adopted one? We fear not; and we fear it because, having been urged to state what preparatory steps he had adopted, he specified only one, and that one which was altogether superfluous and uncalled for. He instructed his attorney, at the beginning of the year 1832, to negociate with his slaves a substitution of a money payment in lieu of the clothing and other articles of supply annually sent for their use from this country; and he did that in the hope that he might make them in some measure acquainted with the use and value of money. Nothing could have so well illustrated the utter ignorance of Mr. Hankey respecting the state and capacity of his slaves as this most futile and unnecessary project. He will probably have read the preceding part of this analysis before he peruses our present remarks; and he will then have learnt that the Negroes are as fully acquainted with the nature and use of money, and as capable of making a bargain for its acquisition and application, as any banker in Lombard or Fenchurch Street; and that this species of instruction is no more needed by his slaves than it would be to teach him the multiplication table.

3. But this is not half of what he might have done on his own principles. He wholly condemns the opposition of his fellow planters to the diffusion among their slaves of a knowledge of letters. He might, after Mr. Wildman's example, have had at least an elementary school on his estate. He might have found a man and his wife fully competent to the task, at no very heavy annual cost, compared at least with the importance of the object on his own showing, to have taught the young at least, if not also the old, to read the word of God. Above all he might have provided religious instruction, though to this hour nothing effective, we fear, has been done for that paramount object. He has stood at the head of a large religious society, which under his administration, and guided by his zeal, and vigilance, and talents, has been diffusing a knowledge of the saving truths of the gospel to the very ends of the earth. The islands of the South Seas, the myriads of China, the millions of Hindostan, the miserable hordes of Caffraria, and even the slaves of Guiana, have either heard, through this Society's labours of love, the glad tidings of salvation, or been enabled to read, in the Holy Scriptures, and in their own tongues, the wonderful works of God. Until recently, in the midst of all these mighty exertions of benevolence, his own slaves, his own household, seem to have been wholly overlooked. Was it impossible, with all the interest possessed by him and his family in the well being of so many of their fellow creatures, to do something at least to dissipate the heathen gloom which overshadowed them, and to shed some ray of light on their benighted souls? Could not even one solitary catechist be found, one man among the hundreds who have gone forth, under his auspices, throughout the length and breadth of the earth, as the heralds of mercy, who would have undertaken to convey some glimmering of light, some of that moral preparation which Mr. Hankey deems so indispensable, before he shall pay to his slaves the debt of justice which he owes them, by striking off their fetters and admitting them to the rights which God and nature have bestowed on them, but which he withholds on the very ground of their unpreparedness? Mr. Wildman succeeded, for he was in earnest, in procuring the means of religious instruction for his slaves. Was success of the same kind wholly unattainable in the case of Mr. Hankey?

4. But one word more and we have done. Mr. Hankey abjures all association with the Anti-Slavery Society. He does justice indeed to their object, and we thank him. But then their means of accomplishing that laudable object he

and the free overwhelming in point of number, namely 170 to one, and the process being also gradual. Mr. Ogden has correctly stated that fact. But he has further stated, though without any data, that the moral habits of the emancipated persons have not improved, and that a great proportion of the petty larcenies are committed by them. The success of the experiment however in New York would be no criterion for judging of the effects of emancipation in the Southern States, where the slave population amounts to two millions, being nearly a sixth of the whole population of the United States, estimating that at thirteen millions. The slave States are Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, and the Florida

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cannot applaud or concur in. As far as we can guess his meaning, it would seem as if he alluded to their delineation of slavery and their occasional exhibition of its practical effects. "I would not," he says, "give a strong statement to the Negro of his wrongs," even though "those wrongs were grievous and severe. I would practically mitigate them; I would not expose them." Now this language seems to proceed on false assumptions in respect of the Anti-Slavery Society. They have never published a single line, and Mr. Hankey *must* have known that fact, in order to state *to the Negro* his wrongs, but in order to bring them to the view of those who could "practically mitigate them." The object of the Society, Mr. Hankey *must* be well aware, was not to address the Negroes, but the public and the parliament of Great Britain. And how were the public and the parliament to be stirred to a due consideration of the subject, or led practically to mitigate the evils of slavery, but by delineating its real nature, and exhibiting its real enormities? It was their best and wisest, nay their only course, and, but for that, the public and parliament might still have slumbered on in listless apathy. They had also another purpose to serve, that of rousing the slumbering consciences of those good men who acknowledged the authority of the Word of God, and who were unfortunately, like Mr. Hankey, owners of slaves, that they might not lay the flattering unction to their souls that they were not guiltless in this thing —that God would not one day require their brothers' blood at their hands, and therefore that they might sleep on and take their rest, leaving it to the nation to *atone* for their guilt, and settle the account for them, not only as a matter of profit and loss in this world, but of awful responsibility in the next. The Anti-Slavery Society might indeed have whispered into the ears of their friends the truths which they have thought it their duty to proclaim as from the house-top; but it may be doubted whether they would have moved a single individual, even Mr. Hankey himself, to take one step towards doing justice to their slaves by freeing them from their bonds. Mr. Hankey will not say that we have not truly described slavery and its effects, nor will he say that our descriptions have had no influence in producing those feelings on the subject, in his own mind, which have drawn from him so many candid admissions of the guilt and criminality, the injustice and moral turpitude, which belong to this most iniquitous system.

We should have been glad to have avoided the necessity of these comments, but we did not dare to decline them; and Mr. Hankey, having come forward at this critical period of our great question, and being in fact the representative of a very large class of West Indian proprietors, who call themselves, and we trust really are, sincere and orthodox Christians, but who, from that very circumstance, are able to accredit in the world both principles and practices which are far more nearly linked with evil than good, and have had the effect of producing, we are sorry to say, especially among many worthy and pious clergymen, and dignitaries of the Church of England, a lukewarmness on this question which has not tended to raise them in public estimation.

and Arkansa territory. Sugar is grown in Louisiana and the Floridas, rice in these two States and in Georgia and the Carolinas, and cotton in all except Delaware, Maryland, and Kentucky. The treatment of the slaves, he thinks, is generally good, and their food abundant. They increase rapidly. They are not allowed land of their own: the master feeds them. The emancipation of the slaves has not been agitated as a practical question in America. As for the Colonization Society, and its plan of transferring the blacks to Liberia, it can do nothing towards that object. The difficulty felt in America is what shall be done with the Negroes when they are freed. It is evident that rice and sugar can be cultivated only by blacks. Besides, slavery is guaranteed by the constitution; and to indemnify the owners would cost at least four hundred millions of dollars, so that no plan of emancipation has been proposed. All that has been done is to limit the system of slavery to the States in which it now exists. The question of slavery has been discussed occasionally in the Northern States; but the publications on the subject are not allowed to circulate in the Southern. Nothing has been done with a view to prepare the slaves for emancipation, by education or otherwise. The slave states dread the effects of education, and effectual precautions have been taken by them to prevent the diffusion of lettered knowledge. The Americans admit that personal freedom is more valuable than property; but they apply that principle only to whites. He does not know that any thing has been done to encourage or to discourage religious instruction among the slaves. He cannot see any benefit the slaves, continuing slaves, could derive from education. He had seen many emancipated slaves who were very good characters, but he thought petty offences were frequent among that class.*

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* The difficulty, after all, which the Americans deem so insuperable, that of disposing of the slaves when free, seems to us no difficulty at all. The slaves are now employed in agriculture; nay, sugar and rice, it is said, cannot be cultivated but by blacks. We can see no good reason why the same persons may not cultivate these articles in a state of freedom as in a state of slavery. White men work in America: so do black men when free, and wages are given them for their labour. We are utterly at a loss to discover what there is in this particular problem which can puzzle Mr. Ogden, or raise a single difficulty in the mind of American statesmen, provided only they are willing to act on the principles of eternal justice. But see to what length of wickedness the free, enlightened, and Christian whites of America are driven, to maintain their cruel and usurped dominion over their black brethren. No nation values education and instruction more highly than the United States. Every state has made a point of establishing and supporting seminaries of learning adequate to the wants of its citizens, and common schools are provided "for the education of the poor gratis;" yet the benefits of education are withheld from the slaves, and even from the free Negroes also. South Carolina, as early as 1740, passed a law to punish with a fine of £100 any man who should teach a slave to write. Georgia followed the example. Virginia has enacted "that any meetings of slaves, or free Negroes, or mulattoes, at any school, or teaching them reading or writing, shall be deemed an unlawful assembly, and the magistrate may disperse it and inflict on the offender at his discretion twenty stripes." South Carolina in a later act has declared any meeting unlawful which consists of slaves and free Negroes,

IV. Robert Scott, Esq. This gentleman is a Jamaica proprietor, and had resided in that island from 1802 to 1826, and again for a few months in 1828 and 1829. He had under his management at one time 4000 slaves,* and had visited different parts of the island; but his concerns lay chiefly in the parishes of Hanover, St. James, Trelawney, and St. Ann. He had consequently great opportunities of becoming acquainted with the Negro character. On most plantations they have as much land as they can cultivate for themselves.—The time allowed them by law, twenty-six days, is not only amply sufficient to supply all their wants, but to enable them to sell great quantities of provisions. The usage, he says, was to give them more time, namely, every Saturday out of crop.† Few of the slaves work at all on Sunday. The market is on Sunday morning.‡ In Trelawney the distance from the market at Falmouth is generally ten miles; but the people from the town meet the people of the country half way.§ He gives 100 barrels of herrings in the year to 250 Negroes ‖ (p. 330, 331).

Mr. Scott denies that, on estates of a size to afford only two spells during crop-time (that is, all estates of the size of his own, having 200 to 250 Negroes), the Negroes work eighteen hours a day.¶ He

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and mulattoes, though there be whites among them, assembling for the purpose of *mental instruction;* and the officers who are required to disperse the meeting may inflict twenty lashes on each slave, free Negro, &c., so as to deter them from the like unlawful assemblage in future. In Savannah any person teaching any person of colour, slave or free, to read or write incurs a fine of thirty dollars for each offence; and every person of colour keeping a school to teach reading or writing to a fine of thirty dollars; or to be imprisoned ten days and flogged with thirty-nine stripes. Nor are they to meet for *religious worship*, but between sunrise and sunset. The only exception to the general bearing of these acts is in Louisiana, where it is enacted that it shall be the duty of the owner to procure for his sick slaves all kinds of temporal and spiritual assistance which their situation may require—a sort of death-bed charity.—

Stroud's Laws of Slavery. Philadelphia, 1827, p. 85—92.

* We cannot find that he is now proprietor of more estates than one, namely, Kinloss, which in 1831 had upon it 249 slaves, and in 1823, eight years before, 296, showing a decrease in that time of 47, or nearly 2 per cent. per annum.

† If that were true, it would raise the number of days, estimating the time of crop at five months, to 30.

‡ In point of fact the first law which limited the market to Sunday morning, and that at eleven o'clock, was that of 1831, which is only recently in operation.

§ This is a strange assertion. No market can be held at any place, by a law still in force (Act of 5th William and Mary, c. 6), but by appointment of justices in sessions. Let it be shown that any such intermediate markets are appointed, and what and where they are.

‖ That is, less than six herrings a week for each.

¶ He takes some pains to mystify a plain matter; for, by what possible arithmetic can it be made out that, where there are only two spells, and where the work of the mill and boiling-house is continuous night and day, and where the cane-cutting for supplying the mill goes on for twelve hours of the day, each spell, that is, each half of the gang, should not work half the night also, or six hours more, making eighteen in all?—See above, p. 338. Mr. Scott admits the work at the mill

admits, however, that it does amount to sixteen. He states, as one of the inconveniences that would arise from the Negroes being free, that they might ruin the master by striking work in crop-time; but he admitted that that was an inconvenience to which the English manufacturer was equally liable, if the labourers, thinking themselves not adequately remunerated, struck for wages (p. 332—335). He admitted that cane-hole digging was hard work, and that, if the people did not do their work, the driver must coerce them. He carried a whip; but he believed he did not now use it, though formerly he did, but rarely, except by the direction of the overseer. He now uses switches for coercion; but seldom even these, if the people are under proper control (p. 336).*

The slaves in Jamaica, Mr. Scott thinks, are much better off than the people of this country have any idea of, nor so ill off as is supposed. Many of them, even of the field Negroes, by selling provisions, pigs, and poultry, have a good deal of money. They all have pigs and poultry, and some have cattle. The possession of property unquestionably increases the diligence and industry of the slave. He did not know many slaves who had been emancipated, but he never knew any who hired themselves on an estate, except coopers and carpenters. They regard plantation work as degrading. Large sums, however, he said were annually raised in Trelawney for the relief of people of colour who were paupers. He was quite sure the largest proportion was raised for people of colour, and very little for whites. A return, however, from this very parish of Trelawney, of the distribution of the poor's rate for the five years from 1821 to 1825 inclusive was produced, from which it appeared that the whole sum raised in those five years was £6896; and that of that sum the expense of the poor-house, which is for the accommodation of poor whites, according to Mr. Scott's own testimony (quest. 5064), exhausted £1766; and that, of the remaining £5130, about two-thirds, or about £3420, was paid in pensions to whites, and only about £1690 to free black and coloured paupers—almost all females of the coloured class (probably the cast-off mistresses, with their families, of whites who had died or quitted the country). This account is signed by James Shedden, the vestry clerk. (Papers of 1823, No. 353). Mr. Scott, however, seemed still to doubt the correctness of this return (p. 337 and 341).

Mr. Scott admitted that he had seen punishments inflicted to coerce labour, of which he disapproved, but not frequently. Without the knowledge that there was a power to coerce them, they would not

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and boiling-house to be continuous, and yet he cuts off the two hours from six to eight in the evening, of which he makes no account in his estimate of the slave's sleepless hours; but there must be slaves at work during these hours as well as during all the other hours of the week. In fact the loss of rest amounts to nineteen hours *every* day instead of eighteen, at which we have placed it.

* That is, have been duly coerced into industry (see above, p. 323). But, if the driver has no power to flog but by the overseer's order, what means the clause in the very last slave Act (Act of 1831, § 33), which limits the driver to ten lashes in the absence of the overseer?

work at all; he was quite certain of that. He thought the females would become excessively troublesome if they could not be flogged. They are much more difficult to manage than the men (p. 337).

When the slaves worked by task-work, they performed their day's work much more expeditiously, finishing it by two o'clock, and having the rest of the day for their own grounds. They did not work hard at any employment, but they will work harder when a task is set, or when they work for their own profit. He had known them carry loads for themselves which no compulsion could have made them carry.—They carry enormous weights to market sometimes (p. 338).

Mr. Scott is questioned as to the probability that the slave, in case of emancipation, would be willing to recognize the master's right to deprive him of the grounds which he had hitherto cultivated for his own use, unless he would consent to pay a rent for it. He doubts whether he would, but he had always known the slaves exceedingly averse to quit the spot where they had been settled: they would regard it as an act of spoliation* (p. 339). Mr. Scott, however, is so impressed with the disadvantage of being under compulsion, that he thinks a slave and a free man are not to be brought into comparison at all (p. 340). The slaves know how to make use of money very well (p. 341). He would not deny that the Negro may, in many cases, be levied upon for taxes, and sold into a distant part of the island, from his family and from his provision grounds; but this seldom happens with sugar estates under mortgage, which most of them are (p. 342).

Mr. Scott admits that he had never contemplated any plan by which it would be practicable to secure the cultivation of sugar in Jamaica by labour for wages, because he could not conceive the thing possible† (p. 342).

He is asked, evidently with a view to abate the force of Mr. Taylor's evidence, whether he should consider a person's experience of two years and a half in the management of 700 Negroes, having, moreover, been upwards of ten years in the island engaged in other pursuits, as competent to pronounce a judgment on such a plan; and answers, very candidly, that though he might regard any such plan with doubt, yet "a man of observation may certainly gain a good deal

* The main condition of the problem to be solved is here wholly kept out of view. The slave, when free, is to receive fair wages for his work; but would he, in that case, consider it as a spoliation that the master should say to him "If I pay you fair wages you must pay me a fair rent for my land?" When was it ever known that an emancipated plantation slave claimed to have a right to occupy land belonging to his former master? The circumstance of the strong attachment of slaves to their domicile, which Mr. Scott affirms, is the very ground from which we should derive the conviction that the slave, if free, would prefer to continue to occupy his present house and grounds, and to work for his master, paying a part of the wages he would earn, for the sake of retaining possession of them.

† A gentleman is brought forward by the West India body, to represent their views, in a committee appointed to consider the measures most proper for effecting the extinction of slavery, and he tells the committee that he had never even *contemplated* the possibility of any such measure! Where can he have lived for the last ten years?

of experience in two years and a half. He considers, however, Mr. Taylor's plan to be quite chimerical (p. 345---347). His reasons for this conclusion will be found to be of a kind very naturally to be looked for in a man who had never contemplated the subject before; they cut both ways. He thinks that, if the emancipated slaves had grounds of their own, they could not be depended upon for labour; and if their labour were paid for in money, no food would be procurable but from abroad; and yet he admits they might make more profit by cultivating their grounds than by working on sugar estates. He gravely doubts whether the two plans might not be combined of both growing provisions enough as they do now, and yet cultivating sugar for wages; and he strengthens this doubt by a vague reference to history. Sugar lands, this experienced planter tells the committee, are not convertible to any other purpose than sugar. He cannot deny, indeed, that they might be easily converted into pasture; but then, he adds, cattle would be of no value if sugar estates were abandoned.* The pens now rear more than the planters require. Sugar lands, he also admits, might grow provisions (p. 348, 349).

Mr. Scott says, confidently, that the Creoles in Jamaica increase, though the Africans may not; but his speculations on population and the theory of labour and wages, which he has evidently contemplated as little as he has plans of emancipation, may be passed over without any injury to his own cause (p. 350, 351). Being further questioned, he was led fully to admit that the slaves, being much attached to their present homesteads, would, if made free, be glad to pay rent for their present lands, and would be disposed to cultivate provisions to the full extent for which they could find a market, and when they had done that, and overstocked the market, they would gladly take wages from the sugar and coffee planter (p. 352).

Mr. Scott knew the maroons, and he admitted they were very well behaved, and required no strong police to keep them in order. With respect to the slaves, he also admitted that if nothing unreasonable were exacted from them they were easily managed, and patient

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* Thus we learn that in Jamaica cattle are of no value but to draw canes to the mill and sugar to the wharf! These are, doubtless, important uses. But is he not aware that in other countries than Jamaica cattle have other still more important purposes to answer? Is it of no importance to cheapen food? Admiral Fleming was obliged to pay a shilling a pound in Jamaica for meat which he could procure in Hayti for twopence a pound, while the people of Hayti were chiefly fed with beef. Did Mr. Scott never contemplate the effect of 330,000 emancipated slaves being fed with beef reared in Jamaica, instead of being fed with a few miserable salt herrings imported from abroad; or being shod, as in Hayti, with the leather made from the hides of the cattle that were thus eaten? In England, where there is a free population, cattle, he knows, is valuable as food as well as for work. Might it not be so in Jamaica? A sugar planter, like Mr. Scott, of 20 years' experience, has never learnt to think of cattle but for purposes of draught. His views travel only between the cane field and the mill house, and between the curing house and the shipping place. The pens, he says, breed more cattle now than the planters require. He never has meditated, for one moment, what a free population might require in the way of food.

and submissive, although there were ordinarily on an estate of 250 slaves only three or four white persons to govern them and maintain order. If nothing unreasonable is required, they are very obedient and require no harsh treatment whatever (p. 352). This is an important feature in the Negro character.

Mr. Scott thought the slaves were better treated than formerly. The Creoles require less punishment than savage Africans, and are less frequently punished; but he thought they worked as much and produced as much as ever. His own slaves received no education whatever. They went to church or chapel if they thought proper. The clergyman of Trelawney superintended the Negroes, if they went to him, and they did frequently go to him. When he first went to Jamaica he cannot say the parochial clergy paid any attention to the slaves: the Bishop made a change, and the clergy became more alert. The slaves he thought very imperfectly instructed indeed. The Negroes were mostly christened; but it did not follow from this that they knew any thing of Christianity (p. 353).

Mr. Scott, though in charge for many years of 4000 slaves, and now a proprietor of 250, has no idea what is the cost of rearing a slave. He professes to know nothing of the progress of population on sugar estates and pens; but, he thinks, if the Negroes were educated and civilized they would become more moral and increase faster (p. 354).

Mr. Scott however thought it possible that Negroes might be over educated, though certainly he admitted they were not so as yet, nor likely to be so for some time to come (p. 355).

There is now, he thinks, scarcely any profit at all from West India property; on the contrary, proprietors, in many instances, are getting deeper and deeper in debt. He attributes this to the low prices of sugar and rum, and these low prices he attributes to over-production: more is made than can be consumed. Being asked whether it is possible to keep up a system of over-production which can profit the planter, and whether land therefore should not be withdrawn from sugar cultivation, he assents to that, but says, the ruin of many must be the consequence.* In case of emancipation land would become valueless: no one would take it. Being asked whether there is any country in the world where there is plenty of land to let and a number of people to be maintained where land did not let, "Yes," says Mr. Scott, "but there must be a different description of people to deal with;" and yet he admits (quest. 5387) that Negroes are human creatures, influenced in the same way as whites. He admits too that the Negro is industrious in his own grounds, and raises food for himself and family, and buys comforts, and luxuries, and finery, though compelled to work so many hours for his master; yet now he has the advantage of being under control: if he were free it would be very different.—He is asked whether he thought that the desire of good food, and fine clothing, and the luxuries of life, or the love of money,

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* If men will embark in hazardous speculations, and continue to pursue them after gain has become hopeless and loss certain, what can follow in any part of the world, or in any mode of employment, but ruin?

supposing a man to have earned some as a slave, would cease the moment he became free and had more time to indulge all these desires: he reluctantly, at length, admitted that it was not in nature that they should (p. 536, 537).

Mr. Scott being asked whether provisions, as beef, pork, butter, &c., might not be raised abundantly in Jamaica so as to supersede the necessity of importing them from abroad, replied, he thought not; they must still have salt beef, &c., as fresh beef would not keep.*

He refers to his knowledge of history, and cites St. Domingo (where good beef, according to Admiral Fleming, is always to be had fresh at twopence per pound). He then dwells on the difficulties of increasing the quantity of provisions and cattle. There would be no "labourers except the sugar estates were abandoned." And yet Mr. Scott had before stated that the planters were dying of a plethora of sugar, and this notwithstanding no labourers could be turned from that ruinous speculation to raise fresh beef at a fourth of the price they pay for wretched salt beef from Cork (p. 357)!

Cane-hole digging, Mr. Scott thinks, is not such tremendous work as might be supposed. It is not so hard as digging ditches, cutting down hills, or filling up ravines, as is done by English labourers; but then he admits it to be a little hotter in Jamaica, though the Negroes do not dislike the heat; and he admits, also, that the women of Jamaica dig cane-holes as well as the men: he does not say that in England they dig ditches, cut down hills, and fill up ravines.

He concludes his evidence by a statement of the clothing given annually to his 260 slaves. It averages as follows:---About four yards of a coarse narrow woollen cloth called Pennistones, and about nine yards of a coarse stuff made of tow or flax called Osnaburgh, and about two and a half yards of check in long ells; and this is all!

V. James Simpson, Esq., was engaged in commerce in Jamaica for 24 years nearly. He left it in 1828. He had been the representative of many absent proprietors, being intimately acquainted with the island generally, and particularly with Vere, Clarendon, St. Mary, St. George, St. Andrew, St. David, Port Royal, and St. Thomas in the East, and a little with St. Elizabeth, Manchester, and Hanover. Mr. Taylor had been a partner of his for ten years; and, though he visited some of his estates occasionally, Mr. Simpson was jealous of his designs and projects, and only allowed him to visit those estates where the immediate managers were prudent men, and where there was a high state of discipline. Mr. Simpson, however, admits that he did not take any pains to ascertain what Mr. Taylor's views and purposes were, and he actually knew of them, though Mr. Taylor was ten years his partner, only from hearsay. One project, however, gave him great alarm, a project which he learned, not from Mr. Taylor himself, but from one of the

* This is certainly one of the most extraordinary reasons ever given by man for voluntarily foregoing the use of wholesome fresh meat and butter, supplied from the daily market, and having recourse to Ireland for stale salted beef, and pork, and butter. Would he not himself prefer good fresh beef at twopence a pound, fresh from the slaughter, to Irish salted beef at sixpence or eightpence a pound, full, as it often is, of rottenness and vermin? And why might not such a daily market exist in every part of Jamaica?

overseers, who, doubtless, had his own private reasons for disliking and distorting the project. The plan was that of "separating the sexes, and taking means to prevent their intercourse; and locking up the women at night to prevent the men from having access to them"* (p. 360).

Mr. Taylor, it is admitted by Mr. Simpson, disliked Jamaica, its occupations, and society, and wished to quit them all and enter the church. Mr. Simpson opposed his retiring, and entreated him to remain. In 1827, however, Mr. Simpson altered his views respecting Mr. Taylor, and then urged him to retire from the house as strongly as he had before pressed him to remain in it. He even forced him to retire, and the connexion was dissolved† (p. 360, 361).

Mr. Simpson had at one time under his charge from 7000 to 8000 slaves. He had, therefore, every opportunity, he conceives, of forming a correct judgment of the character and circumstances of slaves; and his decided conviction is that, generally speaking, nay, almost universally, with some exceptions, they would not work voluntarily for wages in the cultivation of sugar. He admits that the emancipated slaves, at that part of St. Thomas in the Vale called Above Rocks, do supply the markets of Spanish Town and Kingston with provisions, and that they do frequently carry them thither, a distance of upwards of twenty miles. There are, however, he affirms, intermediate market-places within every five miles, at which they may sell their goods; but he does not mention where or what they are, or give them any name.‡

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* We cannot wonder either at the alarm produced by such a scheme among the overseers and attorneys of Jamaica, or at the absurdity of the exaggeration with which Mr. Simpson, without asking Mr. Taylor for any distinct explanation, has thought proper to bring it forward as a grave piece of evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons. Did he mean any thing more than that which every man of common morality must desire—that marriage should be encouraged, and concubinage discouraged on plantations, and that, above all, the overseers and book-keepers should be positively interdicted from converting each estate into a brothel, and corrupting, by their facilities of intercourse, all the young women upon it, from the earliest age of puberty? Does not Mr. Simpson, in his conscience, believe that this was the extent of Mr. Taylor's non-intercourse scheme? and, if he does believe it, is his evidence fair evidence? It was a grievous mistake in Mr. Simpson to expect that his sneer against such a project would be received in the Committee of a British House of Commons with the derision with which it would have been listened to in a company of attorneys and overseers meeting at his dinner table in Kingston. It furnishes a melancholy exemplification of the state of morals and manners in Jamaica.

† The time, therefore, of this change of feeling towards Mr. Taylor, on the part of Mr. Simpson, seems to have been the very time when Mr. Taylor and Mr. Wildman had resolved on conducting Mr. Wildman's estates on more humane principles than had hitherto governed planting concerns in Jamaica. (See above, p. 329).

‡ This discovery, now first heard of, of intermediate market-places between Above Rocks and Kingston or Spanish Town, is not a little extraordinary. Mr. Simpson, as much stress seems laid on the circumstance, ought to have specified them more clearly, together with the order of the justices in session by which they have been appointed, and the name of the clerk of the market by whom its transactions are regulated; for there is a clerk of every *legally* constituted market-

He is not aware of any emancipated slaves offering themselves to cultivate sugar on estates. Labourers are often wanted, but *they* never offer themselves. He is persuaded the time allowed to the Negroes for cultivating their grounds is ample, and that there is no necessity for going, and that few slaves do go, to their grounds on Sunday* (p. 362, 363).

Mr. Simpson is next questioned about spell-keeping in crop-time, and he gives the same untenable account of it which has been already exposed, denying that the slaves keeping spell during the night are limited to six hours' rest in the twenty-four, in cases where the population of the estate only allows of two spells (see above, p. 338, and p. 417). The slaves, according to Mr. Simpson, are never exhausted by their labour. Dancing, and performing attitudes and evolutions, and festive nights, when he visited the estates, proved how little they had been exhausted by the labour of the day (p. 364).

Cane-hole digging seldom exceeds a third of the cane land in cultivation, and, in some cases, very little cane-hole digging is required (p. 365).

He is decidedly of opinion that Negroes would certainly not work voluntarily if they had the means of procuring food. They are naturally indolent, and would not be induced to work so long as by plunder or otherwise they could obtain the means of subsistence. It is very difficult to get them to work without some stimulus or other. The whip has been resorted to; but he had been anxious to discontinue its use: he tried to do without it, particularly on one estate called Albion, belonging to Mr. Robert Hibbert, of Chalfont, Bucks, having more than 500 Negroes; but he was forced to resume it, and made so effectual a use of it for a time that he restored order and re-animated industry; and now, he understands, it is laid aside. And yet he affirms that the Negroes do not work under the terror of the lash, even when they do not act under its impulse† (p. 365, 366).

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place in the island. And let him also state what population there is at each of these market-places, which occur within every five miles, to arrest the progress of the venders of provisions in their way to the markets of Spanish Town and Kingston.

* The *West Indian* evidence to confute this statement is quite overwhelming, independently of what appears in the preceding pages. See Reporter, vol. ii. No. 41, p. 315; and vol. v. No. 92, p. 24. The unhesitating boldness of such assertions is altogether amusing.

† Was ever any thing heard from the mouth of a reasoning being at all to be compared to this evidence of the absolute master of the comfort and happiness of 7000 or 8000 human beings? The Negroes, he affirms, will not work if free for any thing beyond mere food; and even not that, if they can live by plunder. Yet they work so well at present on Albion estate, without the terror of the lash, that there is no room to complain of either their order or industry. Now what is the stimulus employed? Is it wages? He does not say that it is; and it is evident that the stimulus of wages had never entered his mind at all as a means of exciting industry;—for, when Mr. Hibbert's 500 Negroes slackened in their industry, he restored it, not by any such means: no, he restored it by the good old Jamaica way—he "resumed the whip, and made some examples." The cart-whip, then (but Mr. Simpson will not allow us to call it the cart-whip), or "the driver's whip," for ever! This is Mr. Simpson's grand specific.

Mr. Simpson fully admits that the slaves not only work for their masters, but that they raise sufficient food to supply themselves and all the markets in Jamaica, and thus to buy ornamental clothing and articles of finery, and to acquire considerable property, even to the amount of from £2000 to £3000; yet he despairs of being able to persuade them of the reasonableness, when they become free, of paying a rent for the use of the land, the master's property. The slave would consider such a demand as an outrage on his own property; and, therefore, to expect him to work for wages, and pay rent for land, is a scheme wholly chimerical, actually impossible, utterly impracticable* (p. 370, 371).

Then, as to a police composed of the free people of colour and others, in order to preserve the peace of the island, he pronounces in the most positive and unqualified terms on its utter absurdity and impracticability† (p. 371). Against Mr. Taylor's proposal of stipendiary magistrates as protectors he is equally decided; it is wild and visionary.

Mr. Simpson is also strongly of opinion that the missionaries have no title to give any opinion of the character and disposition of the Negroes: knowledge so limited as theirs could afford no opportunity of judging either of the Negro character or of their treatment and their habits (p. 372).

He considers the Negroes in general as intelligent, and as to be worked upon more by kindness and conciliation than by compulsion; but he does not think them intelligent enough to understand that they must work in a state of freedom for their own subsistence, or accept of wages for working; so that emancipation would necessarily be followed by the abandonment of all cultivation, and therefore by the most pernicious consequences to themselves (p. 575).—If Mr. Simpson is himself more intelligent than the Negroes, he certainly has not the faculty of making his views of human nature either intelligible or consistent.

Mr. Simpson has known slaves who were instructed by the ministers of the church of England and Scotland, and he has given them

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* Is this common sense and common consistency, or is it the mere raving of inveterate and incurable prejudice?

† Mr. Simpson evidently had it in view by this answer to stultify his old friend and partner Mr. Taylor; but it so happens that he has stultified along with him the Council and Assembly of Jamaica; for, without any debate, they have embodied into an Act dated April 28, 1832, and which we have reason to believe has actually received the royal assent, a plan of police as nearly resembling that of Mr. Taylor as could well have been framed. We would advise him to consult that Act forthwith. It is the 28th chapter of the 2nd of William the Fourth. We ask no better, safer, and more efficient police for the purpose of averting all danger from emancipation than that which has been so wisely and providently planned and adopted by the local legislature. The work is done—the machinery is ready; and it may be considered as furnishing a test for appreciating the respective titles of Mr. Simpson and Mr. Taylor to public confidence, both on this point and on the plan of paying wages to the emancipated slave for his labour, against which Mr. Simpson is equally furious.

instruction himself, and he has also attended Sunday schools, and he observed that instruction produced a great improvement in their general conduct, and a great superiority in all respects to others. He had also admitted on one of his estates a Wesleyan missionary, with whom he was satisfied. But he supposed, though he had no personal knowledge of any such circumstance, that religious instruction, injudiciously administered, might do harm (p. 376).

When Mr. Simpson left the island Sunday markets were being discontinued, and Saturday markets more frequent. The slaves had thus an opportunity of attending worship on Sundays.*

The slaves, whom he knew to possess as much as £3000, were in the habit of hiring other persons to attend to their concerns (p. 377) (a fact, however, not very consistent with other parts of Mr. Simpson's evidence). These hired persons work separately, and, of course, without compulsion. Slaves also often rent themselves of their master, paying to him a certain proportion of their earnings; this is frequently done by slave mechanics by monthly or annual payments; but he never knew it done for field labour.† Mr. Simpson could not recollect any instance of persons of colour possessing property acquired by their own exertions. He found, however, that the slaves, when improved by religious instruction, became more temperate and more industrious, and thus increased their personal property; and, he thinks, this effect of religious instruction is perfectly well known to all planters: they are deeply sensible of it.‡

Mr. Simpson says he was in the habit of giving to his slaves, for the purpose of religious instruction, as much in some cases as one day in the week. This he represents as having been generally done; and he cites the fact as a decisive proof of the universal desire to give religious instruction to the slaves (p. 380).‖

Mr. Simpson denies most stoutly that there is any severity in the treatment of slaves, or that there is any difficulty in their obtaining redress for any well-founded complaint; but that they are very apt to complain on slight or no grounds. And, in illustration of this fact, he tells a long story of a complaint preferred, not by a slave, but by a white medical gentleman, against an overseer with whom he had

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* The utter untruth of this statement we shall take another opportunity of exposing more fully.

† And can this be wondered at?

‡ We shall never cease our astonishment at the evidence of this planter.

‖ We must frankly say that we greatly doubt this statement. Mr. Simpson must certainly labour under some defect of memory. We, therefore, call upon him to name the estate or estates under his charge on which a day in the week was so given to the slaves for their religious instruction, together with the year or years in which such grants were made, and the person whom he employed, on the day thus appropriated, to convey to the slaves this religious instruction, and who, we presume, must have been some minister or missionary. We are willing to stake the accuracy of the whole of Mr. Simpson's evidence on the correctness or incorrectness of this one fact, when established by adequate proof. The original plantation journals must still be in existence; and we are willing to submit to their inspection as the test of its truth.

quarrelled, and which, on investigation, proved to have had no foundation in truth. This story brings out incidentally a circumstance of some importance. It is admitted that formerly it was very possible for masters or overseers to employ force to subject the slaves under them to their licentious appetites. But, adds Mr. Simpson, such a thing would now be impossible: no man would dare to attempt it; or if he did the female, on repairing to a magistrate, would obtain instant redress* (p. 381).

There then follows, in pages 382 to 390, an examination of Mr. Simpson on West Indian economics, in which we shall not attempt to follow him, because to us it is utterly unintelligible, in many parts, we can say with truth, most inaccurate, and totally at variance with notorious facts (p. 382—386).

The value of the clothing given to the slaves, Mr. Simpson estimates at 35*s.* or 40*s.* a head. On turning to Mr. Scott's evidence (see above, p. 422), we find his account (not one of mere estimate, but of actual distribution) to be somewhat different. It may be thus stated:—4 yards of pennistones, 5*s.*; 9 yards of Osnaburgh, 4*s.* 6*d.*; 2½ yards of check, 2*s.*: in all 11*s.* 6*d.* But let it be taken with all charges at 15*s.*, and we shall still be very far below Mr. Simpson's estimate (p. 386).

One of the allowances Mr. Simpson states to be regularly made to the slave on an estate is about three shillings' worth weekly of sugar and rum, all the year round. This of itself would make for each slave £7. 16*s.* a year; and would amount to about 3 cwt. of sugar and 50 gallons of rum to each in a year. Can this possibly be true?—There must be some strange habit of miscalculation or some singular defect of memory about this witness. It must be admitted that Mr. Simpson has guarded against the charge of wilful inaccuracy; for he has told us (quest. 5756 and 5757) that it is utterly out of his power (though he has had charge of upwards of 7000 Negroes belonging to absent proprietors, and still, we presume, has charge, by means of his commercial house in Kingston, of a considerable number) to give in-

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* Mr. Simpson may possibly have been acquainted with the Rev. Mr. Trew, the late Rector of St. Thomas in the East, in Jamaica. Let him, then, turn to the testimony of that gentleman, as he will find it in the 4th volume of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 76, pp. 107 and 108, for a contradiction of every part of his present apologetical statement; and he has only to consult the Index to that work for numerous proofs of the inaccuracy of the assertion so confidently made by him of the certainty of redress for even undisputed acts of cruelty. The contrary stands on official documents, which cannot be contradicted, and all of recent occurrence. Besides, let us ask Mr. Simpson to point out a single clause in any one act of the Jamaica statute book which, down to the year 1832, inflicts the very slightest penalty on any overseer who puts a female slave in the stocks all night, and works her all day in the field for weeks together; or who orders that same female to have her limbs exposed naked to the gaze of the whole gang, and to receive, upon her bared posteriors, 39 lashes of the cart-whip, and even to repeat these 39 lacerations the moment the former wounds are healed. We challenge him (and we permit him to call Mr. Burge, the late Attorney-General of Jamaica, to aid him in making out his case) to point out any such law.

formation respecting the various items of expense attending West Indian estates. Of one thing, indeed, he seems to be quite certain, namely, that on the Duke of Buckingham's estate of Hope the Negroes have the opportunity of realizing about £125 annually for every three acres of land they may be able to cultivate on the 1000 acres of land attached to that estate, and appropriated to their use; so that, supposing the number of able slaves upon it to be one-third of its population, that population being, in 1830, 368, the annual income within their reach would amount to about £15,500. Is this quite credible?

There follows, at pages 391 and 392, a not very seemly attempt to put the credit due to the representations of Admiral Fleming in competition with those of Admiral Halsted and of Mr. Simpson; but, we apprehend, with pretty much the same success which we have already shown to have attended the attempt to discredit the statements of Mr. Taylor: but we pass over that part of the evidence as wholly immaterial to the real objects of the enquiry.

Mr. Simpson farther testifies that from the time he had taken charge of estates, which was about the year 1817 or 1818, he had done all he could to encourage marriage amongst the slaves; and that marriage was accordingly frequent* (p. 394).

The emancipated Negroes employ themselves in different ways. They are seldom seen in distress. Then come some admissions of the comforts and luxuries that slaves are enabled to procure, but which they would not, according to Mr. Simpson, have the same facilities of procuring when they are free.—There is such an utter extravagance in supposing that a man whose seven days in the week are his own should have fewer facilities of accumulating property than the man who has only twenty-six week-days in the year and his Sundays, that we are at some loss to divine Mr. Simpson's end in giving such evidence. He cannot expect it to be received as true (quest. 5931). But what are these facilities? The horses, and cattle, and waggons, and wains of their masters and of themselves. And this is said by one who,

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* The parishes in which Mr. Simpson states himself to have been chiefly concerned are Vere, Clarendon, St. Mary, St. George, St. Andrew, St. David, Port Royal, and St. Thomas in the East. Now we have parliamentary returns of the marriages which took place in these parishes of Jamaica, from 1808 to 1825 inclusive, the very period during which Mr. Simpson exercised his large powers; and the results during those seventeen years are as follows, showing clearly that marriages cannot have been very frequent, and that in some parishes they have been remarkably rare, viz.—

Vere	containing 8,000	slaves	marriages in seventeen years	2
Clarendon	,, 17,000	,,	,,	3
St. Mary	,, 25,000	,,	,,	176
St. George	,, 12,000	,,	,,	161
St. David	,, 8,000	,,	,,	201
Port Royal	,, 6,000	,,	,,	27
St. Thomas in the East	,, 26,000	,,	,,	2643

From St. Andrew the returns are wanting for the last five years (see the Parliamentary Papers for 1823, No. 347, and for 1826, No. 353). The result in St. Thomas in the East is owing to the zeal of the Rev. Mr. Trew.

living in Kingston for twenty-four years, must have been the weekly witness how few of the slaves coming to the Kingston market had any means of conveyance but their heads, on which their loads were brought into town on the Sunday morning (p. 398, 399).

Mr. Simpson does not believe in the efficacy of wages to induce the slaves to work. He admits, however, that during his twenty-four years' stay in Jamaica, and with his extensive means of making experiments, he had never tried the effect of wages on the slave, nor endeavoured to ascertain whether he might not work for remuneration as well as from compulsion. This is a remarkable fact, and at least explains Mr. Simpson's prejudice against free labour. He says, cane-hole digging and the whole work of a sugar estate is far from laborious; for women perform it as well as men: and yet he is quite confident that Negroes, when free, will never be prevailed upon, by any inducement, to cultivate sugar (p. 400)!

Mr. Simpson is again examined about night work and spell keeping in crop, and again puzzles himself and the committee most completely. It is evident that Mr. Simpson never kept spell himself, or he would have been able to make the matter intelligible.

Mr. Simpson states the fact of a naval officer having gone on an estate as a guest, and having drawn up a long string of questions, which he addressed to one of the book-keepers to be answered, and the book-keeper answered many of them; and this fact is produced as proving the liberality of the planters of Jamaica (p. 402). Mr. Simpson, however, ought in fairness to have given the sequel of this affair, which the reader will find in a note below.*

Mr. Simpson affirms (quest. 6011) that he, the attorney of 7000 slaves, never knew of *any* whip being used in the field in Jamaica.—This is certainly a most extraordinary assertion; and it proves most incontestibly either that Mr. Simpson has lost his memory or that he is determined at all hazards to whitewash slavery. The assertion, we take it upon us to say, is so manifestly untrue as of itself to render the whole of his evidence absolutely valueless.†

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* The book-keeper in question lived in the year 1824 on Yarmouth, in Vere, an estate belonging to Lord Dudley, and was a very warm partizan of the pro-slavery cause. He wrote many papers in the Royal Gazette, during the years 1823 and 1824, under the assumed signature of "The Hermit in Vere," for which Mr. Simpson may refer to the files of those Gazettes at the Colonial club-room. A naval officer visited Yarmouth, and certainly gave to this book-keeper a long list of very pertinent questions, which the book-keeper undertook to answer. A copy of those questions is now in this country. They were brought hither by the book-keeper himself, who was deprived of his employment, and forced to quit Jamaica, for having dared to listen for one moment to such an application. His previous services to the pro-slavery cause availed him nothing; and he was actually persecuted to such a degree that he was forced to return to England, in consequence of the determination of the planters to refuse him employment. He convinced some planter in this country, we believe Mr. Watson Taylor, that all this persecution was unmerited, and he was sent back by him to one of his estates, where he soon after died. And this is Mr. Simpson's exemplification of the liberality of Jamaica planters!

† We need go no further to prove the utter falsehood of Mr. Simpson's state-

VI. William Mier, a native of the United States. He possessed in Georgia 500 slaves; and, from his knowledge of the Negro character, is led to doubt whether they would be disposed to work for wages. Slaves are very seldom emancipated in Georgia. The Americans are very tenacious of this species of property. They value it more than gold itself. No publications relative to slavery are permitted in Georgia. Though half of the Georgia slaves are Africans, yet they increase at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum; and the increase continued to 1822. The labour of growing and pounding rice was particularly hard (p. 366—369).

VII. The Rev. John Shipman, a Wesleyan Missionary.—The whole of this gentleman's examination turned on the wholly unimportant resolutions adopted by some of the Wesleyan Missionaries in Jamaica in 1824, and afterwards disallowed by their superiors at home (p. 405—416).

VIII. The Rev. Robert Young, another Wesleyan Misssionary. —This gentleman's examination is also chiefly directed to that which forms the subject of Mr. Shipman's examination. Mr. Young gives it as his opinion that the justice, mercy, brotherly kindness, and charity of the Gospel are unfriendly to slavery, and in their full developement must put an end to every system of oppression, and liberate every slave. He did not think that, with the knowledge the slaves now possessed, they could be detained in bondage much longer. Slavery is the parent of numberless vices; it corrupts both the master and the slave; the principles of Christianity are therefore directly opposed to it, and without abolishing slavery altogether he did not think its evils could be obviated. At the time that he was in the island there was perfect impunity for any outrage committed on a slave, if there was no evidence to prove it but that of slaves. He was five

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ments on this point than the pages of the Royal Gazette, and other papers of Jamaica, during the session of the Assembly in 1826, when the disallowed slave act of that year was under discussion. It was not even proposed on that occasion that the *driving-whip* in the field should be abolished, but merely that the cat should be substituted for the cart-whip in the coercion of labour. "If we adopt such an innovation," said Mr. Hilton, "in the *established usages* of the colony, now that the Duke of Manchester is about to leave the island, the slaves will imagine that our conduct has been disapproved by the king, and that we have been compelled to relinquish the whip, and with it every means of punishment and restraint." Mr. Mair declared that the slaves preferred "the cart-whip" to every other instrument of punishment, as being more manly, switches, &c., being only fit for children. Others confirmed the fact of the preference of "the cart-whip" to switches, as in the case of that instrument there were limits, but not to the use of switches. Many of our readers will recollect Mr. Barrett's speech on that occasion. The whole of it turns on the use of the "cart-whip," which he declares to be a horrid instrument. Mr. Barrett is now in England, and he and Mr. Simpson may settle the matter between them. Mr. Simpson's words are, "I never knew of the cart-whip being used." This is a most complete stultification both of Mr. Barrett and of the Jamaica Assembly, if it be not rather a complete stultification of Mr. Simpson himself.

years in Jamaica, and left it in 1826. The flogging of females he regards as an outrage on all decency, directly opposed to every feeling of Christianity, and calculated to sour and brutalize the minds of all concerned.

IX. William Shand, Esq., went first to Jamaica in 1791, left it in 1823, returned in January 1825, and quitted it finally in May 1826. The number of slaves under his charge was from 18,000 to 20,000, on estates in almost every parish in the island. He resided for a considerable part of the time in Vere, Clarendon, St. Andrew's, and St. Catherine's. He was long engaged in the management of estates and had therefore an opportunity of being acquainted with the Negro character. Mr. Shand begins with affirming that six days is quite sufficient to enable the slave to raise more than is necessary for him for the whole year, so that he has twenty week days, three holidays, and all the Sundays, to do what he pleases with. The allowance of salt fish is about 450 or 500 barrels for 1230 Negroes.* The old and infirm are generally attended to by their own families. If they have no families, the master provides.

Mr. Shand mystifies the subject of spell and night work in the same extraordinary way in which we have seen it already done by his brother planters; but we need not recur to that topic (p. 430).

Mr. Shand never saw any gloom in the slaves. They are more contented and better provided for than the lower classes in this country and Scotland, and their labour is much lighter. The great mass of emancipated slaves are very idle, frequently keep slave women, and are in a great measure supported by them. They generally remain on the master's estate, living with women upon it. He never knew any of them work in the field. He knew no instance of freed slaves working for wages. They live very much by pilfering their neighbours' coffee. A man of observation in three years may learn a good deal; but Mr. Taylor's plans were not much liked in Jamaica. He thought differently of slaves from all around him, and treated them differently. He was not, in Mr. Shand's opinion, competent to be a witness respecting the Negro's situation and character. He had not been regularly bred a planter (p. 431—434).

In many situations the Negro, after he has established a certain quantity of provisions, may rear food for himself by one day's labour in the year, and he knew of no situations where he might not do so by a week's labour or even less. A Negro, indeed, may almost subsist on what nature produces, with merely the slight trouble of collecting it. Every Negro may have all kinds of articles if he chooses to be industrious, but very few have the luxuries they might have. They would not be generally disposed to work in order to gratify artificial wants. Emancipated Negroes do not, either in Jamaica, or in St. Domingo, or in Trinidad, acquire industrious habits, nor are they useful and industrious. In Jamaica, some are tradesmen; some live with slave women on estates, and are extremely idle; and others by receiv-

* That is only, on the average, four or five herrings a week to each.

ing stolen goods. If the slaves were made free, they would be exactly in the state of the Negroes of St. Domingo. He never knew any Negro work in the field after being made free: nothing useful is to be expected from them, and least of all sugar planting. Those who live in towns acquire no property: what they have has been bequeathed to them. He does not recollect an instance of any who have acquired property by their own exertions. If the blacks are made free, neither white nor coloured persons can remain there. Nothing could be done by a police to preserve due subordination (p. 434—437).

Several years ago the established church was doubled in Jamaica, and many places of worship, both of the churches of England and Scotland and of dissenters, built. He believes the motives for doing so were very sincere. The slave population of Jamaica have since made very great advances. He knew none of the missionaries, and was not for encouraging them; some of them he believed to be bad men, though there may be good men among them. It is most impolitic for the slave to be of one religion and the master of another. He employed the curate of Clarendon, at £100 a year, to teach the people on his two properties and to read prayers twice a week. He does not believe it is much the practice to employ curates in this way, but he always told his overseers to bring up the Negroes when the clergyman chose to come. The planters are well disposed to give religious instruction to the slaves, but their means are very limited. The imposts on them are so heavy that they cannot afford additional expense. He objects, however, to any but oral instruction. If prudently conducted, religion would not be hostile to slavery. He himself gave no encouragement to missionaries, or to any but duly authorized teachers. Negroes are so prone to complain, that it was necessary to restrain his feelings lest mischief should follow from encouraging them. He found it scarcely possible to carry into effect any plan of task work. Sugar land is not applicable to any other purpose, and, as for converting it to pasture, there would be no demand for cattle without sugar to occasion it. The infirm slaves are generally provided for by their relations, who act very kindly to each other, and are willing to work for their support. If relations cannot support them, then the master supports them (p. 438---440).

When Mr. Shand was a book-keeper, he had to be on duty in crop-time for eighteen hours and a half. Even though in crop-time the Negro should work six hours of each night as well as all day, this does not equal the labour performed by people in this country, who work much harder than in Jamaica. The boatswain of the mill carries his whip with him. Mr. Shand maintains that to work twelve hours of the day the whole year, and six hours more during crop, is lighter work than that of labourers in this country, who, in many cases, work longer than the Negro does even in crop-time. His own cart-man in this country works longer and harder. He has, it is true, no driver at his back; and glad would Mr. S. be to get rid of the driver and his whip (p. 441).

Mr. Shand differs not only from all the witnesses opposed to him on principle, but from the West Indians who have preceded him, in his views of the Negro's taste for luxuries and conveniences, and the pains he would take to acquire them. He concedes such a taste to very

few, and denies it to the mass. He thinks them not equal to the Europeans in intellect, and this because they are not inventors. Yet he admits they are quick in acquiring knowledge, and acute in making a bargain. He admits, likewise, that few slaves are content with the clothing given them by their masters, but purchase better clothing for themselves. Mr. Shand's effort, however, throughout his evidence, is to reduce the measure of the slave's ideas of comfort and convenience to almost the lowest point that can support life; few do more. Contrary to the testimony of all his brother colonists, he says the slave does far less for himself than for his master; taking twenty days in his own grounds to do the work of one. In short, if Mr. Shand is to be believed, we must bid adieu to all those tales of comfort and happiness by which the slave is raised so high above the British peasant, and view him as a gay, unthinking, reckless being, making no provision beyond the merest necessities of animal life. He admits there are, or rather may be, exceptions; but such is the general view he labours to convey, except when surprised into facts at total variance with the theory that a Negro will do nothing from the desire of bettering and improving his condition, but merely from a desire to satisfy his hunger and escape the lash of the cart-whip. It would be endless to follow him in all his vague, tortuous, inconsistent, and inconsequential statements on this subject: we can only convey, as we have endeavoured, a general impression of their character and bearing (p. 459—461).

Mr. Shand says he is friendly to religious instruction, but he would have it given by the established church. He distrusts the missionaries, although he is acquainted with none of them personally. He has heard of their misconduct only from others; he knows himself nothing against any of them (463).

Mr. Shand affects to know something of the statistics of Hayti, though it does not appear that he has visited it as Admiral Fleming has done; but he states that the blacks in Hayti earn only 7*s.* a year each, for the only way of valuing wealth, according to him, is to divide the value of exports from any country by the number of its inhabitants! He concludes, therefore, with singular acuteness, that they not only are not clothed with British manufactures, but with *any* manufactures at all. He believes, in short, that the cultivators of Hayti are in a state of the most degraded poverty that can be conceived, next to savage life (p. 464).

Is it possible for the blindness of ignorance and prejudice combined to go beyond this, which we presume will be dignified with the name of testimony? After reading it, let any one who wishes to see the full force of the distortions of prejudice turn to the evidence of Admiral Fleming respecting Hayti (see above, p. 385).

Mr. Shand, who has made his fortune by being the attorney of absentee proprietors, pleads for the profitableness of absenteeship, and thinks an owner may gain by living on one side of the Atlantic, and leaving it to an agent to manage his plantation on the other. The case of Mr. Wildman is an awful example of the danger of owners not visiting and managing their own properties. A practised attorney, like Mr. Shand, would not have been guilty of the folly of preferring

the comfort and happiness of the slaves as his first object, and the owner's gain as merely secondary. And yet he cannot deny the advantage generally of a man's managing his own concerns; but he thinks the case of the West Indies peculiar. The business of a Jamaica agent requires a high degree of information, so that the fruits of such agency may be highly beneficial to the employer, notwithstanding the expense that may attend it, and the absolute freedom from all effectual control of the employer, arising from distance (p. 465, 466).

Mr. Shand is himself at present the proprietor of 1200 slaves. He does not know whether they have increased or decreased, but he *thinks* they have increased on some properties and decreased on others.* He cannot state any satisfactory reason why slaves should increase in the United States and not increase in Jamaica (p. 466, 467).

The drivers, who are slaves themselves, possess, according to Mr. Shand, to a certain extent, the power of correction (p. 469).

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* It must strike our readers with some surprise that this experienced planter, Mr. Shand, should be able to give no more satisfactory account of the progress of population on his own estate, and that, on that very point to which every man of the commonest feeling of humanity would look with intense anxiety, as the only sure criterion of the well-being and comfort of his dependents, he should scarcely be able to give a single definite answer,—nay that, even in matters on which a perfect stranger to his concerns might acquire information, he himself should be most miserably uninformed. What then must have been the state of information possessed by the proprietors of the 18,000 or 20,000 slaves who, during Mr. Shand's residence, entrusted him with their management? Before we conclude this note, our readers will have discovered our reasons for these remarks.

Mr. Shand says that he is now the possessor of 1200 slaves. In the month of March, 1831, the number he appears to have had in Clarendon (and he has not said that he has estates elsewhere), was 881, namely, on Kellett's 433, on the Burn 135, on St. Tooley's 206, and on Mammee Gully 107. Three years earlier, that is in March, 1828, the numbers on the same properties were, on Kellett's 464, on the Burn 151, on St. Tooley's 210, and on Mammee Gully 118: the whole number being then 943, exhibiting a decrease in these three years of 62, or at the enormous rate of upwards of 2 per cent. per annum. Now surely Mr. Shand ought to have known this. And there is not only this aggregate decrease, but there is a decrease of each separate estate, though he affirms there has been an increase on some of them. The decrease on Kellett's is 31, or nearly 2½ per cent. per annum; on the Burn 16, or upwards of 3½ per cent. per annum; on Mammee Gully 11, or 3½ per cent. per annum; and only on St. Tooley's as low as ½ per cent. per annum. What a dreadful waste of human life have we here! Had Mr. Shand's slaves increased at the rate of the slaves in the United States, or of the maroons in Jamaica, the number in 1828 of 943, in 1831 would have grown to 1012, instead of having sunk to 881, making an actual destruction of human life among this gentleman's Clarendon slaves of 131 in three years!! Now, after this, what reliance is to be placed on Mr. Shand's representations? He evidently can have no title to claim the weight of a single feather to be given to his evidence, or deducted from that of Mr. Taylor or any other witness, on the ground of his experience or local knowledge. And, as for his attempt to apologise for the decrease of his slaves, on the ground that some are Africans, he has only to turn to the evidence of Mr. Mier, which states that in Georgia, with a population half African, the slaves increased at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum, and yet that their employment was the hardest of all, namely, growing and pounding rice (see the evidence of Mr. Mier, p. 368).

Mr. Shand admits that the time allowed the slave by law is only 26 week-days, with three or four holidays, in the year, besides Sundays. The master may sometimes give them a few more days. He admits that all sorts of necessary food may be raised in Jamaica, without resorting to any foreign supply. There could be no starvation or any want of food in case of emancipation, if people chose to labour. He never applied to any emancipated slave to work on an estate for wages. He is asked, since slaves, he admits, often labour voluntarily, why he thinks they would cease to labour when they become free, and his answer is that he really cannot tell, but such is the practical fact: he is sure few of them live by industry (p. 470, 471).

There are few slaves in Jamaica, however old and infirm, who cannot raise their own food; and, if they should not, their relations help them, or, failing that, the master supports them (p. 474). Mr. Shand speaks of his having 1230 slaves. In what part of the island are the 350 placed who are over and above his 880 in Clarendon? (p. 474.)

Mr. Shand preferred the English and Scotch church to the Methodists, for this reason, among others, that the Methodists teach predestination, and the Church of Scotland does not! He knew nothing personally of the Missionaries, but he had heard much against them (p. 477, 478).

Mr. Shand had very frequently, on the complaints of slaves, dismissed overseers for misconduct, severity, and harsh treatment (p. 480).

The visionary views he attributed to Mr. Taylor were "his fancying that he could manage the slaves in a different way from others, without using the whip or punishing them." *In the present state of things* he doubted very much whether they could be managed, either for the advantage of the master or of the slave, without the whip, or some such means as the whip. It has been tried to do without it; but it is found impossible to get labour without it, especially since the excitement caused by the discussions on slavery in England, which create discontent, and give occasion to punishments which would not otherwise be necessary. He thinks the excitement thus caused has increased punishments; and he does not believe that any thing can now be done by the Colonial legislature to ameliorate the condition of the slaves, their excitement making increased severity necessary.

When Mr. Shand made the extravagant statements that a day in some situations, and in others six days in the year, were quite sufficient to provide food for a slave and his family, he must have had in view an established plantain-walk of adequate extent. He entirely omitted, however, all consideration of the time required for clearing wood land for such a purpose, for digging holes, and for bringing and planting the shoots; and further, that a year of careful attention must precede his reaping any fruit from it, besides considerable labour afterwards in keeping it in order. All this he seemed to have overlooked. But, at the close of his evidence, we find him referring to the starvation and ruin which might ensue if the Negro were to depend on this easy mode of providing for his wants. "If the slaves cultivate that species of provision which is most liable to injury by a

hurricane, the consequences would be very serious indeed, and the loss very great."

We conclude with very heartily thanking Mr. Shand, as well as Mr. Simpson and Mr. Scott, not only for their concessions and contradictions, but for the invaluable light they have thrown on the whole subject of West Indian plantership. They have done more for the Negro race in the space of a very few days than they ever dreamt of doing, and have much more effectually promoted the cause of that emancipation they so seriously dread than the stoutest anti-slavery witness who came before the committee.

X. Bryan Adams, Esq.—This witness is brought forward, we presume, in the hope of shaking, if not overturning, the powerful and convincing evidence of Admiral Fleming. He quitted the Caraccas in May 1832, after a residence there of about eighteen months. He had gone 500 miles into the interior and visited the finest plantations of cocoa, coffee, and sugar in that country. The finest he saw, Elisendas, is cultivated in coffee by 375 slaves. He is not aware of any estates cultivated by free blacks. One estate, Belmont, within three miles of Caraccas, has 50,000 coffee trees and fifty acres of cane land, all under irrigation, and more than 1000 acres of wood land, and there are upon it twenty-three slaves.* The next question however is decisive of the extent of this gentleman's intelligence; for, being asked whether he knew of any emancipation of slaves having occurred at the Caraccas, he replies, "I recollect something about it; but I do not believe it ever did take place" (p. 444).

Sugar is exported from the Caraccas in increasing quantities. He saw 2000 barrels come in from one estate, of 6 or 7 cwt., each for shipment to the United States; it was very excellent sugar. He had been impressed with the idea that unless severity were used with the slaves they would not work; but he found, on the contrary, that where no severity was used things went on better, and he instances Elisendas estate.† He saw however a whip in use at Tapatapa, an estate of an Englishmen, Mr. Alderson (p. 444).

He contradicts himself however about free labour; for he says, those who have not labourers enough of their own hire peons and native persons of colour, who are hardly to be distinguished from the slaves. The native Indians are very industrious and very faithful. The slave possesses the power of demanding to purchase his freedom,

* It is obvious that Mr. Adams must have made some mistake here, and indeed contradicts himself afterwards about estates not being cultivated by free persons. The twenty-three slaves on Belmont could not possibly perform a tithe of the work upon it: 50,000 coffee trees would require 400 acres of land: does he mean to say that twenty-three slaves planted, and weeded, and pruned these, gathered the coffee and pulped it, besides cultivating fifty acres of cane! It is utterly impossible.

† If he mistook about Belmont, as he evidently must have done, he may also mistake about Elisendas, and there may have been on that estate also only a small proportion who were slaves.

or he may change his master. The soil is fertile and provisions very abundant. They have as much ground as they can cultivate, are clothed, and have a pound of beef a day. He does not think the present slaves would be disposed to work if emancipated. He thinks a general rising would follow emancipation. He afterwards frankly admitted that he was quite incompetent to speak about questions of freedom and slavery. He had not investigated them. He had seen numbers of labourers working on plantations; but he never asked the question whether they were slaves or free. If the labourers had been chiefly free, they might have been so without his knowing it. He admitted that Admiral Fleming had been very diligent, and that he had access to the very best sources of information. The people of colour associate generally on good terms with the whites. The people of colour are generally the friends of order. On an estate which he attempted to purchase, formerly belonging to Bolivar, there were a very few slaves working conjointly with free persons. They worked together without difficulty or confusion (p. 444—452).

XI. Mr. John Ford Pike. This gentleman had been in Cuba at different times since 1819, but he had only been for two days in the interior, and he had no opportunity of knowing any thing of free labour, nor of the cultivation of the island. He had been brought from Wales all the way to London to give evidence; but he said he knew nothing of the matter (p. 452).

XII. William Watson, Esq., had been in the Caraccas from 1810 to 1814. Estates were then cultivated partly by slave labour and partly by free. The free worked with the slaves when they were wanted, which was chiefly in crop time. He had known many instances where slaves were managed wholly by persons who had themselves been slaves. The managers of estates were mostly coloured or black persons, who had been emancipated. This was common in the Vale of Chaldo, five or six miles from the town. He has had no connection with the Caraccas since 1814. But while he was there he thought the free black were generally employed in cultivation, and that they were a better sort of people than he had seen in our islands. Great confidence was placed in them. The whole system of Spanish slavery is different from ours: it is much milder, and the consequence of this mildness is an improvement of character. He had no doubt at all that the blacks were, when well treated, susceptible of the same motives which influence other men. The most powerful stimulus in the world to a man is labouring to gain his freedom. In Louisiana the planters say that they get a great deal more work when they put the slaves on task work; and, if the stimulus of freedom were generally tried, and men were allowed to free themselves by their exertions, they would be much more industrious, and would not cease to be so when free, though, in a country furnishing easily the comforts and conveniences of life, many might relax when free. He noticed the slaves after emancipation generally at work, raising provisions and other things. In his time the estates had slaves enough to keep the fields

in order, except in crop time, when they called in free labourers. There was a very considerable free coloured population in the Caraccas, who were in general very industrious. He had been in Mexico, but had never seen any slaves there. The great mass of the population are a mixed race, and those of the Africans were deemed as industrious as the rest. They were not more degraded, or more idle, than the others. The people of Mexico generally do not exert themselves much. The stimulus of want could not be made very strong in that country. There was no import of sugar into Mexico, nor any export of sugar from it. A great deal of sugar is consumed in the country, and it is dear (p. 452—457).

XIII. Herbert Townsend Bowen, Esq., had been in Trinidad, but his attention was not directed to cultivation, or to the state of the slave population. He had nothing to do but with one plantation, and on that he did not reside; it was a plantation of cocoa, and coffee, and cinnamon, and cloves. He paid an overseer 400 dollars for managing, and he hired six or seven peons, but the speculation was not successful. The emancipated slaves there mostly employed themselves as tradesmen, or in raising Guinea grass, or provisions. It appeared, from the reports of the protector, that a considerable number of slaves had purchased their freedom. The peons were paid wages, at the rate of half a dollar a day (p. 457—459).

XIV. Richard Garrett Amyot, the Colonial registrar of slaves, produced certain tables of population, to which we shall hereafter advert more particularly (p. 484, 485, and p. 519—522).

XV. Samuel Baker, Esq., had visited Jamaica in 1816, and afterwards in 1817, and for a short time in January, 1832. He landed in Manchester, and went afterwards to the north side of the island. He thought the slaves much improved, since his former visits, in their clothing and comforts. He had thought them comfortable before, but now they were better dressed on Sundays. He talked with the head man of Dumfries estate, in St. James (an estate in the hands of the trustees of William Fairclough, with 198 slaves upon it). This man had distinguished himself by defending the property in the absence of the whites, and Mr. Baker made him a recompense for his conduct. He was reluctant to give any opinion as to the cause of the rebellion. He was a Baptist, and attended the Baptist chapel built in that neighbourhood. He expressed himself as comfortable and satisfied, and as not desiring any change. He gave Mr. Baker to understand, however, that the general feeling of the slaves was towards revolt, and that they could not be depended upon. Mr. B. also conversed with the Negro, a respectable man, who attended him as servant; but he could give no information, for the people had never left the place, but staid at home to defend it. The Negroes generally were sulky, and did not choose to answer his questions. He thinks that there was a general disposition in the slaves to be content with their lot, till the late excitement. The head man on Dumfries told him

the Missionaries received certain sums from the Negroes who attended them. He paid for his seat in chapel, and also paid a macaroni, or quarter dollar, when he attended the sacrament: he did not say how frequently. He heard nothing of the part the Baptists took in the insurrection, except that it was called the Baptist war. He had never heard the slaves say any thing, good or bad, of the Missionaries. He had attended the Scotch place of worship in St. James, and found it well attended by decent, orderly slaves (p. 485—487).

The chief object of bringing Mr. Baker forward appears to have been to falsify the statement of Mr. Knibb that he had been employed by the custos, Mr. Miller, to examine some rebel prisoners; but all Mr. Baker could say was that Mr. Miller had not told *him* so, and that, from what he knew of Mr. Miller and his character, he did not believe he could have done so (p. 487).

Mr. Baker doubted much whether the slaves if free would work for wages. But he had no doubt that if left alone, and not excited, they would be quiet. The means of their obtaining information were much more general now than formerly, as many can now read. He saw twelve or fourteen executed; and there appeared in them a morbid determination to meet their fate. He thought it showed a purpose of taking any opportunity which might occur of gaining their freedom by force. Mr. Baker takes it upon him positively to deny that the slaves were influenced in their rebellion by the fear of being transferred to America; and yet he says he could get no answers from them. Then how was he to know their minds, so as to make this positive assertion? (p. 489.)

Mr. Baker never even heard the rebellion attributed in any degree to the parochial meetings in the fall of 1831. But how should Mr. Baker hear of that, or of the transfer of the island to America, as causes of the rebellion? The slaves, who were the best witnesses, would not open their mouths, and the whites would not, of course, accuse themselves either in the one case or in the other. He had heard of two murders by the blacks, and of fourteen white ladies having been violated; but the ladies all denied it! He never heard any effect attributed to Mr. Beaumont's motion on manumission in the assembly. He was in the island in all, this last time, about three months, and during that time he visited Manchester, Westmoreland, Hanover, St. James, Trelawney, St. Ann, St. Mary, Spanish Town, and Kingston. The improvements he alluded to in the condition of the slaves, since 1816, were increased luxuries, and a much better style of dress. Some have horses of their own. His servant had a horse of his own (p. 490).

Mr. Baker knew Mr. Manderson, a gentleman of colour, and of great respectability, a man of great intelligence and honour (p. 490).

He thinks the slaves are in a state of comfort, and, if their comforts were increased, they would be disposed to be luxurious and turbulent. As to time, they have as much as they want, and, if industrious, might be rich. As to the whip, good slaves should not have it, and never did have it; and the bad require it. Corporal punishment might be put an end to without any great mischief to the slave, but

there would be mischief to the proprietors. The idle will not work without the whip. The slaves have already as much comfort as they want: if they had more time, the active would add luxuries to their comforts, the others would not (p. 491, 492).

He did not perceive any strong sensation produced among the Negroes by the burning of the chapels. The Baptist Negroes in the towns were offended by it. He did not think they were in the country. The African Negroes are generally indolent; but many of the Creoles are active. As they are improved by education, they improve in activity. He knew many men of colour. Whites now associate with them more than they did formerly. They are generally persons of education and understanding. Many of them are fully competent to act as overseers on estates, and do so act. Some are quite as competent as any white men (p. 493, 494).

There was occasionally a talk, among persons meeting together, about throwing off their allegiance, on account of the general dissatisfaction with the oppressions of the mother country. He was aware of the resolutions passed in August and September, 1831. The Negroes must have known of them; and it may have added to their excitement. The people of colour, he thinks, would be disposed to go with the whites; but he does not believe *they* have any general wish to throw off their allegiance. The free coloured population would not be willing to subject Jamaica to the United States. They would not consent to be separated from this country; they are much attached to it. He had heard that about 100 rebels were executed, about 1000 killed, or missing, in various ways. He supposed about 100 might have been flogged. Five white persons, he believes, were about the number put to death by the Negroes. The women, who were in possession of the Negroes, have always denied having been violated by them (p. 495).

A great part of the respectable Negroes can read, and he conceives it is quite impossible to put a stop to the diffusion of knowledge among them. Fresh insubordination can only be prevented by a different disposition, and a change of principles, in this country: this Mr. Baker regards as the only hope; without this, the colony cannot be saved (p. 495).

The Negroes, who were executed, generally suffered in a very short time after trial (p. 497).

He was persuaded that much of the excitement among the slaves proceeded from irritating communications from this country. He does not, however, know any of the Anti-Slavery party in this country (p. 498).

XVI. Andrew Graham Dignum, Esq., resided in Jamaica from June 1818 to May 1832, and acted there as a solicitor, and was named in 1827 protector of slaves in two parishes. The protectors were paid by salaries varying from £70 to £250, and were appointed to defend slaves charged with criminal offences. He was employed for St. Dorothy and St. John, and acted as a barrister would have done. His duty was to see that the slaves had a fair trial. He recollects the

discussions that took place on Mr. Beaumont's motion in 1831. It produced some sensation among the slaves in St. Thomas in the Vale. He also recollects the concession of white privileges to the people of colour in 1830. He does not think that any excitement was produced by that, or by the meetings held in the different parishes in 1831. He does not believe that any excitement whatever was caused by the idea of being transferred to the United States: he heard of that now for the first time. He visited the disturbed districts soon after the insurrection. The impression made on his mind by conversing with the slaves was that they believed the British government had made them free, and that they were to be relieved from all labour after Christmas; and their finding the case not so caused the insurrection. When he saw them afterwards they seemed ashamed and sorry for what they had done. None of the slaves spoke to him of the missionaries; but he was told by an officer that he could always cause an excitement among a body of Negroes by mentioning the name of Mr. Burchell, the missionary, who they seemed to think had brought them into this trouble. What they said to himself was that they did not know what had made them rebel, but the devil must have got into their heads. He was impressed, as early as July 1831, with an idea that they had even then an expectation of being free after Christmas (p. 500). He thinks the plot was deeply laid, and he draws this conclusion from a conversation he had with Mr. Panton, a barrister, whose servant had committed suicide; but the connection of that fact with such a plot is very lamely made out.—He thought it very improbable that Mr. Miller, the Custos, should have authorised Mr. Knibb to examine the rebel prisoners in confinement* (p. 557).

Mr. Dignum says that the law of slave evidence is now so altered, by the act of 1831, that an overseer may be punished for inflicting even less than 39 lashes on a slave if he cannot show that an offence was committed by the slave adequate to the punishment inflicted.—If that were true, it would have been easy for Mr. Dignum to have produced examples, but he has not produced one; and till such examples are produced, duly authenticated, we shall continue to view the opinion of Mr. Dignum as a mere *gratis dictum* (p. 557, 558).

Mr. Dignum tells an absurd story in proof that the slaves did not desire freedom. He entered an estate with an armed force, and while surrounding the negro houses asked the inmates if they wished to be free; and they said, No. What else could they have said under such circumstances?

Mr. Dignum further gave it as his opinion, that to prevent any further insurrection it was necessary that masters should no more be interfered with by the government in the way of Orders in Council,

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* Surely nothing could have been more probable than that Mr. Miller, who is represented as a sensible man, and who was commissioned to obtain information about the causes of the insurrection, for the governor, should have employed that very person to confer with the prisoners in whom they were most likely to repose confidence.

or by discussions; in short that the masters should be left to themselves (p. 559).

Mr. Dignum admitted that in strictness of construction he had no right to interfere in the defence of slaves, as protector, but in cases where they were tried for capital crimes. He had no right to interfere for their defence in cases of plantation discipline, or cruel treatment, but only where slaves were tried for capital crimes committed by themselves. He had no right to interfere in any case arising under the 33rd section of the Act of 1831, which authorises overseers to inflict thirty-nine lashes. He had only seen one workhouse, and never saw a Negro punished there. He said magistrates appeared to him to be authorised to cite an overseer before them to answer for inflicting even less than thirty-nine lashes; and if the offence were of a very trifling nature, the magistrate might say to the overseer, "You may give thirty-nine lashes for aggravated offences, but you have over-stepped the law in this instance," and inflict a fine upon him in consequence. He had known such cases, but he could only cite one, being the first overseer convicted on slave evidence. The man's name he thinks was Ellis, and the trial occurred in November, 1831. He was overseer of Nightingale Grove (an estate of Lord Harewood's). Mr. Dignum, however, was not present, and does not tell us whether the offence was his exceeding thirty-nine lashes, or whether the punishment might not have been cruel as well as wanton. The case ought to be called for with the evidence (p. 560).

Mr. D. had seen slaves at work, and had seen the driver give them one or two cuts over the shoulder to make them work. The cat was introduced in place of the cart-whip on some estates, but the slaves were dissatisfied with it; they preferred the cart-whip. The driver's whip has a stout handle, about two feet long; the lash he thinks is four or five yards long; the upper part is thick, but does not touch the Negro: it is the lash at the end which strikes the Negro* (p. 501, 502).

XVII. Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Rowley, K. C. B., knows much of the West India Islands, and commanded on the Jamaica station from 1820 to 1823. He frequently visited the estates in various parts of the islands, and he did not find that any thing was at all concealed from him, any more than by a farmer in this country no paying a visit to his farm. In one case he had gone upon an estate and staid there all night, without being known as the admiral on the station, and he was much pleased with all he saw. He had gone also into the negro huts and found every thing comfortable there. He had no slaves himself, but he hired some. He offered his freedom to one man, but he declined it. He was a mulatto, who acted as his valet.

* The reason of this is plain. The lash is the part which *cuts*. The thick part is chiefly of use to give its momentum to the cutting part. The whip altogether, including the length of the driver's arm which wields it, with the handle, and the thick heavy part, forms a lever of great power, which enables the small, hard, flexile lash at the extremity, to make its incisions, drawing blood from the buttocks, at every stroke, in cases where they have not been made callous by previous inflictions.

Two negresses belonging to his brother had been freed some years before; and when he went out, in 1820, he sent for them to assist in the house till he could get servants, and they said they regretted having been made free, because they could not get work constantly. If asked whether the slave was happier than the labourer in this country, he had no hesitation in saying that, if he had been born to labour, he would sooner have been a black in Jamaica, than a white man in this country or any other. He stated this as the result of his own observations. There may be harsh treatment sometimes; but taking all chances he thought they were a much happier race than the poorer class in this country. He saw little of demoralization there any more than here, yet he would not go to a tropical climate for virtue; people are some wicked and some virtuous there as elsewhere. He does not think that, if emancipated, the slave would work for wages on sugar estates: no man of whatever colour would work hard in a tropical climate if he could live without it. A man who can get food enough at an easy rate will not be anxious for much more, if he remains in darkness; but if his mind is enlightened he will exert himself more. In general he thought the overseers attentive, the hospitals good, and the little plantations of the slaves well kept. They appeared to be a very happy race of men. He had seen runaway Negroes punished and worked in chains, but no cruelty inflicted. He never saw any thing to impress his mind that the treatment of the Negroes was cruel. He had thought otherwise formerly, but after having seen them he altered his view, and now he doubted whether they would be happier if emancipation were granted to them. He once saw a Negro man flogging another Negro severely, and he stopped and desired the man to be released, saying he would complain to the agent Mr. Simpson or Mr. Shand, and the overseer was dismissed. Being asked if he thought the cart-whip a cruel instrument of torture, he said that if it were laid on his back he should say it was uncommon torture; yet many seamen suffer more from the cat-o'-nine-tails. He admitted it was very bad that the whip should be inflicted at the pleasure of an individual, and thought it ought not to be allowed. Certainly when he was in Jamaica an overseer might inflict to the extent of thirty-nine lashes, without being answerable for it by law. When he compared the Negro with the English peasant he thought of apprenticeships in this country which were attended with as much harshness and cruelty as slavery. The slave might not have the same facility of redress by law as the apprentice; but, in the case of severity he had mentioned, the overseer, on his representation, was dismissed by the attorney. Had it been his lot to be born to labour, he should prefer the certainty of the black labourer for food, clothing, lodging, care, &c., to the uncertainty of the labourer procuring work, severity of climate, and other evils. He knew an apprentice might have his indentures cancelled if he were ill treated, but he did not know that a Negro might be emancipated if he were ill used (pp. 501—505).

Being asked whether he went on estates to obtain information respecting the Negroes, he answers, "decidedly not," but to gain in-

formation as to working sugar, and general management, as he would visit a farm here. He thinks marriage is more protected in Jamaica than in England! Being asked whether a wife or daughter may not be flogged by the overseer before her husband's or father's eyes, and whether he would prefer being a labourer on these terms rather in Jamaica than in England; he said he had not thought, in making his answer, of wife and children, or any fine feelings about them, but about food. As to immorality and concubinage, never being guilty of these things himself, he made it a rule never to enquire into the doings of others. He did not think the Negro would work for wages if wages were given him: he could get enough by working on his own grounds, and he does not think it natural that a man, in a warm climate, should exert himself for more. With respect to the Negroes who worked at his pen, he admitted that he offered them pay for extra work, and, the pay being their own, they did it. (Now what is this but working for wages?)—The Negroes are a very cheerful people, much more happy than labourers here: that made him say he should prefer being a labourer there. He thinks Mr. Barrett has misnamed the driver's whip, in calling it a cart-whip; it is more like a postillion's whip on the continent; but, whatever be its proper name, Sir Charles adds, "decidedly the whip is a very cruel whip; there is no doubt of that." He knew many gentlemen in Jamaica, but he knew none more competent to give evidence than Mr. Shand and Mr. Simpson (p. 506—508).

XVIII. James Beckford Wildman, Esq., has three estates in Jamaica, with 640 slaves upon them. He was there in 1825; and in 1826 he went out again and staid two years and a half. When he went he found the slaves perfectly destitute of all religious instruction, but by no means inferior in intellect to the labouring classes in this country. They were particularly astute in driving bargains, and perfectly acquainted with the proper prices of commodities. Between domestics and field Negroes there was a difference; but it was of the kind which exists between our servants in the house, and a ploughman or a girl taken out of a cottage. The first step he took was to give them religious instruction. He watched its progress, and the effect far surpassed any thing he had expected, and was quite as satisfactory as any thing that could be found in this country. Their morals also have improved under religious instruction. When he first went out there was not one slave that was married on the estate; by a letter lately received from a young man sent out by the Church Missionary Society as a teacher, there are only two living in concubinage. The change for the better from religious instruction was decided, and there was as great eagerness for it, if not more, in many instances, than he found in his own village in England. And not on his own estates only, but throughout the island, the desire for both religious and general knowledge is too strong to be eradicated. It cannot be eradicated. They will have it some way or other. If there were encouragement given to it, it would spread rapidly. At present it is not only not encouraged, but thwarted. There is a decided hostility to instructing the slaves in

letters. Many will give nothing but oral instruction, which he regards as a farce and deception. An hour is fixed for visiting the estate to give oral instruction; the Negroes may have a mile or a mile and a half to walk home; the teacher gets them together slowly enough, and begins catechising them, but they have scarcely entered on business when the hour is expended, and away they go again. He regards it not only as wholly inefficient in itself, but as carried on by most unfit agents, by book-keepers generally, who are themselves living in the grossest immorality, and who thus bring religion into contempt.

To employ persons living in open immorality to inculcate morality is surely a gross absurdity. In the case of his own people the effect of instruction was very gratifying in respect to their exertions in the labour of the estate: it was all done in a gratifying way. Looking only at his own interest, and without any higher motive, the proprietor will best promote those interests by the religious instruction of his slaves. His first object was to do away with the driving whip as a stimulus to labour, and he found that a most valuable change. The whip was used, not as a stimulus to labour, but only as a corrective of crime: and he thought all proprietors might pursue this course with advantage, if they would only treat their slaves as Christians would naturally treat their fellow-christians. The estates have certainly been less productive since he went out; but for that he thus accounts:—The system, when he arrived, was severe to a degree that was quite revolting and horrible, and, when he went to the other extreme, the Negroes relaxed altogether, and therefore at first little work was done; but, when they found that work must be done, though in a different way, they came into his plan, and it went on perfectly well. He effected this by talking to them, and making them understand that, if their work was not done, they must be punished for neglect of duty: and this lenient mode of proceeding had a great influence upon them. The hire of a field Negro in Jamaica is 3*s.* 4*d.* currency, or nearly 2*s.* 6*d.* sterling, a day. Now, what is actually given to the slave by the master is very little, as in fact he maintains himself by his provision grounds. Herrings are the chief allowance besides, in the way of food. All charges included, the cost of a slave to the master may be about £5 a head, besides the rent of house and grounds. This calculation includes the women and children. Hired labour is dear; for there is none to be got but that of jobbing gangs. And certainly a most miserable life is that which is led by those who compose such gangs. He tried the plan of giving allowances to his slaves for extra work, but he never could get overseers to enter heartily into the plan: the slaves were most ready to adopt it. His experience led him to say that they were quite disposed, while slaves, to work for money; but he was not equally convinced that they would do it when perfectly free; for then the stimulus to labour, which now operates, would be entirely lost. He talked with one of his head men on the subject, and explained the circumstances in which the slaves would be placed, giving up their grounds, and supporting entirely themselves and families. He shrunk back from the change, and this led him to think they would rather remain as they are than be free, if compelled to

work. The impression on his driver's mind evidently was that he might lose all he now possessed, and lose, besides, the protection and friendship of his master, and gain nothing* (p. 509—513).

The chief difficulty which Mr. Wildman had seen in the plan of wages was the want of a circulating medium. The only feasible plan that had occurred to him (for he had not looked to entire emancipation) was to bring the slaves into something like the condition of our labourers, but withholding the name of freedom, freedom implying in their view an exemption from labour. The admission of slave evidence has now been effected, which is most material; for the slave's life was in the master's hand before. He would totally put an end to trafficking on Sunday, and give him another day in lieu of it; for the master has now the whole seven days; and, if the slave does not work on Sunday, he starves. It would thus be in his power to keep the Sabbath. He would also provide a paid magistracy, it being absolutely essential that the magistrates should be wholly unconnected with the island. In that case the slave would get redress, which he cannot get now. The same should be the case with *all* judges, as the system now pursued of appointing planters to be judges is a mere farce. He would take away all power of corporal punishment from the master, and place it with the magistrate; and he would protect the slave from being separated from relations, or dispossessed of property, and make them in all respects like the peasantry of this country, except as to the name of freedom, being unwilling to break the link which now connects the master and slave with each other. Mr. Wildman's impression is that the only thing the slave sees valuable in freedom is exemption from labour; and he will be able to maintain himself on a piece of ground so easily that he will not be stimulated to labour beyond a bare subsistence,—a course to which he would be encouraged by the example of the low whites, and the free black and coloured classes also† (p. 514, 515).

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* The case could hardly have been stated quite fairly to this slave, if such was his impression. He was not led to contemplate the possibility of retaining his house and land, paying a reasonable rent for them, and having wages besides—and all this, as might be the case, without losing his master's friendship, as his landlord, though no longer his master.

† We must here make a few remarks on these views of Mr. Wildman. In much of what he says we entirely acquiesce; but surely he sees difficulties where none really exist, if he deems that arising from the deficiency of a circulating medium to be insuperable.—But is Mr. Wildman quite correct in the view he has taken of the law as to slave evidence? He has not, we apprehend, read that law: he would otherwise have passed a very different judgment upon it. He is perhaps not aware that the present law on the subject, that of 1831, clauses 130, 131, and 132, are almost verbatim the same with the corresponding clauses of the Act of 1826, which was disallowed by Mr. Huskisson. Mr. Huskisson's observations upon it are as follows:—"This law appears to contemplate the admission of the evidence of slaves *in those cases of crime only* in which they are usually either the actors or the sufferers, *excluding the evidence in other cases*; a distinction which does not seem to rest on any solid foundation." "The rule which requires that two slaves at the least shall consistently depose to the same fact on being examined apart, before any free person can be convicted on slave testimony, will

Mr. Wildman was then questioned about Mr. Taylor's management and its effects on his property. He complained of it, saying that Mr Taylor was so carried away by his feelings and his scruples that great

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greatly diminish the value of the general rule. In the case of rape, for example, such restriction might secure impunity to offenders of the worst description. The rejection of the testimony of slaves twelve months after the commission of the crime would be fatal to the ends of justice in many cases; nor is it easy to see what solid advantage could result from it in any case. If the owner of a slave is convicted of any crime on the testimony of that slave, the court has no power to declare that slave free, although it may exercise the power when it proceeds on other evidence. Highly important as it is to deprive a slave of any motive for giving false evidence against his owner, that object might be secured without incurring the inconvenience of leaving the slave in the power of an owner convicted of the extreme abuse of his authority." In these remarks of Mr. Huskisson, Lord Goderich entirely concurs. But neither of them pointedly notices the defect that the evidence of slaves is wholly excluded in *all civil* cases, and in all matters of wrong affecting their persons and property, and not involving certain crimes that are specifically mentioned in it. The whole range, therefore, of plantation discipline, not involving those specified crimes, is wholly excluded from the operation of this boasted law of slave evidence.

As it is of the very utmost importance that this subject should be fully understood, both as it respects the unintentional misapprehensions of such a man as Mr. Wildman, and the intentional sophistications of such men as Mr. Dignum and Mr. Burge, we will give the law as it actually stands in the statute-book at this moment.

"CXXX. And be it further enacted, That from and after the commencement of this act, upon any complaint made before a justice of the peace of any *murder*, *felony*, *burglary*, *robbery*, *rebellion*, or *rebellious conspiracy*, *treason*, or *traitorous conspiracy*, *rape*, *mutilation*, *branding*, *dismembering*, or *cruelly beating*, or *confining without sufficient support*, a slave or slaves; or in any cases of *seditious meetings*, or of *harbouring or concealing runaway slaves*, or *giving false tickets or letters to such runaway slaves, to enable them to elude detection;* or *on any inquisition before a coroner;* the evidence of any slave or slaves, respecting such complaint and inquisition, shall be received and taken by such justice of the peace or coroner; and on any prosecution in any of the courts of this island, for *any of the crimes before mentioned*, the evidence of a slave or slaves shall also be admitted and received: provided always, that, before such evidence shall be received, the justice of the peace, coroner, or court, shall be satisfied, on due examination had, that such slave comprehends the nature and obligation of an oath. And provided also, that nothing herein contained shall prevent the court from receiving objections as to the competency of such witness, or from receiving evidence as to the credibility of such witness, in like manner as they would receive the same as to free persons. And provided also, that no free person shall be convicted of any of the crimes aforesaid, whenever the evidence of any slave shall be admitted, *unless* two slaves at least clearly and consistently deposed to the same fact or circumstance, such slaves being examined apart and out of the hearing of each other, or *unless* the evidence of one slave shall be corroborated by some free person deposing clearly and distinctly to the same fact or circumstance, such free person and slave to be examined separately and apart from each other. And provided also, that no free person shall be convicted on the testimony of any slave or slaves of any crime or offence, as aforesaid, unless the complaint shall have been made within twelve months after the commission thereof, and unless the crime or offence shall have been committed subsequent to the commencement of this act. And provided also, that no free person, accused *of any crimes herein before mentioned*, shall be committed for trial, or re-

loss ensued, and he should have lost all had Mr. Taylor remained; as, conceiving that slavery was a crime, he neglected to maintain due discipline: indeed, there was a total relaxation of discipline. The year before Mr. Taylor came into the management he had realised £2000; the year Mr. Taylor left he was deficient £1400. He remonstrated with him on the change; and his answers turned almost exclusively on the right or wrong of slavery (p. 515 and 517).

Mr. Wildman's own plan was, that, when a slave behaved decidedly ill, he punished him. He flogged only three, however, during the whole time he was there. One was a young man belonging to Salt Savannah, who absconded once for three days, and afterwards for a week. On his return Mr. Wildman talked with him, and told him if he continued thus to run away he would be of no use to him; and, rather than allow him to set so bad an example to the other slaves, he should part with him. The slave urged him impudently to do so. Mr. W. then had him punished with sixteen or seventeen stripes, when he begged very hard, and promised not to repeat the offence. The driver told Mr. Wildman that the young man was particularly quiet and well-disposed, and that he had doubtless been set on by the other slaves to try the experiment how far they might venture to go, in behaving ill, with impunity. Though the use of the whip, therefore, was practically discontinued, it was not extinguished, when crime was com-

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quired to enter into any recognizance to appear and take his or her trial upon the evidence of any slave, *unless* such evidence shall be corroborated by some other slave or free person clearly and consistently deposing to the same fact, being examined apart as aforesaid."

The next clause, 131, refers merely to technical matters of form, and the allowances to be made to slave witnesses, and the compensation to be made to their owners; and it is therefore omitted.

"CXXXII. And, in order to remove as much as possible any temptation to commit perjury by those slaves who shall be required to give evidence, be it enacted, that the court *shall not be at liberty* to exercise the power given by this act for declaring any slave free and discharged from all manner of servitude, where the owner of such slave has been convicted of particular offences, if *any slave* shall have been sworn upon the trial as a witness on the part of the prosecution."

The reader will here observe that this last provision debars the liberation of a suffering slave from his cruel master, not only when he himself is a witness, but when *any slave*, and consequently when 20 or 100 slaves testify to the same fact. We would further observe that now, for the first time, is the *branding* of a slave made penal by the law of Jamaica.

Now we can have no doubt that Mr. Wildman will agree with us that the admission of slave evidence is most inadequately and elusively effected by this law.

We must wholly differ also from Mr. Wildman in thinking that all the slave sees in freedom is an exemption from labour. He cannot have given a correct account of the intelligence of the slaves, if this be true; for the slave himself, if he opens his eyes and looks around him, must see that no human being, whether slave or free, is exempted from labour. Let Mr. Wildman only read the evidence of Admiral Fleming on the Caraccas, Cuba, and Hayti, given above, p. 378—390, and he must see that, if he continues to maintain his present views of this subject, it can only be from his labouring under the influence of some unsuspected prejudice.

mitted. The instances in which it was used (and he was thankful they were so few) was in cases in which the man would have been sent to gaol in this country by a magistrate. Mr. Wildman said that had he stuck to the law, which is not usually done either on one side or the other, he might have given, in each of these cases, 39 lashes. He had it in his power by law to give to the extent of 39 lashes, if any thing displeased him, even a look: that was decidedly the law. The master was the sole judge when a man should be punished, and to what extent, provided it was not beyond 39 lashes. To that nominal number he was restricted by law, but persons went constantly far beyond the law. If a slave did any thing to offend his owner or overseer, even by a look, he might be punished with 39 lashes, and the owner was answerable to no one for doing so. The whip was abolished on Mr. W's. estates as a stimulus to labour, but retained as a punishment for offences, on the principle that if a farmer in his parish in England had complained to him of his servant neglecting his labours, he would have sent him to the tread-mill for a certain time (p. 516, 517).

Mr. Wildman does not think that, if the slaves were free, any sugar at all would be cultivated, or that any labour could be hired for that purpose. He does not believe that degradation attaches to sugar cultivation on account of its being the work of slaves. The taunt is not that a man has, but that he has not a master on whom to depend.* A free brown man, married to one of his own slaves, lives on Papine, and the slaves speak of him quite sneeringly —There is the greatest possible distinction between domestic slavery and field labour. If a domestic slave is turned into the field, he views it as a great degradation; but the field labourer does not so view it. Before he came away he turned all his domestic slaves into the field, on purpose to do away the impression of any disgrace in field labour.—Cavaliers was inhabited by free people, who rented small portions of land, but who led very dissolute lives, cultivating a little coffee, to enable them to tempt the slaves on the coffee estates around them to steal it, and sell it to them; and, when the time came for paying their rent, they sold their crops, and were off, and did not return again. Their houses were inferior to those of his own slaves on Papine, and even to the houses of *industrious* slaves generally on other estates, though, on estates, some huts were worse than theirs. Their *ordinary* clothing was superior to that of the slaves; but, when the slaves put on their best, they were better clothed than those people. Their furniture was better than that of some of the slaves, but inferior to that of the head people on estates. The people of colour, however, in general are better clothed than the best clothed of the slaves; but the people in Cavaliers were certainly not so well off as respectable slaves on estates. The persons who resorted thither were probably servants, to whom gentlemen had given freedom on their quitting the island; and, being close to Kingston, and the land rich which they

* Surely Mr. Wildman's philosophy is at fault here. He is misled by the circumstances of his own particular case, and the affection his own slaves bear to him.

had an opportunity of hiring, it became a favourite resort of such persons. The free people on Pedro plains are much better off than the Cavaliers people: they have cattle. Those at Cavaliers keep much out of sight. They are less frank and bold in their manners than the slaves, which he attributes to their predatory habits. They had women and families with them, but he did not think they were married. They had no religious worship or instruction whatever. He endeavoured to establish, before he came away, both divine service and a school among them; the reports he has since received are favourable: and he has a confidence that they and their children will avail themselves of instruction, and will improve by it; but he was fearful of freedom without the restraint of religious feeling.—The people at Cavaliers mostly built their own huts; and the land was rented to them at about £2 an acre (p. 518, 519).

Mr. Wildman was decidedly of opinion that the slaves, on the existing system, could not employ Sunday in religious instruction. "They must employ it in their maintenance, or starve" (p. 519).

Mr. Wildman had stated that four slaves, whom he had tempted to work for hire as an experiment, had overworked themselves, and he was asked to reconcile that fact with his opinion that they would not work for hire when free: he replied, "The slaves knew they were compellable to work, therefore any reward given them was a boon for which they exerted themselves." He had tried this experiment, to see whether they would work for the inducement of gain: no threat or compulsion was used, and at the end of the day they were found to have overworked themselves. This was not the only experiment he tried. In other cases he gave money to have work done, and always with success. Mr. Wildman, notwithstanding this universal success of his experiments, does not think it a proof that the slave if free will so work. As a slave, a man must labour for a certain time, and any reward he can get is a bonus; but if free he may choose to work at all or not, as it pleases him. He had no doubt that the fear of want, if he could be made to feel it, would induce him to work; but Mr. Wildman apprehends that if made free, as he could support himself with a little labour, he would do no more than was needful to that end. He thinks, therefore, if a state of villainage could be substituted for slavery, instead of perfect freedom, he has no doubt it might be made to answer. His notion is simply this: If the planter could command his Negroes as the farmer can his labourers through the magistrate in England, the thing could be done. The cottager here may be compelled to work to support his family, and if he does not he is punishable. Now if the slave was in the same state, and his wants compelled him to work every day in the week as the cottager does, then the same system might be adopted there as here.

In crop time the practice is for the slave to be in the field and begin work before sunrise and to continue at work till twelve; and to return to it again at two, and continue till dark. The practice on one of his estates, when he first went out, was to keep what is called the long spell: that is to say, one spell at the mill and boiling house

continued to work there from noon on Monday, for example, till noon on Tuesday, when it was relieved by the other spell from the field that had been at work from day dawn in the morning, and then remained at the mill and boiling house till Wednesday at noon, and so alternately throughout the week; so that there were thirty-six hours of continuous labour, and from ten to twelve hours of continuous rest, in each forty-eight hours. But on his other estates, where the short spell was kept, there were eighteen hours of continuous labour and five or six hours of rest, in each twenty-four hours. The long spell appeared to Mr. Wildman to be a very dreadful system, and when he discovered it on going out, he resolved to put an end to it; but he found, to his surprise, that his attorney was actually ignorant of the existence of any such practice till he pointed it out and convinced him of it. That system was put an end to, and in place of it the mill was stopped every night at eight o'clock; and when the sugar was boiled off, which took an hour and a half or two hours, the whole of the people went home; and the mill began again at four in the morning, so that they might all have if they chose seven or eight hours' rest in the twenty-four. He did not consider this change as any loss to himself; for it was plainly utterly impossible for human life to stand such long interruptions of rest, whether at hard work or not. It was wholly incompatible with the health of the slave. He therefore put a stop to it; but he was thwarted on all sides in his endeavours to do so, not only by the overseers, but by the slaves themselves; for where the long spell had been established they preferred it to the short spell, which calls them up at midnight to divide the night work between them. They pleaded that, when called up at midnight to go to the mill, they were so sleepy that they were often late and so got flogged. But when Mr. Wildman explained his plan, which was to secure to them a continuous sleep of seven or eight hours in the twenty-four, they were glad of the change (p. 523—525).

Mr. Wildman mentioned that one of the disadvantages attending this protracted labour was the manifest injury to the health of the persons, among others, who fed the mill with canes: they got wet from the spurting out of the cane juice over them, and then at the end of their protracted labours, throwing themselves down to sleep without due precaution, they caught severe colds, the nights in the early part of crop time being excessively cold. He had seen this with his own eyes, and had even fed the mill himself to satisfy himself of the reality of the evil. Though well clothed he was wet, and should have been ill had he not changed his dress. He considers this as one great cause of the loss of Negroes on sugar estates; and it is one of which it is quite impossible that any person who had to manage a boiling house could be ignorant. In this case what was gained in produce was lost in the life and health of the slaves.

He found this remission of night labour to be beneficial in another way. A very fine woman came to him to complain of her loss of children. She never could, as she expressed it, hold a child in her arms. When he quitted Jamaica the last time, this woman had got three children in four years. There were other similar cases. Indeed

the slaves became far more prolific under the new system. Before he went out first the returns exhibited only three births in a year out of 280 slaves on Papine. The years that succeeded his going out and acting on this plan exhibit from nine to eleven births annually. In general the returns in Jamaica exhibit only the children who attain the age of twelve months, but the number who die before that age is very considerable, in spite of the utmost care. As for the losses by abortion, they are never reckoned at all. The necessity of night work, in order to working off the crop in time to take advantage of the seasons for putting in the new plant, is such that night work is again resumed on the plan of double spells, or of dividing the night; but he has directed that, to obviate the evil of the system, the spell which has to take the duty from 6 to 12 shall not repair to the field in the afternoon; but have the period from shell-blow, that is from twelve to six, for sleep, or any thing else they may choose (p. 524, 525).

In forming a police for preserving due order and enforcing industry, it ought to be kept in view that the blacks are much less apt to be jealous of authority exercised over them by persons of their own colour than by browns (p. 526).

Negroes will, like all other people, sometimes make frivolous or exaggerated complaints; but this is by no means always the case. He has known his own people severely punished when he has himself been on the estate, and has not heard of it for months, and then casually (p. 526).

Mr. Wildman had spoken of book-keepers being employed on estates as catechists; he is asked whether there are not catechists and clergymen sent out by the Conversion Society, and also island curates; to which he replies that some of the island curates exert themselves very properly in instructing the slaves; but others do not at all. They do not give lettered instruction, but that is only one objection to it: it is inefficient in other ways; for, while the system pursued is oral only, the time allotted is so wholly inadequate that no benefit can be derived from it. He spoke generally, and of what fell within his own observation. He does not say there are no exceptions; there are clergymen in the island whose exertions are beyond all praise. The time allotted for instruction by catechists is almost universally *one* hour a week. He has known estates visited on this system, and he pronounces it to be totally inadequate; he saw no beneficial effects, no progress at all to justify what has been said of it. He knew of two estates attended by the zealous clergymen to whom he referred, which were not in the rebellion. On many estates the Negroes carried on the cultivation in the absence of the overseers (p. 527).

Mr. Wildman was then asked about a slave of his, named Eleanor James, who had been most barbarously punished by the proprietor of a neighbouring estate, but for which no redress whatever was obtained, nor any penalty incurred by any one. He laid the case before the Colonial Office. (See the account given of this transaction in our vol. IV. No. 83, p. 317.) Mr. Wildman is quite satisfied a man may live a month on an estate and be as ignorant of what goes on there as if he were in England. He could only enquire of overseers and book-keepers.

If he were to enquire of the slaves, it would be resented. He has himself gone upon an estate at the wish of the proprietor, and with the authority of the attorney, and been round it with the overseer, and yet failed in seeing the people. Without the employment of any particular caution, it is almost impossible for strangers to find out what is doing on estates. An attorney or overseer may most unquestionably exercise severe and tyrannical power without its being known to the public, even as far as to the sacrifice of Negro life. He had reason to know instances of this, slave evidence not being then admissible. (Mr. Wildman erroneously conceives, as we have shown, that there is any material change in the law of slave evidence as affecting plantation discipline.) From his own experience, he knows it to be perfectly absurd to suppose that a commander-in-chief visiting an estate, unless he took very particular pains indeed (and even then it would be difficult), could obtain any knowledge of the condition of the slaves upon it (p. 528).

Mr. Wildman's own slaves were perfectly quiet during the insurrection (ibid.).

He began his system of instruction immediately on returning to the island, after his first visit; but he was assailed in the newspapers as an enemy to the colony: he was told that if he meant to set fire to his own estate, he had no right to burn down those of others. The most infamous, ribaldrous, libels were published against him and his family: a more filthy libel was never published against an unoffending lady than one of them (ibid.).

He has had the most gratifying proofs of the gratitude of his slaves in their exertions by labour to bring up his estates from the low state to which they had fallen. The slaves on Salt Savannah voluntarily offered to give up their own time to repair the waste on that estate. When Mr. Farquharson, his present attorney and friend, took possession, the Negroes came to him in a body, and said they were ashamed and hurt he should see its condition; and at night they came to him again in a body, to say that they would give up their whole time till the estate was put in order again; and since that time the work has been carried on to Mr. Farquharson's entire satisfaction (p. 528).

Mr. Wildman mentioned one instance of the extraordinary voluntary diligence of his slaves. They had become subjects of taunt in the neighbourhood—"There goes one of Massa Wildman's Niggers"—and some of them were made wretched by these taunts about their freedom and laziness. On one occasion, however, they had to execute some hard work in digging a trench between his estate and Pusey Hall, and it was allotted in equal portions to the same number of slaves of the two gangs. The overseer said to them, "You are called worthless; you will not work, your master having done away with the whip. The Pusey Hall people work with the whip. Let them see what you can do." They set to work in such good earnest that, before the day was out, the Pusey Hall people complained that the Salt Savannah people would kill them if they went on so.—The whip in the field is now disused on Mr. Wildman's estates. Though not used, it was still carried in the field while he was there. The driver,

still in its infancy in Jamaica. The number of slaves religiously instructed is very small as compared with the population, and the proportion of them that can read is of course still smaller. The moral state of the uninstructed Negroes is awfully degraded. Marriage is almost wholly neglected by them, and indeed is not unfrequently opposed by the whites who are living themselves in the same low and vicious habits as the Negroes. But even those slaves that are uninstructed are very acute in understanding their own interests, and in making a bargain; and he would entertain no doubt of their ready subjection to the authorities over them (p. 111, 112.)

Mr. Duncan believed that wages would induce the Negroes to labour when free, and that they would labour harder in a state of freedom than they now do. They now want the stimulus of remuneration, and that makes the toil hard which would otherwise be light. Cane-hole digging, though hard, is not harder than the work of English labourers, nor harder than that which is voluntarily undergone by many free persons in Jamaica itself. He has known such exert themselves in their own grounds, and at their trade, more than the Negroes in the cane-holes. Whether sugar would be raised in the same quantity as now in Jamaica if the slaves were free, he would not pretend to affirm; but that sugar might be raised he has no doubt, nor that numbers would labour in raising sugar for wages. There need be very little change in the mode of remuneration; the labourers might have land and increased time for their own use, only having the Sabbath as a day of entire rest (p. 113).

Mr. Duncan further stated that he had had, over and over again, the testimony of masters, attorneys, and overseers, to the beneficial effects of religious instruction in improving the morals of the slaves, and in restraining the disposition to thieving and licentiousness, and he had seen it himself in a thousand instances. The very same moralizing effects are produced by it in Jamaica as in England (p. 113).

He doubted on what footing sugar cultivation might stand, in the case of emancipation; but he believed that a great number of the present slaves, attached as they were to their domiciles, and having their provision grounds already planted on the estates, would be desirous of remaining where they were, and would continue to cultivate sugar for wages. If they had money enough to obtain land of their own, they would doubtless prefer cultivating that. With the twenty-six week days they now have, and the Sundays, they are able to raise food for their comfortable subsistence. He had heard few complaints on that head, and he mentioned it with very great pleasure. A day and a half in the week, however, is the very least that can suffice, allowing Sunday free. Seven days in the week could not fail to put him in a state of the highest comfort, if he had land in possession; and if he had land, and his time, he would soon have property. In case of emancipation the money possessed by the slaves would be expended in buying land, and forming settlements of their own. Land would then rise in value, and at length be as much

out of their reach as it is now out of the reach of the peasantry of this country. The greater part of them, however, would not be able to obtain land. They have now provision grounds cultivated and ready to their hand; they would be reluctant to leave them, and, if encouraged by the master, they would be willing to remain and labour on the sugar plantations. They receive now no food from their masters that he ever heard of, but a few herrings or other salt fish, occasionally. If free, they might pay a rent, by labouring for their former masters. The black labourer might give, say four days' labour in the week to the master, to cultivate sugar, and employ two days for himself and family. If he could do better in any other way he might prefer it; yet those who had lived long on certain estates, where they had been born and brought up, and where they had become familiar with sugar culture, would, he believed, be willing to remain and give labour in return for a certain portion of land which the owner might let them have. But if they could purchase, or rent, land of their own, some might prefer it. He had no idea of their attempting to possess themselves forcibly of it (p. 113, 114).

He did not know how much time it took the Negroes to raise their food; but the time allowed them was not more than enough for that purpose, and the little additional comforts they required. Some were well clothed, others very badly, although all of them are desirous of appearing as fine as they can. In labouring on their own grounds they generally appear very diligent, but the labour is not severe. They work with the hoe. In general they are very anxious for conveniences, and even finery, and they work very diligently, and even laboriously, in their grounds; but they have often to go a long way to market; and what between this and planting their provisions, and keeping them clean, and gathering them, and preparing them, carrying them home, and taking them to market and selling them, their time is generally fully occupied.

It is not possible for them, but in rare instances, to attend both church and market, even when the church is contiguous to the market. They cannot quit their marketing till it is finished, and then the forenoon service is over. In the afternoon they are obliged to return home early, especially in crop time, when they must be home to put the mills about on Sunday evenings.* There is, therefore, no time to sell their provisions and attend chapel too (p. 115). In point of fact, they scarcely ever do attend market and chapel on the same day. In the former case their secular engagements seem wholly to engross them. In St. James some few attended both, but crop time lasts there for six months, and the necessity of being at home to put the mills about rendered it generally impossible. At Montego bay the market was chiefly supplied by slaves, and it probably may be so in Kingston and other places. The Negroes obtain money by selling hogs and poultry, as well as provisions, especially the head men.

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* There is a law against putting the mills about on Sunday evenings, in Jamaica, of which the Jamaicans make a great boast. This evidence shows how ill it is observed.

cipation. His own, he thought, were not yet fit, though he had been at work since 1826. The same pains had not been taken on other estates; indeed, few admitted education at all. When he said that five years might suffice to prepare the slaves for emancipation, he assumed that a plan universally adopted would be carried on with more care than an individual, thwarted at every turn, could take. Under existing circumstances, he was decidedly of opinion that no provision for instruction could be made effectual in any short time. He alluded to the objection felt to instruction on the part of the planters; and, even if that were overcome, he does not think that the population would be so changed in five years as to make emancipation safe. He considers that, before being exposed to the chances of such a transition, they should have a decided knowledge of religious principles and practice, and a habit of acting accordingly. He hoped by such means to counteract the temptations to indolence in a country where the necessaries and superfluities of life are so easily acquired, and the climate inclines to indolence. Mr. Wildman conceives also that a slave has no adequate idea what freedom is; but the illustration he adduces to support the position is certainly as remote from any thing like a logical deduction as can well be imagined. He says, "When I came from Jamaica, a little girl, whom my sister brought home from the island, was astonished to see a white woman selling fish. They cannot fancy a white woman working" (p. 534).

If the resolutions of Parliament in 1823 had been followed up, as they ought to have been, by adequate means of instruction, Mr. Wildman would not have the slightest objection to the slaves being now declared free. Unfortunately no great increase of exertion in supplying the means of instruction in Jamaica has taken place since that time. The Church Missionary Society and the Sectarians alone have been efficiently active during the interval. By the established church, through the Bishop, little has been done. The Bishop has even materially impeded the progress of instruction. He says this, though he himself is a zealous member of the establishment, and much opposed in some respects to Dissenters. Instruction under the church of England has certainly not advanced in any degree adequate to the expense. The bishop has unhappily thought it dangerous to interfere with the prevailing vices. He has not assailed the great immoralities he witnessed, and has deemed it necessary to temporize, and leave them untouched. In saying this he alluded to the whole population, white and black. When he has known instances of gross immorality, he has not set his face against them as a Christian Bishop ought to have done. Of all the teachers of religion in Jamaica the Sectarians are decidedly the most efficient. They give themselves up devotedly to their work, and in many instances have been eminently successful. Comparing the Sectarians with the established clergy, he knew of no case of immorality among the Sectarians. Of the clergy he could not say the same; of that he spoke without doubt. The Church Missionary Society's missionaries are far superior; they also employ respectable moral men of colour when they can get them. Their exertions emanate solely from the members of the Church of England. They do not

employ Dissenters. Their exertions have been very considerable and very successful (p. 535).

Mr. Wildman did not mean to apply what he had said of immorality to the clergy generally. But he spoke of individuals both now and heretofore, and certainly the number of immoral men among them was greater than in this country. The clergy were by no means under the necessity of confining their pastoral care to the whites. Mr. Trew, of St. Thomas in the East, was most active, and the change he produced in the population of his parish was almost incredible. His system was to direct his morning service chiefly to the whites, and, after the service, he kept a school for the blacks, and for any who liked to come. The afternoon service was addressed almost exclusively to the blacks and browns; and, after that service, there was again a school. Had there been a Mr. Trew in every parish the effect would have been very great. Once, when staying at Mr. Trew's house, five or six head men from different estates came, and, a report being current of an insurrection which was likely to involve St. Thomas in the East, he asked their opinion: they, one and all, said, "Fear nothing of the kind in this parish; we will not only not suffer our own people to commit any excess, but we will not suffer any slave from other parts to interfere with us." This Mr. Wildman heard with his own ears. And yet Mr. Trew drew more malice and envy upon him than any other man in the island. He quitted Jamaica on account of his health. Had there been a Mr. Trew in every parish he should not have had the slightest fear of emancipation as to its safety; though he might still doubt the slaves continuing to labour (p. 536).

Mr. Trew, in his efforts to spread instruction, obtained the aid of many whites in his own parish; but nevertheless the ill will he drew on himself was very general, and that was increased after the Bishop came out: for he used to hold up Mr. Trew as an example to his clergy, which made him a marked man, at the same time that he himself thwarted Mr. Trew in an extraordinary way. He praised him and his exertions in his charges; but at the same time he was much opposed to Mr. Trew. Mr. Trew was assailed by slander, and met with opposition even in his own parish. He was even effectually thwarted on estates to which proprietors and attorneys authorized him to attend; for a clergyman in Jamaica cannot go upon an estate in his own parish without permission, and the Bishop even restricted his clergy from doing so without leave; so that it would have been impossible for Mr. Trew, or any clergyman, to instruct the slaves of his own parish: even if the slaves were willing to give up to him their two hours at noon, and he were to come to instruct them, the overseer might still absolutely refuse permission.* Mr. Wildman thinks the class of instructors sent out by the Church Missionary Society and

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* The words of the Curates' Act of 1816 were express on this point: The Rectors and Curates were required to instruct the slaves who may be desirous to be instructed: "*Provided always that the consent and approbation of the person in possession of the estate or plantation to be visited be first had and obtained for that purpose.*"

the Dissenting Missionaries much better suited to the work of instructing negroes than educated university men. The morals and doctrines of those missionaries he believed to be sound and good, and their conduct exemplary.

And yet he should decidedly prefer pious clergyman of the church of England if to be had, feeling that there is inconvenience in the want of responsibility on the part of Sectarians, and that a clergyman must, at least, be possessed of general education and character (p. 537, 538).

Mr. Wildman has always understood that the greater part of the poor rate, raised in Jamaica, was expended on the whites.

Mr. Wildman being asked whether, in the conversation he had had with his driver about freedom, as mentioned above, he told him that, though free, he would still be at liberty to live on the estate, paying rent, but receiving wages, replied that he had not mentioned wages. He certainly thought that they could be made to understand that freedom was not an exemption from labour, but a state in which they should have the benefit of their own labour. He admits fully (and it is important to note this after the strong opinions expressed by Mr. Wildman as to the present unfitness of the slaves for freedom) that the slaves could be made to understand that continuing attached to their residences and grounds, and paying rent for them, while they received reasonable wages, they might thus live in ease by the exercise of moderate industry, and enjoy the blessings and comforts of life. He thinks certainly that the present state of things cannot continue long, as they are now, without proceeding from bad to worse. If the present system goes on, the Negroes, he thinks, will not remain quiet.

The punishments in use in Jamaica now are very cruel punishments. "The general system is to give them a certain number of stripes with a long whip, which inflicts either a dreadful laceration, or a dreadful contusion, and then they follow up that by a very severe flogging with ebony switches: the ebony being a very strong wiry plant, with small leaves, like a myrtle leaf, and under every leaf a very sharp, tough, thorn; and then after that they are rubbed with brine." He never himself saw it done: he could not have borne it; but he knew it to be practised in every part of the island. He had seen the persons of the slaves after they had been so punished, and has had to listen to the complaints of his own people, who complained wofully of it. They are struck a number of times with one of these switches, or rather bushes, which is thrown away when worn and another taken. Slaves are also punished in the bilboes in the most unmerciful manner. An iron fetter goes round the feet, and is made to run on a long iron bar, fixed on an inclined plane, to which a dozen individuals are often fixed. They are confined here all night, lying back on the inclined plane, which is a hard board, and let out in the morning to go to work, this kind of punishment being often continued for weeks together. The punishments also in the workhouses are dreadful. He had never been in any of the gaols but one, and that was extremely filthy. It was that of St. Andrew, at Half-way Tree, near Papine. He had had occasion to commit a Negress there, and she was reported to be in so

bad a state that he went to inspect the gaol, and he found it in a most filthy state, and the punishments little short of those of the inquisition: they were actually tortured there. The mode of flogging was to put a rope round each wrist, and a rope round each ancle, and then they were what the sailors call "bowsed out" with a tackle and pulley. He never saw this performed, but knew that it was done from his own Negroes, who had been sent there. He complained to the custos and magistrates of the parish of these proceedings. The result was, that the block and tackle system was defended as a humane practice, as it prevented the sufferer from turning in his agony, and getting a blow on a tender part. When he went to examine the gaol, a Negro was called to lie down and show how it was done. A skin was stretched on the ground, and he lay upon the skin, and then this tackle was applied to him; and, though Mr. W. and several others were looking, yet when the rope was tightened by another Negro, the man who was operated upon gave a yell, which made Mr. Wildman quite start. The yell was not from apprehension; but from actual pain. He represented all this to the custos, Mr. Mais; but no notice whatever was taken of it at that time, which was just before he last quitted Jamaica (p. 339, 340).

Being further questioned as to his views of the effect of emancipation upon the slaves, he said he thought the Negro, though he would work, would not so work as to carry on the cultivation of sugar. A want of religious instruction was another obstacle. The Conversion Society, he said, had by no means been actively conducted.—He thought that, in case of emancipation, masters might be relieved from all responsibility as to the food both of old and young. The old people are now taken care of without the master, by the Negroes themselves. Old and young might be left to the operation of natural affection. The feelings of kindred, and the love of parents and children, he thinks, are as strong in the Negro as in the white. They even carry it beyond this, to those who came over from Africa in the same ship, whom they call shipmates, and always address with regard. There is no doubt they would support their sickly children and their aged parents. Their families now support them, with the exception of the master's allowance of clothing, &c. When old and decrepit, and wholly incapable of labour, the master provides for them, the relations aiding. The propriety and advantage of emancipation, he still thought, would turn on the slaves' being instructed. He candidly confessed that he thought all profit to him as a proprietor would cease from that time. He admitted, however, that he might be mistaken in his expectations on this point. He certainly conceived free labour to be as cheap as slave labour; but he did not think that sugar would be cultivated by free labour, unless all the land could be ploughed—(and why not all ploughed?)—then cane might be cultivated; but not if the ground is to be dug, as now. The plough could not be applied, he thinks, to two-thirds of the island; but he does not assent to the injury caused to the land by ploughing and exposure to the sun. The digging of cane-holes is the most severe labour he knows,

except, perhaps, felling trees with the axe. He would sooner dig an acre of hops than an acre of canes* (p. 541, 542).

XIX. The Rev. Jonathan Tyers Barrett, D. D., is Secretary to

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* It is true that there is a great deal of mountain land in Jamaica where the plough could not conveniently be used; but there are very extensive tracts of level and fair lying land in that island, more than sufficient for all its present sugar growth; and we can have no doubt that there are in Jamaica at least a million of acres on which the plough could be made to move as easily as in England.

But the point to which we chiefly object in the generally able, luminous, and truly interesting evidence of Mr. Wildman, is the strong opinion he has formed that full and effective religious instruction should and must precede emancipation, in order to render that measure a safe one. Mr. Wildman will not suppose that we undervalue the extreme, the paramount importance of religion in all states and circumstances of life. But to affirm, as he does, that the influence of real Christianity must precede a man's restoration to the enjoyment of his natural, and civil, and even political rights, is a proposition which we find it very difficult to understand how any man so intelligent and so observant as Mr. Wildman should have permitted himself for one moment to entertain. Would he then propose that men's natural and civil rights should be restrained in proportion to their want of Christian knowledge and Christian practice? One effect of this would be that the masters in Jamaica would soon have to change places with at least an equal number of their slaves. Besides, what man, or set of men, or what legislature, would Mr. Wildman entrust with the exercise of this vague and anomalous power of deciding the point when the influence of Christian faith shall have attained the measure that shall entitle a slave to freedom?—Look at the mighty masses which float along the streets of London, and of other great towns, and fill our villages throughout the length and breadth of this Christian land,—how many of these would Mr. Wildman reckon to have reached the degree of religious knowledge which, if he were the absolute arbiter of their destiny, would constitute their title to freedom, or leave them still to fetters and the whip? Look, moreover, at the state and progress of society in all ages, and in all countries; in the present times as well as in the past; in states highly civilized, as well as in those advancing from barbarism; in polished France, or in less favoured portions of the globe. What statesman or even divine has ever supposed that, however religion might advance the well-being of states and individuals, the capacity to fulfil the ordinary duties of civil life, the exercise of a man's own limbs and faculties, the admission to the rights of nature and the protection of law, were to be suspended on the efficacy of certain schools, and the success of certain preachers of the Gospel? Some West Indians, and we are sorry to say some bishops of the church, have wished to suspend the marriage tie, which from the creation has been enjoined by the Creator on the whole race of man, on their being able to understand the matrimonial service of the Church of England; but, if we understand Mr. Wildman correctly (and we should be sorry to do him wrong, for few men have a larger share of our esteem, and even admiration), his principle goes much farther even than this; and we might have slavery to endure for ever, if only the professors and teachers of Christianity shall be supine, or obstacles to their success shall be wickedly interposed. Surely, also, Mr. Wildman knows better than any man what indifferent lessons either of morality or religion are likely to be learned in a state of slavery; and that, though freedom may be, and too often is, abused, yet that, of all the impediments to the diffusion of the influence of moral and religious truth which are not common to the whole race of man, slavery is the worst.

the Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction of the Negro slaves. He has held the situation since 1822. He has corresponded with the Bishops of Jamaica and Barbadoes, and received from them various communications. Before the appointment of bishops, there were nine persons employed by the Society in all the West Indies. Since that time they do not send missionaries or chaplains, but only catechists. One chaplain was sent to Lord Seaford's estates, but he died. The bishops are averse to having chaplains of the Society in their dioceses, as it caused a collision of authorities, and was not quite compatible with ecclesiastical discipline.* Dr. Barrett then delivered in several reports, remarking that the late accounts were scanty, owing to the hurricane in Barbadoes, and the rebellion in Jamaica; the communications at no time being copious. The persons now employed by the Society are lay catechists. There are about fifty in all the islands. These are appointed by the bishops, and the Society at home knows little of them. In Jamaica, some of them are book-keepers, and some are persons of colour. He knows little about them, and does not even know the principle on which they are selected. Infant schools, on the plan of Mr. Wildman, were recommended by the bishop, but none have been established by the Society, though some have by a Ladies' Society, under the Duchess of Beaufort. Dr. Barrett thinks the bishops have not generally complained of obstructions, but, on the contrary, have spoken favourably of the disposition of the planters towards instruction. He cannot tell the number of slaves under instruction in Jamaica, nor can he furnish any return. Marriages are stated to have increased. He does not know whether the book-keepers employed by the Bishop of Jamaica are moral men or not. He does not believe that the Bishop thinks of extending that system; Dr. Barrett says, he believes that reading is taught in all the schools of the diocese of Barbadoes, but not to the same extent in that of Jamaica.†

All this is sufficiently frigid and unsatisfactory.

XX. William Burge, Esq., merely gave in a paper containing an account of the expenditure in Jamaica for ecclesiastical or charitable purposes, amounting, for the clergy of all descriptions, to £23,600 currency; for presbyterian teachers, to £1206; and for a Roman Catholic Priest, to £200; besides £6000 for the Kingston Hospital, and about £8650 for free schools and charitable seminaries, chiefly intended for poor whites.

XXI. John Macgregor, Esq. This gentleman has never been in the West Indies, and knows nothing of them; but he has been in North America, and has written a book entitled "British America,"

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* Thus the spiritual interests of the slave population are to be postponed to some ecclesiastical punctilio.

† The fact is that, in Jamaica, the slaves who were taught reading by the Conversion Society amounted, in 1829, to the mighty number of 210. Neither is it true that in all the schools under the Bishop of Barbadoes reading is taught. His own reports show the contrary.

which contains a chapter about free Negroes, in which he gives an unfavourable view of the state of some of that class, refugees from the United States, who are settled in Canada; but, as it contains nothing which at all tends to throw light on the present enquiry, we pass it over in silence.

We have now gone through the whole of the *oral* evidence taken before this Committee. There still remains, however, some documentary evidence to be considered. Of the population tables presented by Mr. Amyot, we defer the consideration for the present, until we have it in our power to exhibit a more full view of that whole subject than these partial documents would enable us to do; and, in the mean time, we refer our readers to the Reporter, No. 100, as containing a comprehensive view of the slave population of the British Colonies, wholly unaffected by the tables now before us.

We omit also the meagre details extracted by Dr. Barrett from the Conversion Society's Reports, as the substance of them is already to be found in our pages, and there is nothing therefore to be drawn either new or interesting.

But we cannot pass over so lightly the remainder of the documentary evidence contained in the appendix to this bulky volume. One of them is entitled "Free and Slave Labour," and contains "an extract from the examination of Annasamy (a native of Madras, settled in the Mauritius), by the Commissioners who visited the Eastern Colonies, to enquire into the means of improving those Colonies." It is dated 16th August, 1827. We extract a few passages from this document.

"What was the condition of the slaves on the estate of Bon Espoir, when you purchased it in 1822?—Many of them were in bad health. Did they appear to have been hard worked?—It appeared to me that they had; but I do not know the fact, as I had not been on the estate before I purchased it. It appears that, between 1822 and 1825, there were fifty deaths on the estate, or one-sixth of the whole number; will you explain the cause of this mortality?—I have stated that many of them were in bad health. Did you manage the estate yourself within those periods?—I did; but there were overseers (European and Creole). Have you been accustomed to regulate the quantity of work on your estate?—I have. What number of hours a day do the slaves work?—From half-past four or five o'clock in the morning till half past seven, and from eight till twelve o'clock, and from half-past one till seven o'clock, Sundays excepted.* Do the women perform the same work that the men do?—Except the children and the pregnant women, they perform the same field-work. The women are not employed in the sugar house. Are women taken off work during the whole period of their pregnancy?—From the third month to the period of their delivery. How soon do they go to work after the child is born?—They perform light work after three months, making mats and such things, and after nine months they return to the pioche (hoeing). Do many of the slave children die?—I have more than eighty Negresses on the estate, and of those, not more than ten bear children; and I reckon about four children born in a year, and about two that may live to five years old. Then there has been a constant decrease on the numbers, from the excess of deaths over births?—There has." "You are acquainted with the condition of the labouring class in India?—I am. Do you consider that the condition of the labourers in India is better or worse than that of the labouring

* Nineteen hours a day!

slaves in this country?—It is worse here. In what respect is it worse?—Because in India the labourers are paid for their labour, even those that are attached to the land; I speak of those parts that I have known. They also plough in India, and here they work with the hand. Do the women labour in India as they do here?—In cleansing and transplanting, but not in ploughing. Has it ever occurred to you to cultivate your estate by free labourers from India?—I thought of it at one time; but I altered my intention." "Do you conceive that it would answer to employ them upon a property where there were no slaves?—If they were treated well, it would. Will you explain what you consider to be the treatment which would be calculated to reconcile them to the employment?—They would need such treatment and indulgences as they are accustomed to in their own country, and I do not think they could expect to meet with them in this colony." "Are you acquainted with the cultivation of sugar in India?—I have seen it cultivated, but the mode of preparing the sugar is very inferior. Do you consider that, by improved methods, as good sugar might be grown in India as is grown at Mauritius?—I think by the introduction of machinery and of iron boilers, and also by cultivating the sugar canes in a better way, that better sugar might be made in India. Have you an intention of returning to India?—I have; and it is my intention to cultivate sugar in India in the same manner that is practised here. Would you employ slaves in the cultivation in India?—No; only free labourers. What part of India that you are acquainted with do you conceive best adapted to the production of sugar?—Bengal is best suited, but I think of first trying the cultivation upon the Coromandel coast, near my native country. What capital would you consider necessary to enable you to form an establishment for the cultivation and preparation of sugar in India, upon the scale of that which you possess in this colony?—If I select good land and well watered, farming it either from Government or individuals, I conceive that 50,000 rupees, or £5000, would enable me to form a complete establishment on the same scale; and the profits would be very considerable, if the rents were settled not too high. Do you consider that the profits of your capital would be much greater than those you derive from your present estate?—They would certainly be much greater, as there would be profit and no loss, either from interest of capital invested in land or slaves, or by death of slaves. What do you reckon would be the difference in the cost of maintaining your slaves, and of maintaining hired labourers in India? If I buy a slave for 400 dollars, and as interest here is 12 per cent. per annum, the interest on 400 dollars is four dollars a month, and reckoning the food and clothing at 1½ dollar a month, the expense on each slave is 5½ dollars; and I could hire a labourer in India at 2 dollars, or 4 rupees, including his food. Do you consider that an Indian labourer will do as much work as a Mozambique slave? The Indians have more skill and intelligence, and will do more work in their own country than the slaves."

(Signed) *W. M. S. Colebrook*, *W. Blair*, } Commissioners of Enquiry.

The next document is entitled "remarks on the means of improving the system by which labour is exacted in the Slave Colonies, by Captain Elliott, R. N., Protector of slaves for British Guiana, 18th January, 1832." We must be content with extracts from it, premising that we introduce them chiefly, not under any idea that the present brutal system of forced labour as it exists in Guiana is to be continued, even for a single year, under the very best modifications which Captain Elliott has felt himself at liberty to suggest, but that our readers may see the enormous extent of the evil, the cruel and grinding oppression, which the people of this country, through their representatives, are now called upon to redress, or rather wholly to extinguish.

"*Guiana, January* 18, 1832.

"In the general remarks appended to the Report which I have to-day had the honour to deliver to his Excellency the Governor, I felt it necessary to abstain from entering into any explanation of the causes to which I attribute the *deplorable increase in the Punishment Returns* for the half year ending on June 30th, 1831."

"The largely increasing Punishment Returns clearly prove that the actual system of coercion, extensively as it is used, is perfectly inadequate to ensure the completion of the quantum of labour, which it is loudly declared the slaves could easily finish, if they were disposed to make the effort; and a further consideration of the punishments recorded for non-completion of work, during the last eighteen months, must lead to the inference that at least a fifth of the work allotted has fallen short under the inefficacy of the present mode of securing its performance.

"Either this position must be admitted, or the painful conclusion will present itself, that the punishments have been inflicted to a great extent for the non-completion of work which circumstances of unfavourable weather and other causes of difficulty rendered impossible of performance."

"It is not my purpose to contend that the slaves will work *regularly* for wages, and I am perfectly aware that regularity of work is absolutely necessary in the cultivation of the ordinary produce of these countries; but if they know that the power to coerce them be left, surely it is rational to conclude that they would rather choose to work industriously, with a hope to acquire profit and gain time, than they would perversely determine to work ill and late, to the exclusion of all chance of advantage, and under a strong apprehension of receiving punishment.

"A great love of money, a passionate admiration of dress and finery, and a remarkable proneness to imitate all the habits of expense of the whites, are the well known characteristics of the Negro race; and certainly such qualities present the most favourable means for powerfully seconding the efficacy of a safe and judiciously directed course of encouragement, involving the immediate and great modification and eventually the complete disuse of a system at once degrading, irritating, and inefficacious."

"Considering the subject in this light, let it be supposed that each person who produced, at the end of every week, a certificate from the manager or overseer that he had been employed the whole of the week, and had each day completed the task allotted to him, should be entitled to his proportion of the value of the produce of that week's labour. In the early institution of such a system, it is obvious that the payments should be very prompt, and, above all, it should be carefully insisted upon that no approach to the payment of wages by truck should be admissible; the amount should vary according to the strength and skill of the labourers, dividing them for that purpose into two or three gangs, according to the extent of the population and its state.

"To those who are employed in the more responsible situations, and in those parts of the process which require adroitness and attention, proportionably larger wages should be paid.

"Such a mode of regulating the scale of distribution would induce a disposition to deserve reputation for fidelity and care, and would beget an industrious inclination to acquire a knowledge of the more skilful branches of the business.

"Those who could produce certificates that they had performed *more* than their allotted tasks should receive payment, according to a just estimate of the *surplus* labour they had performed."

After mentioning a few of the advantages which would necessarily result from this modified system of wages, Captain Elliott thus proceeds:—

"If the slaves resorted to their daily labour, impelled by the hope of acquiring profit, I am satisfied that, one day in the week taken with another, they

would perform in the course of *six* days at least a *third* more work than can be procured from them under actual circumstances: and, as soon too as they began to touch the means of extending their comforts, and enjoying the conveniences of life, by the honest efforts of their own industry, great and advantageous changes would be effected in the whole structure of society. Small retail dealers would find it worth their while to establish themselves in the vicinity of the large estates, and the proprietors would gladly encourage them to do so; because it would have the effect of keeping their slaves at home, and enable them to direct and control their habits of expense, besides, in other respects, greatly improving the value of their properties. Villages would gradually grow up in the populous neighbourhoods for the location of tradesmen and rural artisans; district markets would be established; industrious competition would take place in all species of profitable occupation; the price of labour would diminish with the price of provisions, and the whole machinery of civilization would fall into vigorous action.

"The present mode of endeavouring to insure the performance of labour is every day becoming more distinctly inadequate, and, upon the whole, when the utterly inefficacious nature of the system is considered,—when it is remembered that, under such circumstances, the rapidly advancing intelligence of the Negro must principally develope itself in an increasing dexterity, by all manner of means, to evade and defeat it,—I cannot refrain from declaring it to be no source of astonishment to me that the punishment returns for the half-year ending June 30, 1831, are so large as it has been my painful duty to record them to be. That they will continue to increase may be taken as certain; and I am convinced I speak the sentiments of the most reflecting gentlemen in the country in saying that this state of things cannot continue to subsist. The slave has advanced beyond such a system of government, and the attempt to overtake and arrest him in his career by an increasing degree of severity, would be fatal indeed; but, docile and forbearing, it would be a work of little difficulty beneficially to direct his energies and uses by the immediate and judicious substitution of better means."—p. 590, 591.

"It is a great mistake to suppose that the respectable and reflecting portion of society in this country do not clearly perceive that the slave population is much improved; but perhaps the very greatest misfortune of slavery is its inaptitude to adapt itself to those changes which it is in its very nature to insist upon. The system stands still, while it forces the slave into a state of intelligence demanding a form of government of much more extended resource for his safe direction.—To yield any thing, it is said, is to abandon all; but this is an extremely unsatisfory ground for resisting the legal sanction, and rejecting the direction of improvement which it is impossible to prevent; and, in short, to modify nothing in the shape of slavery, would be to manifest the semblance of complete power, risking, in reality, all the tremendous consequences of perfect weakness.

"It is a source of bitter complaint in this country, that the constant expectation of legislation from England is calculated to produce the most unfortunate effects on the minds of the slaves; and it is represented that the consequences of such a state of vague impatience on the one hand, and of alarm and consequent disinclination on the other, are calculated seriously to retard the progress of amelioration.

"If all had been done and were still doing, which might have been effected by the proprietors themselves, with real advantage to their own interests, to meet the feelings of the country, so unequivocally expressed in Mr. Canning's Resolutions of 1823, unanimously adopted by both Houses of Parliament, there would have been as little necessity, as there can have been little inclination, to legislate upon this subject at all.

"I am convinced, however, that no thinking man of experience in the West Indies could deny, upon calm and deliberate reflection, that, if there had been

no legislation at all on the subject of amelioration, the difficulties of this question, so far as they regard the state of the people, would be much greater than they are at present. The increased intelligence of the slave would have daily demanded an increasing degree of vigour to coerce him to work; but consider the actual condition of this population, and then let it be fairly answered, whether such a state of things could have continued to exist without, long ere this, having produced some fatal and irreparable convulsion.

"The necessity of ameliorating legislation of a progressive tendency has, unfortunately, been forced upon the government by the disinclination to legislate effectively with such a view on this side of the Atlantic. It is superfluous to say that there is very little disposition in this country frankly to accept these laws; and the painful consequence is, that the slave has not derived all the advantage from them which it has been the object of His Majesty's Government to extend to him. Men read them carefully indeed, rather to cavil at, and with a view to evade, than to conform to them. However zealous His Majesty's officers may be in all branches of the public service charged with their administration, it must be obvious that, in this unfavourable state of feeling upon the part of the proprietary, and with a slave population dispersed over a vast tract of country, the means of insuring and insisting upon the observance of a body of law (necessarily very detailed in its nature) are small and slow of operation.

"Such legislation, however excellent it may be, cannot provide for every exigency in the relative transactions of master and slave; and it is difficult to doubt that the least omission, or dubious construction, until the point can be submitted to legal interpretation, will be made to press against the slave. Nay, in too many cases (the truth ought not be concealed), the very letter of the law will be executed in such a temper of irritation as will render it rather a source of inconvenience than of relief. Here then is the slave population clearly convinced of the benevolent intentions of His Majesty's Government and the British public in their behalf, and perfectly sensible, on the other hand, that these intentions are frustrated to no inconsiderable extent by the feeling with which the laws are received and acted upon in this country. The probable consequence of this unfortunate state of things is seriously to be dreaded."

"It is impossible to observe the actual condition and habits of the Negro race in the West Indies, even in the most casual manner, and to consider the state of public feeling in England on the subject of slavery, without being powerfully struck by the reflection not only that the necessity for a great change is ripe, but with how little cheerful co-operation immensely beneficial modifications, involving progressive and rapid advancement, might at once be safely produced.

"In conclusion, I cannot help expressing my conviction that, by the concession of a reasonable share of the profits of their own exertions to these people, they would in no long lapse of time have tranquilly and legally possessed themselves of a deep interest in the maintenance of peace and order, and in the increase of the wealth and importance of the colonies."—p. 592, 593.

The only remaining document consists of answers returned by Captain Elliott to questions addressed by Viscount Goderich, relating to the treatment of slaves in British Guiana.

"1. At what hour in the morning is the daily task commenced?"

"The legal hours for *field* labour are from six in the morning till six in the evening, with two hours of interval allowed for rest and meals. The first signal of preparation is made ordinarily by a bell at four to half-past four. The time of departure from home depends on the nearness or remoteness of the field; but the daily task may be said to have fairly commenced at from six to seven, A. M. There is no habitual work done by the slaves before they set out for the field, except preparing and eating their breakfast."—p. 594.

"2. At what hour in the evening is the work usually finished?"

"It would be futile to attempt to deduce," says Captain Elliott, "any general average hours in the evening when the task of all the slaves is finished."

But he goes on to state as follows:—

"When the whip was no longer allowed to be kept in the field, as a stimulus to labour, it became absolutely necessary to substitute some other motive for the completion of work."

"In the absence then of immediate coercive stimulus [and in this point the amelioration has been complete, and the advantage to all parties convincing] the performance of labour by 'task' was the most obvious means of presenting a sufficient inducement to industrious application; and certainly, exercised as such a system ought to be, it is difficult to doubt that it would be alike efficacious, both for the prevention of punishment and the completion of as large a quantity of work as it is reasonable can be completed; that is to say, reasonable, considered with relation to the amount and strength of the population employed, and the extent of the soil to be maintained in a state of cultivation.

"It is certainly natural to conjecture that, for the successful institution of the performance of labour by task, the system should have been minutely explained to the slaves, and its advantages made obviously manifest to them. In short, it was to be supposed that the adoption of the system was the result of an agreement between the master and his slave.

"'The law,' under this view, would the master have said to his slave, 'allows me to employ you for ten hours in the field, between six in the morning and six in the evening, and it allows you two hours of that interval for rest and meals; now, would you rather that I should insist upon your employment for the ten hours the law has permitted without fixing any stated portion of work, punishing you if I were not satisfied with the amount you had completed, or, on the other hand, would you prefer to have a certain portion of work allotted to you, which, by reasonable vigorous exertion, you may complete in much less time than ten hours?

"'In this last case, if you choose to work continuously, all the time that you do gain upon the ten hours allowed to me by law (and you need only triflingly encroach upon the other two hours to refresh yourselves from time to time) may be added to the time you have economised of your own, and thus, at the close of your work, you will have a large portion of the afternoon wholly for yourselves.'

"It does not appear that the adoption of the task system has been the result of such explanation and agreement as I have adverted to. I cannot discover that the work is performed by task because the slave has been led to perceive it was most advantageous for him that it should be so performed.

"After very attentive enquiry, it does not seem to me that any option was left to him on the subject. Certain portions of work are allotted to him, and he has been broadly told, 'I know you can do that quantity of work, and if you do not, you shall be punished.' This is indeed to give a task; but it is not the allotment of work accompanied by an obvious motive to encourage its completion; it is surely not the adoption of the task system in the manner the subject was alluded to by the Memorialists (connected with these Colonies) to the King in Council in the year 1825.

"The manner in which the slave will naturally regard the matter is this: can he complete the task in such a portion of time as makes it worth his while to work vigorously? If he can complete it by about 3 P. M., it is because in that case he would gain at least an hour upon the lawful period for his employment allowed to his master; but if the task will occupy him (the strength of one person considered with regard to that of another) till four, or perhaps five in the afternoon, what does he gain by such a system of portioning the labour? Where is his encouragement to endeavour to complete the work? It would be better for him that no fixed quantity of work should be allotted, but that his master

should exact the ten hours of his employment in the field which the law has sanctioned, and that the slave should enjoy the two hours of remission between six in the morning and six in the evening.

"It is true that the quantum of the different species of field labour allotted to each person on sugar estates is nominally not very dissimilar; but is it always similarly judiciously modified according to the state of the field, the weather, the health, strength, and sex of the labourer? I greatly fear it is not.

"In the fact that the system is perfectly and successfully practised on certain estates, is to be found the most convincing proof of its complete efficacy; and I know that in those estates the great principle of the rule is, to take especial care that the labour of each day is proportioned according to all the circumstances demanding consideration. The task allotted to each person is such a quantum as it is quite clear can be performed by that person in eight, or eight hours and a half of reasonably vigorous labour; and the result of this simple and excellent principle is apparent in a diminished return of punishment, and a sustained, if not an increased return of produce.

"The task system, efficaciously practised, is the dawning of the production of sugar by the payment of wages. The master who pursues it humanely and skilfully finds it his interest, upon every account, to offer the slave the payment of an hour or two hours of the time allowed him by law for the employment of that slave, and, if this last finds that the work is so proportioned that he really can gain the offered price, he will be sufficiently disposed to make the effort; but in too many cases that offered price is unattainable, and therefore, of course, the effort is not made."—p. 594, 595.

"The task must not be increased because the slave, by dint of industrious practice, comes to perform it sooner than he did at first. It is obvious that, if the strictest faith be not unfailingly kept with the slave in this respect, he will be little disposed to work industriously.

"I should be glad to believe that such a case has not occurred; but at all events, if it has, it cannot be matter of surprise that such a practice of the task system has failed of success. The slave would be little inclined to work industriously if he felt that the early completion of his labour to-day would produce the allotment of a larger task to-morrow."

"On those estates where the task system is practised as it seems to be *just* to the slave, and *advantageous* to the master that it should be practised, the slaves employed in agricultural labour (one day taken with another throughout the year) have completed their task in the field at some time before 3 P. M.

"On many estates in this Colony, under present circumstances, the slaves employed in agricultural labour (one day with another throughout the year) *leave* off their work in the field (task is rarely ever *completed*) some time between the hours of 4 and 6 P. M., and usually nearer 6 than 4.

"I will not close these remarks without observing that in a recent conversation with a highly sensible gentleman (a proprietor in this Colony), on the mistaken policy of allotting such large portions of work to the slaves, or at all events not attending sufficiently to the modification of it according to circumstances, he said to me, that he was so satisfied of the truth of that view, that whenever his manager complained to him that the people did not complete their work, he was persuaded, and always discovered, that more had been allotted than it was reasonable to expect the slaves would strive vigorously to complete. In fact, it appeared either that there was no motive for industry, or that it was not sufficiently encouraging.

"This gentleman's return of punishment and return of produce are demonstrative of the truth of his opinions, and the advantage of his practice."

"It must be admitted that there is no cordial disposition frankly to accept and execute such legislation, and the means of enforcing an enactment of this kind, which could not fail to be generally obnoxious, are small, and extremely slow of operation."—p. 596.

"3. What is the ordinary length of the intervals of rest allowed during the day? and is that rest generally complete, or are there any duties to be performed either for the owner or for the more immediate advantage of the slave himself?"

"The slaves on those estates where the task system is properly practised take what rest they please in the field as it suits them, but, as they surely complete their tasks (one day with another throughout the year) some time before 3 P. M., they are always certain to gain an hour *more* than the time allowed them by law for rest and meals.

"The slaves upon most estates in this Colony, under present circumstances, probably enjoy about two hours of uninterrupted time for rest and meals during the period of their occupation in the field.

"It is almost the universal practice in this Colony to require that each field slave should collect a bundle of grass, and deposit it in the yard of the buildings, after the day's labour be closed. This bundle weighs, on a fair average, perhaps about eight pounds, and it is probably most frequently collected during the course of the day's work in the fields."

"In allotting the day's task to a slave, I think it would be fair to give him half an hour for the collection, bringing home, and depositing of his grass; proportioning the agricultural part of the task so that it could be finished in seven hours and a half; and for the collection, &c. &c., of the grass, half an hour more.

The slave has of course to attend afterwards to all his ordinary domestic and culinary offices.

"4. To what extent is labour required by night? how many nights or parts of nights is the same slave usually employed, and during what part of the year is nocturnal labour in use?"

The law provides that the slave shall enjoy at least eight hours' rest in the twenty-four.

In this country there is no regular time of crop. It occupies about ten days in every month, or about a third of the year. About twenty-four slaves are always about the works. The fire is lighted about four A.M., and extinguished about ten P.M. The slave, therefore, may enjoy eight hours of uninterrupted rest. Capt. Elliott alludes to the practice of having four or five people of the field during the night employed the whole year round as watchmen, and who are allowed no extra time either for preparation before the watch begins, or for rest after it is finished. The practice, he says, is not defensible, and ought to be prohibited (p. 597, 598).

"5. What is the average nature, amount, weight, and quality of the food allowed to plantation slaves, male and female, adults and children respectively?"

We know the schedule of the food and clothing required by law in Demerara; and it is miserably scanty (see Reporter, vol. iv. No. 82, p. 294). "But," observes Captain Elliott,

"It would be unjust to omit to remark, that the amount of the food allowed is, in general, less than the amount provided. Indeed I cannot help thinking that the slave has gained nothing by the enactment of this portion of the law. The proprietors of the large estates are generally liberal in these points, and their poorer neighbours are almost constrained to conform to their practice."—p. 598.

He adds that much has been done to diminish the amount, and facilitate the performance of manual labour. Cattle have been substi-

tuted for men to tow punts on the canals. Rail-roads have been constructed for removing the megass from the mill, an alleviation of an extremely pressing species of labour, principally performed by the women, and frequently with injurious consequences. And other improvements have been introduced to alleviate labour; and credit is due to the humanity of those who have promoted these changes (p. 598).

Having now given to the public a faithful abstract of the voluminous evidence laid before the Committee of the House of Commons in the last Session, before we proceed to lay before them the still more voluminous evidence taken by the Committee of the House of Lords, we would beg to make a few brief observations on the present state of the Slavery Question.

That the abolitionists have fully established their case in evidence, no disinterested and candid man who reads the preceding pages with attention will venture to deny. They have shown, not only that the slaves will incur no risk of suffering want by emancipation, but that their speedy emancipation affords the only rational prospect of preserving the public peace, and of securing the permanent interests of the planters themselves.

That this view of the subject will not be shaken, but, on the contrary, will be amply confirmed by the result of the evidence, which, under far different auspices, and with far different objects, was laid before the Committee of the House of Lords, we take it upon us most unhesitatingly to assert. And to this result we should come, even if we were to confine our view solely and exclusively to the pro-slavery part of the case as by them exhibited.---A pamphlet, however, has just appeared, certainly the production of no feeble pen, which, meanwhile, may be perused by every man who feels an interest in this great question; and it will at least render the unavoidable delay that must take place in abstracting the whole of the evidence of the House of Lords, containing 1394 closely printed folio pages, less a subject of regret than it otherwise would be. And here the West Indians will have no right to complain, because, though the review of our anonymous author be *ex parte*, it is nevertheless an exhibition of *their own evidence* exclusively, leaving out of view the adverse testimony.

The pamphlet to which we allude, and to which we leave, in the mean time, the task of repelling the objection that we have produced only a part of the evidence brought before parliament, bears the quaint signature of *Legion*—and is entitled "A Letter to His Grace the Duke of Richmond, Chairman of the Slavery Committee in the House of Lords, containing an Exposure of the Character of the Evidence on the Colonial side produced before the Committee."—It is printed for Bagster, 15, Paternoster Row.

Now, we mean not to be considered as justifying the style in certain expressions of this able and caustic writer; but what we mean confidently to affirm is this, that he has completely overthrown the whole weight and credit of the pro-slavery evidence brought forward in the Committee of the House of Lords; so that we may argue on the basis of that produced before the Committee of the House of Commons, without the slightest apprehension that any inference, which may be fairly deducible thence, shall be refuted by that of the Lords' Committee.

If, then, we are right in affirming that the abolitionists have proved their case, and that colonial slavery, admitted to be a crime of the deepest dye, may be abolished forthwith without injury to the great sufferers by that crime, and without danger either to the public peace or, but by their own fault, to the persons and property of the planters, there can then exist no adequate motive for a day's delay in proceeding to its extinction. Such delay, indeed, is to be deprecated, not more on account of the slaves than on that of their masters; the prolongation of the miseries of the former being only an increase of the risks, both as to life and property, of the latter.

The simple ground, however, on which we are disposed, and indeed can alone consent to place the question is this, Colonial Slavery is in itself a CRIME of the greatest enormity, besides being the parent of innumerable other crimes. It is an outrage on every principle of humanity and justice, and a flagrant violation of the spirit and precepts of Christianity. From the moment that this, its real nature, has been recognised there could exist no plea for permitting it to continue for an hour, but a well founded apprehension of injury to its victims from abolishing it. This apprehension, however, the offspring not of reason, but of mere prejudice, has now been demonstrated to be unfounded, and that with a clearness and force of evidence which cannot be resisted. What remains therefore for a Christian Government and Parliament to do but to pronounce its immediate and utter extinction, accompanying the measure by such wise and just precautions as may obviate the alarms of the most timid?

We are perfectly borne out in this view of the nation's duty by the often repeated and unequivocal declarations of not a few of his Majesty's present ministers:—

"I consider," says one who, though not actually a Cabinet minister, speaks on this particular point with the authority of one, we mean Lord Howick: "I consider the whole system of slavery one of such deep oppression, and iniquity, and cruelty, that, if I could be satisfied it was safe to emancipate the slaves now, I would say, 'Do so; and do it at once;' and we will settle scores among ourselves afterwards, and determine in what proportion the penalty of our guilt is to be paid. But the victims of that guilt *must not continue for one hour to suffer*, while we are haggling about pounds, shillings, and pence."

To this course, then, of taking immediate measures for the extinction of slavery, we can conceive but one possible objection on the part of the West Indians. It may be said that the examination of evidence in the two Committees was not completed at the close of the last session. But that examination, be it remembered, was wrung from the Government by the clamorous importunities of the whole West India body; and, before it commenced, Lord Goderich had already, in his circular despatch to the colonial governors of the 5th November, 1831, adduced the most conclusive and unanswerable reasons against the necessity of instituting any such enquiry. But, now that the opportunity has been reluctantly conceded to the colonists of bringing forward the best evidence which the whole range of the West Indies could supply, and that the result has been such as we have seen, we cannot believe that any government or any parliament will listen to a single plea for a moment's farther delay on that score. There can be no real pretence for hearing farther evidence (Lord Goderich himself being our witness), but DELAY; and therefore, on those who shall consent on that ground to renew so perfectly useless an enquiry, we must charge, before God and their country, all the awful responsibility that may follow such postponement. Neither the Government nor the Parliament, we are persuaded, will assent a second time to any such unreasonable proposition; but if, unhappily, our expectations in this respect should be disappointed, the people of the United Kingdom will not be satisfied with the decision, and will regard it as a virtual deviation from the numerous pledges so solemnly given on the hustings, at the late elections, and of which they will naturally demand a strict fulfilment.

Let the bill, therefore, which is to seal the death-warrant of slavery in every corner of the British empire, be brought in without any unnecessary delay, and let the irreversible decree go forth that that foul stain on the national character shall be effaced for ever.

When that too long delayed act of unquestionable justice shall have been performed, we shall then, with Lord Howick, deem it full time to consider, with every regard to equity, the question of the indemnities which ought to follow it.

ERRATA.

p. 314, line 10 from bottom, after *leave* read *unnoticed*.
,, ,, 1 ,, for *have* read *has*.
318, ,, 20 from top, for 1828 read 1829.
321, ,, 2 ,, for 1826 read 1825.
322, ,, 3 ,, for *me* read *him*.
327, ,, 10 from bottom, for *cocoas* read *cocoes*.
329, ,, 19 ,, for *estate was* read *estates were*.
339, ,, 1 of note, for *restrictions* read *resolutions*.
341, ,, 15 from top, after *states* read *facts*.
358, ,, 25 ,, after *prejudice* read *said Mr. Duncan*.
361, ,, 5 from bottom, for *it is my* read *it was his*.
366, ,, 24, 25, 26, 28, let the third person be substituted for the first—and a few similar corrections will be required in other places, but so obviously as not to need specification.

London:—S. Bagster, Jun., Printer, 14, Bartholomew Close.

THE

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

No. 105.] FEBRUARY, 1833. [Vol. v. No. 14.

ABSTRACT OF THE REPORT OF THE LORDS' COMMITTEES ON THE CONDITION AND TREATMENT OF THE COLONIAL SLAVES, AND OF THE EVIDENCE TAKEN BY THEM ON THAT SUBJECT; WITH NOTES BY THE EDITOR.

The Committee of the House of Lords commenced its sittings on the 13th May, and closed them on the 9th August, 1832.

The following 25 Peers were named upon it:—The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London and of Lichfield and Coventry; the Dukes of Buckingham* and Richmond; the Marquises of Sligo* and Westminster; Earls Harewood,* Radnor,* Selkirk,* and Bathurst; Viscounts Goderich, St. Vincent,* Combermere,* and Beresford; and Lords Seaford,* Ellenborough, Suffield, Holland,* Howard de Walden,* Redesdale, Colville,* Napier, Auckland, and Bexley. Of these, the 10 noblemen distinguished by an asterisk are known to be either slave-holders or the very near relatives of those who are. The three prelates, together with the Marquis of Westminster, Earl Bathurst, Viscount Goderich, and Lord Bexley, it is reported, took no part in the Committee. The Duke of Richmond occupied the chair; and of the remaining seven not one was recognized as a decided friend to anti-slavery principles, excepting Lord Suffield; the views of the other six being, to say the least, doubtful.

It was before a Committee thus constituted, as respected at least its *practical* efficiency, that this great question came on for investigation. Can any man wonder that the friends of the Negro regarded its appointment with some degree of apprehension and even dismay? That their fears have been agreeably disappointed by the result, they must attribute to causes wholly independent of the constitution of the Committee, and which, under the overruling providence of God, are to be traced rather to the happy ignorance prevailing, among most of the noble slave-holders who attended the Committee, of the real nature of the system they were so eager to maintain, than to any skill they possessed either to veil its deformities or to give prominence to any, if any there were, of its inherent claims to support. With one or two exceptions, none of them were personally acquainted with the object of their attachment. They may have previously known it only from the florid and delusive descriptions of interested agents, and were probably as much appalled by the disclosure of its undisguised lineaments as certain monarchs are said to have been shocked by the naked forms of the consorts to whom they found themselves united by proxy.

The following is the indecisive report of this Committee: "The Committee have applied themselves to the matters referred to them, and

considering that there was no prospect of their being able to examine into the state of all the West India Colonies during the continuance of the present session, came to an early determination to confine their enquiry, in the first instance, to the island of Jamaica; and though they have collected much evidence upon the condition of the slaves in that island, some of which is of the most contradictory description, yet they have not found it possible to enter into a detailed examination of many of the other points referred to them; and upon none has their inquiry been so complete as to enable them to submit to the House any definitive opinion. They have, amongst others, called before them planters, managers, and proprietors of estates, attorneys, overseers, persons having connection with the island, or who have visited it in public capacities, and missionaries of different persuasions; and the most material points brought under their notice have been—1st. Any progressive improvement which may have taken place in the state of the slaves since the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. 2nd. The actual state and condition of the slaves; the nature and duration of their labour; and also evidence as to instances of cruelty and gross abuse of authority and power. 3rd. The increase or decrease of the slave population as it respects Africans and Creoles, and as affected or not by the state and system of slavery.—And 4th. Plans for improving the condition of the slave, or effecting his emancipation; and opinions as to the probable condition of the Negro, and the effect upon society and property in the island which is likely to be produced by such emancipation.

"Beyond this the enquiry has unavoidably diverged into various collateral matters, from which the Committee could not abstain without omitting many important points, the consideration of which would be essential to a satisfactory conclusion.

"Under these circumstances, adverting to the advanced period of the session, and to the probable arrival of persons of authority from Jamaica, whose evidence would be most desirable, they have determined to postpone the consideration of any detailed report, and simply to lay the evidence collected before the House, with such an index as may enable the House, without difficulty, to refer to the information which has been obtained upon any of the objects of enquiry."

The evidence thus taken fills nearly 1400 folio pages, many of them closely printed, and which certainly form altogether a most ponderous and unwieldy mass. The utmost, therefore, we can hope to accomplish, within any reasonable limits, is to give a very compressed view of their multitudinous contents.

The pro-slavery witnesses examined by the Committee were as follows: —

1. The Duke of Manchester, who was Governor of Jamaica for 18 years, from 1807 to 1826 (p. 3—12 and p. 379—390).

2. Henry John Hinchcliffe, Esq., Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Jamaica, who resided in Jamaica 17 years, from 1801 to 1818 (p. 13—22; p. 322—328; and p. 339—345).

3. John Baillie, Esq., a planter and manager of estates in Jamaica,

who resided in Jamaica from 1788 to 1815, being 27 years; and afterwards revisited it in 1822 and 1825 (p. 22—25; 29—78; and 92—163).

4. Lord Seaford, a member of the Committee and a Jamaica planter (p. 88—92).

5. Major-General Sir John Keane, K. C. B., late lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief of Jamaica, who resided there eight years, from 1823 to 1830 (p. 163—185).

6. William Shand, Esq., a Jamaica proprietor, attorney, and manager, who resided there from 1791 to 1823; revisiting it again for a year and a half in 1825 and 1826; being nearly 34 years in all (p. 187—245).

7. Sir Michael Clare, M. D., who resided, with occasional absences, 30 years in Jamaica, viz., between 1798 and 1831 (p. 263—290).

8. Admiral Sir Lawrence Halsted, K. C. B., late commander-in-chief on the Jamaica station from 1823 to 1827 (p. 291—305 and p. 321).

9. Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Macdonald, of the Artillery, stationed for about five months in Jamaica, in 1829 and 1830, and for about six months in Honduras (p.305—320 and p. 391—395).

10. Rev. James Curtin, a missionary, and afterwards a parochial clergyman, in Antigua. He resided there from 1799 to 1830, in all 30 years (p. 345—367 and 396—412).

11. Lord Howard de Walden, a member of the Committee and a West-India proprietor (p. 369).

12. Rev. Dr. Barrett, secretary of the Conversion Society (p. 370—379).

13. Edmund Sharp, a Jamaica overseer for about 20 years, between 1811 and 1832 (p. 779—790).

14. Andrew Graham Dignum, a solicitor residing in Jamaica for 14 years, from 1818 to 1832 (p. 812—825 and p. 956—961).

15. William Burge, Esq., late attorney-general of Jamaica, and now agent of that colony; owner of a coffee plantation; who resided there 20 years, from 1808 to 1828 (p. 965—976, 981—993, and 997—1042).

16. William Thomas, a Berbice planter, resident there for 15 years prior to 1832 (p. 1065—1071).

17. E. J. Wolsey, who resided at Hayti for six months and in the United States for three years (p. 1057—1065).

Besides these witnesses various papers and abstracts were produced, in the course of the enquiry, by Thomas Amyott, Esq., registrar of colonial slaves (p. 27—29); R. G. Amyott, Esq., his chief clerk (p. 81—88; 248—261; 449—455; and 1079); and also by Mr. Edward Irving, an accountant (p. 976—979; 993—996; 1010—1013; 1072, and 1073; and 1076 and 1077); and by Mr. E. R. Fayerman (p. 1013).

The anti-slavery witnesses were nine in number, viz.—

1. Rev. John Barry, a Wesleyan missionary, who quitted Jamaica in 1832, after residing there six years (p. 412—448, and 456—548).

2. Vice-Admiral the Hon. Charles E. Fleming, commander-in-chief on the Jamaica station from 1827 to 1830 (p. 548—563).

3. William Taylor, Esq., a merchant and manager of estates in Jamaica for 13 years, between 1816 and 1831 (p. 565—633).

4. Rev. Peter Duncan, a Wesleyan missionary during more than 11 years in Jamaica, from 1821 to 1832 (p. 635—706).

5. Rev. Thomas Morgan, a Wesleyan missionary, who resided in Jamaica and other West-India islands for 16 years, between 1812 and 1831 (p. 707—722).

6. Rev. William Knibb, a Baptist missionary, who resided in Jamaica seven years, from 1825 to 1832 (p. 723—779, and 801—810).

7. Rev. Thomas Cooper, a Unitarian missionary, who resided in Jamaica upwards of three years, from 1818 to 1821 (p. 790—799, and 810—812).

8. Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq., M. P. (p. 827—956).

9. Rev. John Thorpe, a clergyman of the established church, who resided in Jamaica for nearly three years, in 1827, 1828, and 1829 (p. 1048—1750).

Besides the examinations of these witnesses the Report contains a great mass of documentary evidence, to which we shall specifically advert after we have given a brief abstract of the oral testimony on both sides, beginning with that which was adduced in favour of Slavery.

PRO-SLAVERY WITNESSES.

1. The Duke of Manchester.

It is hardly possible to conceive any thing more meagre and unsatisfactory than the testimony given by this nobleman. After having filled the high office of governor of Jamaica for 18 years, during the interesting period which extended from the date of the abolition of the slave-trade, in 1807, to the passing of the disallowed slave-law (misnamed ameliorating) of 1826, he appears to know as little either of the events which took place under his government, or of the spirit and temper of the different classes of the population subject to his rule, or of the laws which he was appointed to administer, or of the changes in those laws which he was instructed to recommend or required to sanction, or even of the death-warrants he was called officially to sign, as might have been found (if not even less than might have been found) in the commonest observer of the same transactions who derived his information of them only from the journals of the day. His memory, which we should have thought must have been stamped with indelible impressions of the occurrences of that eventful and spirit-stirring crisis, exhibits a smooth and unruffled surface, an almost absolute blank: and he reminds us much more forcibly of a sultan immured within the walls of his haram than of a high British functionary appointed by his sovereign to watch over the lives and the liberty, the well-being and the improvement, of nearly half a million of his fellow-subjects. This is indeed a melancholy exhibition! We pretend not to say where the blame rests; but we trust that the days have now

vanished for ever which can be darkened and disgraced by so painful and mortifying a spectacle; and when the powers, whether of good or evil, possessed by the British Government over the destinies of distant provinces, are delegated to hands so little fitted to wield them.

Mr. Burge, if we understand him correctly, has taken to himself the credit (p. 967) of having marshalled the array of the pro-slavery host for the late conflict. If so, he has certainly not shown himself an able tactician. His choice of the Duke of Manchester to lead the van of his battle in the House of Lords, and of Captain Williams to head that in the House of Commons, reflects no lustre on his discernment. It exhibits rather something of that infatuation which we have been apt to impute to the West Indian body, but from which we were fully disposed beforehand to exempt that learned gentleman.

The Duke of Manchester's testimony may be thus summed up:—The treatment of the slaves was excellent; their food and clothing abundant (though he cannot specify quantities); and their dwellings remarkably good in general. They all had land to cultivate for themselves, and the markets of the island were supplied from the excess of their produce with provisions, pigs, and poultry; and their property was secure. Such was their state as much when the Duke first landed in Jamaica as when he quitted it. The slaves might now be more enlightened, but, in other respects, not a bit better off than they were twenty years ago (p. 3, 4). He did not recollect any legislative enactments tending to improvement in his time, though there may have been one or two since he came away; but complaints of slaves were much more attended to. There was no feeling of private insecurity while he remained, except during the latter years of his stay, when two or three partial insurrectionary movements occurred (p. 5). The only idea, he conceived, the slaves had of emancipation was the having nothing to do. Thirty days' labour in the year, or as he afterwards says (p. 381), on the authority of Bryan Edwards, twenty, was enough to supply their wants, and they would, therefore, have no motive to labour beyond this. As to confidence in their masters, the slaves could feel little of it, as there are hardly any of their masters there. They did not know their masters generally. He believed the slaves possessing property were superior persons, but he did not know what distinctions there were among them, and could not specify instances (p. 6). He did not recollect what had passed in the Jamaica Assembly as to their refusal to appoint protectors, or as to the admission of slave evidence, except that it was admitted against their fellow-slaves, though not against white or free persons; or as to compulsory manumission; or as to marriage. Sunday markets were not abolished in his time; but he believed, though of that he was not certain, that the slaves had Saturday as well as Sunday, or at least every other Saturday, except during crop. He was not aware of any law giving the slaves a legal right of property; nor of any attempt to substitute the cat for the cart-whip, or to prevent indecency in the flogging of females; nor could he tell whether the slaves, though liable, as he conceived, to be punished by magistrates, were also liable to be punished by councils

of protection, for unfounded complaints (p. 7, 8). He recollected an attack on the house of a Wesleyan missionary at Christmas, 1826; but he had not succeeded in discovering its authors, nor did he know that it was perpetrated by white militia-men, or that it was excited by an inflammatory sermon of the Rev. Mr. Bridges, which sermon he had nevertheless read, and did not consider as inflammatory at all* (p. 9).

His Grace was further questioned as to certain trials and executions of slaves which had taken place under his sanction, in 1823 and 1824, in the parishes of St. Mary, St. George, St. James, and Hanover, but he was wholly unable to speak clearly as to the circumstances of any of them. He did not even know, though he admitted they were condemned as rebels, that they were taken in arms. "I will not be certain about arms; but they were taken in the act of rebellion certainly," but what act he could not tell. He had looked at all the evidence laid before him, but had called for no further evidence. He could not recollect whether the whole of it was not hearsay. He did not believe that any witness for the prosecution had been cross-examined. "How, indeed," he aptly asks in reply, "could it have been?" for the accused were "certainly not defended by counsel." He had never heard that a promise of freedom was held out to the witnesses for the prosecution; or that a father named Stirling had been convicted and executed on the unsworn evidence of his own son, a lad of thirteen; or that a husband had been found guilty and hanged on the evidence of his wife† (p. 10, 11).

The Duke is questioned as to the fact of the indemnity made to the master for the slaves who may be executed. He admits that in such cases "the owner is allowed a sum of money," but, he believes, "generally much below the value. It used to be about £40. That

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* We also have read the sermon, and we cannot but marvel at his Grace's judgment of it. Its tendency, if not its aim, was to excite the white militia to rise from their Christmas revels to assail the Methodists. His Grace's apology for the transaction is that it was a drunken outrage.

† And yet such were the facts of the case, as exhibited on the very face of the evidence which was submitted to the Duke of Manchester, and on which he authorized the execution of eight of the king's subjects in one day; and which he himself transmitted to Lord Bathurst; and which Lord Bathurst laid before the House of Commons, and by whose order they were printed, on the 1st March, 1825, No. 66.—For a full account of the many foul judicial murders which occurred in Jamaica during the years 1823 and 1824, and of which his Grace's recollections are so feeble and imperfect, the reader may refer to this important parliamentary document, and to an abstract of it contained in a pamphlet published by Hatchard, and to be had at the Anti-Slavery Office, entitled "The Slave Colonies of Great Britain, or a Picture of Negro Slavery, by the Colonists themselves" (p. 35—63); and also to the speech of the present Lord Chief Justice, then Mr. Denman, delivered in the House of Commons on the 2nd of March, 1826, when he moved a resolution reprobating, in the strongest terms of sorrow and indignation, the perversion of law and the violation of justice displayed in these trials and executions. See the parliamentary debates of that day, and the Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. I. No. 10, p. 113, &c.

is allowed by law"* (p. 11). On a subsequent examination which his Grace underwent respecting these trials (see p. 386), he aims at salving all defects and justifying the warrant to execute eight of the king's subjects, by stating that he could not recollect the evidence on which he had concluded they were guilty, and besides no Governor, he conceives, could get any thing by sifting a Negro's evidence. "It must be done by persons who understood their language and habits, and are used to their tricks;" implying, it would seem, that he felt himself wholly incompetent to the task of re-examining the evidence; and he further, by way of making his apology complete, says, "I KNOW *that the persons executed all confessed.*" Mr. Burge, he thinks, was Attorney-General at the time.†

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* The Duke is so far right, in saying that this most iniquitous practice is sanctioned by law in Jamaica; but he is quite mistaken in supposing that the indemnity is limited to £40. On the contrary, in the case of the eight executions which he himself authorized in St. Mary's, the indemnities were as follows, viz.—Henry Nibbs (the man convicted by his wife), £50; Charles Brown, £100; James Stirling (the man executed on the evidence of his son), £65; Charles Watson, £80; Rodney Wellington, £70; William Montgomery, £100; Richard Cosley, £100; Morris Henry, £90. All these poor creatures, except the first, belonged to an estate called Frontier, the property of Archibald Stirling, Esq., a Scotch gentleman, who stands high in reputation in Scotland as a religious character, but who seems to have pocketed £605 as the price of the blood of these seven innocent and murdered men. These valuations stand recorded in the Jamaica Royal Gazette, of the 28th December, 1823, which states that the crimes for which they were "all found guilty *on the clearest evidence*, and sentenced to be hanged," were "rebellious conspiracies, and *other crimes*, to the ruin and destruction of the white people and others of this island, and for causing, exciting, and promoting others thereto; and also for being concerned in rebellion, and *designing* to commit murder, felony, burglary, and to set fire to certain houses, and out-houses; and *compassing and imagining the death of the white people* in the said parish"—(bless their majesties!) Can all this be believed? And yet not one overt act of any kind was even alleged to have been committed. The only witnesses even of a *design* of committing any offence was a boy of thirteen, who charged his own father with it, and a man named Ned, who, we are expressly told, in the Royal Gazette of the 21st of December, 1823, that of the preceding week, did not even depose to any such *design* on the part of any one, until he had "received a promise of pardon, and also of his freedom," if he would "discover the whole plot." And yet the Duke of Manchester, and Mr. Hinchcliffe, and Sir John Keane, and Mr. Shand, and Mr. Burge himself, who was the Attorney-General, the law adviser of his Grace at this time, *cum multis aliis*, can tell us fine tales of the effective protection and security, and of the unrivalled felicity of men on whom such deeds may be perpetrated with impunity. Such is the state in which Sir Charles Rowley says he would prefer to be born to labour, rather than in that of the English peasant. See No. 104, p. 443.

† What part Mr. Burge may have taken in this matter we know not, though he and Mr. Bullock were probably the Duke's counsellors on the occasion. Mr. B. best knows. But certainly nothing can be more contrary to the fact than the statement made, on the Duke's alleged knowledge, "that the persons executed all confessed." This statement is directly contradicted by Colonel Cox, who was present at the trial and execution of those men. In a letter to the Duke, dated the day after the execution, viz. on the 25th of December, 1823, inserted in the papers of 1825, No. 66, p. 44, Colonel Cox says, "only one of the

His Grace thinks that the insurrectionary movements of which he had spoken were to be traced to the Negro's desire to emancipate himself. This he believes was the sole cause of the disturbances in St. James and Hanover, in 1824. They certainly did not arise, he says, from ill usage—(p. 380).*

The Duke is of opinion that attorneys and overseers are as likely to manage well and leniently as the proprietors themselves—(p. 381). He was again questioned about the famous Slave Law passed by him in 1826, and disallowed by the Crown; but he had forgot all about it, and could reply distinctly to none of the questions—(p. 383, 384). He was further questioned as to the attack on the Methodist Missionary at St. Ann's, after an inflammatory sermon by Mr. Bridges, and he stated his incapacity to call to mind the circumstances of the case, or the causes which prevented the detection and punishment of the delinquents. He relieved himself at last by referring the whole matter to Mr. Burge, who, he thinks, was the Attorney General at the time, "and would be much more able to answer these questions than I can be." "It was *his* (Mr. Burge's) *special* duty to take measures for the discovery. He was instructed to do it"—(p. 385).

The Duke admitted that he had been intimate with Mr. Bridges, who, he added, was "a person with whom any one would be glad to be acquainted, as a gentleman and a man of learning"—(p. 388). He had heard that day, for the first time, of the case of Mr. Bridges and

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wretches confessed to the Rev. Mr. Gerod that it was their *intention* to have burned Frontier works, and Port Maria, and killed the whites. But none would mention any other Negroes connected with them, or show any symptoms of religion or repentance. They ALL declared they would die like men, and they met their fate with perfect indifference." Even the qualified statement of Mr. Cox is untrue. On the very scaffold, as we should be able to show, pardon was offered to such of them as would acknowledge their guilt, and discover their accomplices, but they, one and all, persisted in protesting their own innocence, and positively refused to save their lives by criminating other persons of whose guilt they had no knowledge. We are the more forward to state these circumstances, because not only is Mr. Burge in England, but Abraham Hodgson, Esq., the custos of St. Mary, who presided at the trial, and himself attended the execution of these eight WRETCHES, is now also in this country. He is one of the delegates sent from Jamaica along with Mr. Barrett to assist Mr. Burge in pleading the cause of slavery in the present session of parliament. It is awful to contemplate the total indifference to Negro life, as well as to all the forms as well as essentials of justice which marked the whole of the proceedings of that feverish period.

* Here again the Duke of Manchester is contradicted by the documents which he himself transmitted to this country in 1824. See the parliamentary papers already alluded to, No. 66 of 1825, p. 118. The disturbance on Argyle estate, in Hanover, belonging to Mr. Malcolm, was solely owing to that gentleman's having most unwarrantably and gratuitously endeavoured to shorten the slaves' Saturdays, by requiring them to muster in the field and work there some time before they were dismissed to their grounds. This conduct was not only unjust, but illegal, and it was obstinately persisted in by Mr. Malcolm, notwithstanding the complaints and remonstrances of his slaves.

Kitty Hilton.* Being shown a cart-whip, he said he had seen many such in Jamaica, though this, he thought, was somewhat larger than those used by the drivers. He had never, however, had one in his hand in Jamaica; and had seen it hung over the driver's shoulder, or coiled round his stick. He admitted that they made a shocking noise with their whips; and that in Jamaica every thing was done by the whip: it was used for signals; and, if a boy was set to drive chickens, the first thing he did was to make a whip. Every estate has stocks to confine Negroes (p. 388).

On estates, the Duke always found old slaves comfortably provided for, he supposed by their own families. Very few slaves went to church. The driver carried, of course, the whip to stimulate the slaves to work; and, if they did not work, the driver would use his whip for that purpose—(p. 389, 390).

Such is the evidence of the Duke of Manchester, brought forward in the front of their battle by the Colonial Committee, to establish their pro-slavery case, and to confute the calumnies of the Abolitionists and of the Anti-Slavery Reporter. We greatly doubt whether the result will satisfy them. It perfectly satisfies us. We ought, perhaps, to apologize to our readers for giving so much space to it; but the rank of the witness, and the importance attached to his evidence by the West Indians, seemed to justify this lengthened notice of it.

2. H. J. Hinchcliffe, Esq.

This lawyer,—for many years, we believe, the King's Advocate, and latterly the Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Jamaica,—has surprised us by his evidence still more than even the noble Governor of that colony. His professional education and his legal habits were likely to have made his information, during 17 years of uninterrupted residence, of some value. It is nearly valueless. He knows nothing, he tells us, but "from general observation" of the condition of the slave population; but that, he conceives, enables him to state that, "as compared with the labouring population in any other country, it was exceedingly good indeed" (p. 13). Want, as to food or clothing, was unknown among them; he had "no notion of any thing of the sort;" and, as far as he knew, their treatment was good and kind. He had not been led even to think of the subject of emancipation before he left the island in 1818; and now he had no idea of a slave, if freed, doing more than supply his own wants, and that he would not very soon relapse into barbarism. In his time, no religious instruction had been given to the slaves except by missionaries, and of them or of

* Mr. Bridges has certainly succeeded in gaining the friendship of successive Governors. He was, it is asserted, no less the favoured associate of the convivial hours of the Duke's successor than he was of the Duke himself. Yet this chosen and familiar companion of his Majesty's representatives in that great island stands marked with infamy in the judicial records of Jamaica, and in the official communications of his Majesty's Secretary of State. He has also been convicted of a false and malicious libel on the courts of this country. See the Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. iii., No. 66, and vol. iv., No. 76, p. 140, and No. 79, p. 246.

the state of religion he knows little. Few plantation slaves were then baptized, and he had never heard of a marriage among them. The planters were jealous of the influence of the missionaries in getting money from the slaves. He seemed to know absolutely nothing of any labours of clergymen among them (p. 14—16). Slaves had certainly no legal right to property in his time, but he had never heard of its being interfered with, though many of them, he believed, possessed property. The treatment of the slaves was, he also believed, lenient; and the leaning of jurors, on trials, in their favour: but he could not recollect particular instances. Indeed he had never seen a slave trial. The judges were almost all planters, and not professional men, and they acted in general without any legal assessor (p. 17—19).

Mr. Hincheliffe underwent a second examination, but little more was elicited from him, by means of it, except matters of mere vague opinion and not of knowledge. He was inclined to think, upon the whole, that the act of 1831 did give slaves a legal right of property, but of this he was not sure. He much disapproved of a slave protector, as being discourteous to the master, and as prejudicially interfering between him and the slave. On various other points he professed himself wholly uninformed. He knew no slave that could read (p. 322—331).

His statements were equally vague as to the industry whether of the slaves or of the free. He inclined to think, however, that the slave would work more diligently for himself on his own one day in the week, while compelled to work five days for his master. The late insurrection, he was of opinion, though he had no knowledge of the fact, was excited by the missionaries. Of the missionaries, however, whether white or black, he knew nothing, excepting in the case of one man, a Baptist, whom he believed to be a very respectable, well-behaved man. The general impression respecting them, however, among the planters, was unfavourable (p. 332—336).

Mr. Hincheliffe had witnessed punishments, but he did not think they could be called severe, if they permitted a man to return to his work immediately, or in a day or two after. The flogging both of men and women was on the posteriors. He believed it was not uncommon to *pickle* the wounds after a flogging. He did not know how many lashes the driver might inflict of his own authority; it might be five or ten. The master or manager might inflict 39. He believed that acts of cruelty would excite general indignation in Jamaica. He had never attended a slave court in his life; but he believed the slave had no *civil* remedy. Of the means of redress, in other cases, enjoyed by the slaves, he begged to refer to the slave law. As to licentiousness, he seemed to admit that it was pretty general among all classes, but not attended with the same violations of external decency which might be witnessed in populous cities in Europe (p. 340—344).

On the whole, the evidence of this gentleman might well have been spared; but it is at least harmless. If it proves any thing, it proves this, that a man of good education and respectable acquirements may

pass not merely a few months, but 17 or 18 years in a slave colony, and know as little of its interior as if he had passed his whole life in travelling between Lincoln's Inn and Westminster Hall.

3. John Baillie, Esq.

We come at length to a planter, and a man of no small experience in that capacity, for he had resided in Jamaica 27 years at a stretch, till 1815, and had afterwards visited it twice between 1822 and 1826. His experience, during that time, taught him that the slaves were "happy and contented;" sufficiently provisioned, particularly in his own district, including Westmoreland, St. James, Trelawny, Hanover, and St. Ann; and that they were remarkably improved in moral and religious feeling. The character of overseers, he said, was also improved. The property of slaves was uniformly protected. In case of ill usage, a slave generally obtained redress by going to a magistrate or a neighbouring gentleman. He had every facility in making his complaints, and also for religious worship. This testimony applied to the period even before 1815. He found matters still more improved in his last visits. Baptisms were more frequent, and that in gangs of 20, 30, or 40. The clergyman was invited, and had a dinner, with a douceur of £25 or £30 besides. Before 1815, baptism was generally granted on request as a boon; marriage, too, was now much more frequent. His own estate, Rochampton, in St. James's, has about 350 slaves. He had *no school upon it*, but he understood that schools had increased "for coloured children." Voluntary manumissions he understood also to have become very frequent. *He had offered to sell manumission to his own slaves, but not one had ever accepted it.* He thought all masters should be willing to do so whenever slaves apply for it. His own Negroes, to whom he offered to sell their freedom, had the means of paying for it. One of them, of the name of John Baillie, who refused the offer, possessed from £600 to £800; *but* HE *was executed the other day as a leader in the rebellion.* He was originally a mason, and made a deal of money in that way; but, being a confidential person, he was made head driver, and getting lame, though only 48 years of age, he was then made a ranger to go round the estate, and had a mule to ride and a boy to attend him; he had also his house and land, and cattle running on the estate. In the last return of May, 1831, he stood in the list "exempt from labour," and yet "he was one of the ringleaders in the rebellion." Mr. Baillie cannot tell precisely what property his Negroes were possessed of.* He had never known but one man, a brown man, who had applied to purchase his freedom and been refused. He was a slave of Mr. Gordon, a gentleman who has distinguished himself in Greece (p. 22—25).

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* The above statement is, in some of its parts, so extravagant and incredible that we felt disappointed that it should have been followed by no cross-examination. In a later part of the enquiry, however, we find it again adverted to, but still in a way which leaves a part of its strange inconsistencies unexplained. The *only* time, Mr. Baillie observes, that he offered his slaves leave to buy their freedom was (we presume during the Christmas revels) about Christmas, 1825.

When Mr. Baillie first went to Jamaica very little trouble was taken to instruct slaves; much more has been taken latterly. Sunday is now never made use of as a day of labour; formerly it was. Female slaves are not treated or punished indecently by their masters, who, he thinks, have less power, *quoad* licentiousness, than is possessed over maid-servants in England. Slaves are certainly not often subjected to barbarity in punishment, and the means of redress are always easily to be had. Complaints, whether trivial or serious, are *never* smothered. The slave law prohibits the separation of families. No difficulty attends slave evidence, in the case of acts of cruelty. Slaves, once made free, are never reduced to slavery again. No labouring population, certainly, can be better fed; and no slave is compelled to do half the work of an English labourer. It is clearly the master's interest to feed and clothe his slaves well. Slaves are proud of wearing shoes, but they throw them off when not waiting at table. The planter has to support the old and young, and all incapable of labour. Free labour is to be preferred to slave labour, if it can be obtained. A slave's dwelling is sacred from the master. The intrusion of a protector, therefore,

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They refused it, but gave no reason for their refusal. They "laughed in his face," and an old African man, the same identical John Baillie, the ranger mentioned above, speaking for the rest, said, "Massa, me know better, massa, than take freedom." "I never offered it," Mr. Baillie adds, "but on that occasion." "The whole gang were up, and I called three or four of them, and, *in a laughing way*, said, 'You have heard talk a great deal about freedom. If any of you want to be free, I am willing to give it to you. John, what do you think of it?' It was done *in a jocular way*, but perfectly in earnest, if they would avail themselves of it." This offer to sell them their freedom, he adds, was general, and, though the ranger alone answered, yet any one might have dissented from him. In speaking of the property of his slaves, however, on a former day, he had referred to this one man, his slaves generally "*certainly not*" having sufficient property to purchase their freedom. This man, he knew, did possess property, and the ground of his knowledge he thus states: 'He had cattle running upon the estate (two cows and their calves); he had also a flock of goats, and he had also hogs and poultry; and, when the conversation took place as to his freedom, his daughter stated to him, "Massa, he can buy us free very well if he choose; he have plenty of money.'" Being asked how he knew that this ranger, who was executed for rebellion, possessed the sum of £600 or £800, which he had represented him to possess, and also how it was invested, he said he had no other means of knowing the fact than he had already stated, and that the property was in "money, or in stock, as cattle, pigs, and so on;" and if in money, it was "perhaps hid away." He could not tell what had become of this property since the ranger's execution, but he hoped to ascertain it on his return to Jamaica, which was about to take place. Being further asked what he conceived had been the man's object in revolting, he replied, "It is totally impossible for me to conjecture; I had such confidence in him that if my family had been there, even my daughters, I should have implicitly placed them in his charge and thought them perfectly safe."

Now what can be said to all this? It must either be the wildest fable ever fabricated, a mere romance, or this poor man must have suffered from his overseer some very harsh and unworthy treatment of which his master knew nothing. The sound of a cart-whipping, and the groans it may have drawn from him, of course could not reach the ears of his master across the Atlantic, and to what indignities besides he or his daughter may have been subjected who can tell?

would be offensive to him. Mr. Baillie objects strongly to a protector, as unnecessary and injurious, and as likely to generate discontents. The Negro houses are very comfortable, but he himself did not often enter them. He has gone into the house of his ranger, and had wine offered him there. His slaves had no day given them for their grounds in crop time, but he sometimes gave four or five additional days after crop. He admitted, however, that it would be an advantage to the slaves, at all seasons, to have time for cultivating their grounds. The only slave on his estate who had cattle was his ranger: he had two cows, and some calves. The slaves *do not eat much animal food, and what they do eat they like to eat in a putrid state* * (p. 29—39).

Then follow, in this and other parts of Mr. Baillie's evidence, questions about the name and use of the cart-whip or driving whip, as if it were of the slightest importance what name it bears, or what is its precise form or size, so long as it serves to lacerate the bared limbs of human beings, men and women; prickly rods being employed to aggravate its lacerations, and brine or lime-juice to add to its torture. Mr. Baillie, however, stands pre-eminent among pro-slavery witnesses for the unflinching boldness of his assertions respecting the non-use of the whip. Many years ago, this practical planter of thirty years' standing had seen such a thing as a cart-whip; but, if *used* at all, it must have been before the abolition of the slave trade. No such thing has been known since; nay its inflictions have been wholly discontinued since 1795! He has not known it since that time, either on his own estate or on any of the estates in the surrounding district for twenty miles. The whip is carried into the field certainly; but not as an instrument of punishment, only as an emblem of authority. Then, he says, the laws of Jamaica prohibit the use of the whip in inflicting punishments without ample time being allowed after the offence has been committed; whereas it is well known there is no such law in Jamaica. In short, the whole of his evidence is of so random and rambling a nature, that we feel some difficulty in believing that the witness could understand the meaning of the words he uttered. At the very moment he is saying that the use of the whip has been discontinued since 1795, he limits the number of the lashes that may be given by the driver in the field to six. Again, he denies, in the strongest terms, the use of

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* It would be endless to expose all the strange unmeaning statements and misrepresentations contained in the above abstract of ten pages of Mr. Baillie's evidence; contradicted too as much of it is by other pro-slavery witnesses;—such as Sunday is never used as a day of labour—women are not indecently flogged, and are not exposed to licentious outrage—there are no barbarous punishments—the slaves have easy means of redress—there is no separation of families, &c. Even when he speaks the truth he strangely disfigures it. The slaves do not eat much animal food in Jamaica. That is true. Many of them eat none at all. But then he would imply, because they eat it putrid, that they prefer it in that state. The fact is, they are driven by necessity to eat it putrid, for they can get little else. The Negroes in Cuba, Caraccas, and Hayti eat good beef daily. Why do they not in Jamaica? Simply because they cannot get it. In Hayti, beef is twopence a pound—in Jamaica, a shilling; and, if the slaves used it, it would be double that price in a week.

the whip to compel field labour; yet, when he is asked, in a subsequent part of his examination, whether there is a hope as to the fitness of the slaves for emancipation, he replies, "I conceive not; for the nature of the Negro is such that, unless he is *compelled*, he will not work." He does not even think it possible that, in any number of years to come, the slave would be prepared to labour as labour is conducted in other parts of the world; and, if free, he would be unable to take care of his family. Slaves made free, he maintains, become mere nuisances, and are no assistance to any one—(p. 41—45 and 60, 61). Emancipation would be the ruin of the slaves—(p. 115).

What possible use can be made, even so as to form an intelligible abstract, of such wild and contradictory statements?

It will be wholly unnecessary to follow Mr. Baillie in his details (p. 45—60) of the various employments of his slaves by day and by night, and which occupy many pages that tend to nothing and convey no useful information whatever. In the course of his evidence he takes occasion to allude to his anxiety for the religious instruction of his slaves, and to his having even meditated building a chapel for them on his estate; but his attorney told him it would be throwing away money to do so. He therefore abandoned the plan. His favourite ranger seems to have been little inclined to attend to religion: he preferred having three wives to paying it any attention—(p. 51, 52). The only conversation he states himself to have had with his slaves about marriage was to ridicule it (p. 157).

"Sunday," says Mr. Baillie, "has become a day of rest by law;" and this he affirms in the teeth of the very last slave act, which legalizes Sunday markets till eleven o'clock. Again, "The slaves *never* have been compelled to cultivate their grounds on Sundays" (p. 55).—And yet they never had any other day allowed them by law but Sunday, until the very year, 1788, that Mr. Baillie first visited the island.

The endless enquiries and remarks about shoes, and beards, and razors, are only laughable. The object seems to have been to prove that the Negro's foot was not made to wear shoes, although it is admitted they wear them if they can on gala days, and while waiting at table, and that they may protect the feet from many an injury; and also to prove that the Negroes, having no beards, do not want razors, though no man can take the trouble to inspect a Negro's face without seeing that the beard, which even Mr. Baillie admits is conspicuous in the aged from its whiteness, is only obscured in the young by the common blackness of the hair and skin.

We may also omit the details about spell-keeping, and hospitals, and ploughing, and holeing, summing up the whole in a brief sentence:—That, generally speaking, the slaves have, in crop-time, not more than six hours' rest in the twenty four; that hospitals are sometimes coveted by the slaves as a respite from severe toil; and that the hands of men and women are too generally employed in digging the ground, where ploughs and cattle would do the same work much more effectually, and to the obvious saving of human health and life. These are all points we need not touch upon or attempt to prove.

It were still more vain to follow Mr. Baillie in his loose, undigested, and wholly unauthenticated statements respecting the increase and

decrease of the slave population. He specifies, however, certain estates, in the management of which he himself was still concerned, and from which he had received recent returns of the population, which he affirmed to be increasing on *all* of them. But on inspecting the authentic accounts of the population of those particular estates in the year 1827, as compared with the year 1831, as they stand in the sworn returns of the overseers to the different parish vestries, it is evident that Mr. Baillie must have been misinformed on the subject. We find only two of the six estates he mentions to have increased in that time—namely, the estate of Home Castle in St. Ann, belonging to the late Mr. R. Hume Gordon, and Georgia in Trelawney, belonging to Mr. Thomas Gordon. On the former there were, in 1827, 318, and, in 1831, 339; so that, supposing there was no addition by purchase or removal, the increase by birth would be 21, or nearly two per cent. per annum. On Georgia the number, in 1827, was 255, and, in 1831, 258. The population of the remaining four estates was as follows, viz.—Blackness, in Westmoreland (the late Mr. Grant's), in 1827, 258; in 1831, 254; the decrease in the six previous years having been 33. Gibraltar, in Trelawney (Mr. Campbell's), in 1827, 163: in 1831, 157. Steelfield, in Trelawney, in 1827, 213; in 1831, 211; the decrease of the six previous years having been 26, and of the whole ten years 28. Orange Bay, in Hanover, in 1827, 281; and in 1831, 264; the decrease of the preceding six years having been 28, and of the whole ten years 45.

Mr. Baillie blunders sadly about the law of slave evidence. In one place he says (p. 122) that he never knew it rejected. The only law on that subject, however, the law of 1831, may be seen in the last number of our Reporter, No. 104, p. 446. He is certain, too, that a Negro cannot now be punished with 39 stripes, by his master or manager, for merely being absent from his work (p. 76, 77). There exists, however, no law imposing any such restraint on the master's power. Indeed, Mr. Baillie himself afterwards admits this (p. 120).

Being asked respecting the licentious intercourse between the sexes said to be prevalent in Jamaica, he replied that he did not consider that there was any licentious intercourse between them. It was true white people had all black or coloured mistresses living with them on the footing of man and wife in this country; but he had never seen any violation of decency. He could not name one friend, or any overseer or other person, who did not indulge in this practice. He had never known any missionaries who did so, nor any clergyman; but, if he were told they did, he would believe it (p. 108, 109). He could say nothing of schools: he had never visited any. Estates, he conceived, had nothing to do with schools. He had never put a slave to school, and never knew one who could read. He believed Mr. Charles Nicholas Pallmer had established a school on his estates* (p. 111, 112).

Mr. Baillie did not know what allowance of food the law required to be given to a slave when he had no provision grounds of his own. The law of humanity was the only law he knew on that point. He

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* The attempt failed. See No. 104, p. 346.

never knew a penalty enforced for an insufficient supply of sustenance to a slave (p. 125, 126).

In a later period of his examination, the driving whip was again the subject of enquiry; and he then contradicted much of what he had said before. He denied, indeed, vehemently, the use at all of the cart-whip in the field. It was quite another sort of whip which was carried there; and even that was used, not for punishment, but show. It was generally discontinued—not, as he said at first, in 1795, but, he believed, in 1815. He even admitted that the driver is not now prevented from using it in the field by any law. On the contrary, he said that, during the twenty-seven years he had been a planter, men and women *did* labour under the direction of a driver with a whip in his hand (p. 128).

Mr. Baillie had testified that the slave was not compelled to do half so much work as the English labourer did. Being re-examined on this point he acknowledged he knew absolutely nothing of English labour (p. 129, 130).

The question of the duration of night-work was again resumed (p. 130—137), and with the same confusion as we have noticed in every other pro-slavery witness. We again refer our readers on that subject to the notes in our last number (104), p. 337, and 417 and 418.

The time required by the Negro to cultivate provisions for himself and family no witness could state very precisely. One witness, Mr. Shand, did not scruple to say that one day, in some instances, or a week in others, was quite sufficient. The Duke of Manchester and others raised the number to thirty or perhaps twenty. Mr. Baillie seemed to think that the 26 allowed by law might be enough; but he always himself gave them four or five or six days more after crop, besides their holidays; and the Sundays, he adds, they may occupy as they please. He had denied, indeed, that they were under any necessity of working on the Sunday, and he never knew them compelled to do so. At length, however, on the eighth day of his examination, he went so far as to admit that "they *do* cultivate their grounds on Sundays, though he did not himself call them to do it" (p. 148, 149).

Mr. Baillie was very anxious to the last to testify that the Negroes did not work by coercion, and that they would on no account work for wages if free; but yet, after all, nothing but the fear of punishment really obtained from them the labour which was obtained, just as in the case, he said, of soldiers and sailors. But the Negroes differed from all other people, he added, in being more lazy. No man who was made free ever returned to work in the field (p. 151—154).

He was against all interference of every kind between master and slave, whether by Protectors, or by Orders in Council, or by suggestions of Secretaries of State. If the West Indians had been left to themselves, he thought, improvement would have gone on much more rapidly; it had been much retarded by the conduct of the Government and people of this country (p. 162).

Such, in substance, is the evidence, the confused and contradictory evidence, of this great and experienced planter, put forward with no

small promise and examined at much length. It forms altogether so strange a jumble of inconsistencies, and is so much at variance with truth, and even with probability, that we should have concluded that he had laboured, while delivering it, under some unfortunate aberration of mind. This would have been our unavoidable conclusion, even if we had heard nothing of the fatal act which soon after closed his earthly course, and which seemed to confirm all our preconceptions on the subject. We can only wonder that so acute a man as Mr. Burge, and one so well acquainted with colonial matters, should have rested the mighty interests of which he is avowedly the advocate, as he is the agent, on the testimony of one so little fitted to serve the cause he was brought forward to support. But, though he has since been removed to another tribunal, his evidence still stands forth, in all its native force, to condemn the system in which he was nurtured, and to which, for so many years, he zealously and perseveringly clung.

4. The Lord Seaford.

Lord Seaford presented to the Committee a report made to him by his attorney in Jamaica, on the 1st of August, 1825, of the condition of his three estates in St. James's, in respect to the grounds, and the quantity of stock of various kinds, possessed by his slaves. The recapitulation is as follows :—

The slaves on the three estates amounted to 864, and they possessed among them about 52 acres of garden grounds, and about 590 acres of provision grounds, in all 642 acres, being nearly in the proportion of three-fourths of an acre to each individual. They were also found to possess 131 cows, 26 oxen, 53 heifers, and 81 calves, making 291 head of horned stock, together with 522 hogs, and 1728 head of poultry. Besides the provision and garden grounds, the stock belonging to the slaves ran in the pastures of the estate free of charge. The young oxen, when fit for the yoke, were bought for the use of the estate at £10 a piece. They ran with the estate's cattle, and were taken care of exactly in the same way. The stock, his Lordship states, is *bona fide* the property of the Negroes. His manager has proposed to deprive them of this indulgence, but added that it would be necessary to purchase it of them, as, by the new slave act, they had acquired a legal property in all that stock. The proposal was made in a letter which his Lordship had received only the day before, and was suggested as a punishment for the misconduct of the slaves in the late rebellion. Being asked whether he assented to this proposal, he said no. There had been, however, as yet no time for signifying either his assent or dissent.

A question then arises respecting the law of 1831, which has affected to give to the slaves a legal right of property; and Lord Seaford seems to be of opinion that the law is so framed as to confer that right upon them. This point being important, and believing Lord Seaford as well as his manager to be wrong in the interpretation of that clause, we shall deem it necessary to give the law at length. It is the 14th clause of the Act of 19th February, 1831, and is as follows:—

"And whereas, by the usage of this island, slaves have always been permitted to possess personal property, and it is expedient that such laudable custom should be established by law: Be it therefore enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that if any owner, possessor, or any other free person whatsoever, shall wilfully and unlawfully take away from any slave or slaves, or in any way deprive, or cause any slave or slaves to be deprived of, any species of personal property, by him, her, or them lawfully possessed, such person or persons shall forfeit and pay to such slaves the value of such property so taken away as aforesaid, the same to be recovered under the hands and seals of any three justices of the peace before whom the complaint shall be laid and the facts proved, which three justices of the peace shall have the power of summoning witnesses, who shall be bound to attend and give their testimony, under the penalty of five pounds: provided, nevertheless, that nothing in this act shall be construed or deemed to authorize any trespass, or to allow any slave or slaves to turn loose, or keep, on his owner's or other person's property, any horses, mares, mules, asses, cattle, sheep, hogs, or goats, without the consent of his owner, or person in possession of such lands, being first had and obtained: provided always, and be it further enacted, that the said justices shall not have power to investigate any proceeding under the preceding clause unless the complaint be brought before them within twenty days of the alleged committal of the injury: and provided that such justices shall not take cognizance of any claims made by slaves for property above twenty-five pounds value, but all claims for sums above that amount shall and may be recovered by the owner in the courts of this island, on behalf and for the use of such slave: but provided always that nothing herein contained shall be deemed to authorize the institution of any suit at law or in equity for the recovery of any such claim by any slave in his own name, or otherwise than in the name of his said owner."

Now, instead of admitting that this law gives to the slaves any really available right of property, and especially as against his master, we pronounce it to be a deliberate mockery, a studied evasion of the very right it affects to confer. To say nothing of the provisos, which are framed so as to defeat all hope of redress in the case most important to the slaves, that of spoliation by their master or his delegate, let us look at this boasted clause, as it stands, independent of these. Its purposed evasion will be more manifest if it be contrasted with the clause in the Trinidad Order in Council, which Lord Bathurst proposed to adopt, and which Mr. Burge, then Attorney-General of Jamaica, embodied into a Bill which was prepared by him in September, 1826, and afterwards brought into the House of Assembly, but rejected by that body, who substituted the above worthless and evasive clause in its stead:—

"Whereas, by the usage of Jamaica, persons in a state of slavery have hitherto been permitted to acquire and enjoy property, free from the control of their owners, and it is expedient that such laudable custom should be recognized and established by law, therefore be it enacted that no person in the island of Jamaica, being in a state of slavery, shall on account of his condition be, or be deemed to be, incompetent to purchase, acquire, possess, hold, alienate, and dispose of lands situate in Jamaica, or money, cattle, implements, or utensils of husbandry, or household furniture, or other effects of such or the like nature, of what value and amount soever, and to bring, maintain, prosecute, and defend any suit or action in any court of justice, for or in respect of any such property, as fully and amply to all intents and purposes as if he or she were of free condition."—Papers by His Majesty's Command, Part I. 1827, p. 15.

Mr. Burge's version of this clause, adapting it peculiarly to the circumstances of Jamaica, but entirely preserving the spirit of the Trinidad enactment, may be found in the same volume, p. 48. It requires a simple inspection of the two clauses to place, in full light, the intended frustration by the one clause of all the benefits conferred by the other. No one can peruse it without being led to admire the dexterity with which, in the actual law of Jamaica, the crime of robbing a slave is taken out of the class of crimes, and made a mere civil injury; and as, even in the new evidence law of Jamaica, slave evidence is not admissible, under any circumstances, in civil cases, though it be in *some* criminal cases, it will follow that the evidence of slaves will be entirely shut out from admission in all suits respecting their property. It seems to us that there must have been something almost satanic in the mind of the man, whoever he was, who could combine such a preamble, and such a professed purpose, with such an enactment, holding forth some promise indeed to the ear, but entirely breaking it to the sense. The whole forms as gross a deception as has ever been practised.

These remarks were especially applicable to the disallowed law of 1826. That of 1831, as Lord Goderich justly observes in his despatch to Lord Belmore, dated 16th June, 1831, "is altered considerably to the slave's disadvantage; and when the owner himself is the wrongdoer the slave is left without any remedy." The new law, too, instead of imposing, as the Act of 1826 did, a fine of £10, limits the sum to be paid by the trespasser to the precise value of the property stolen or plundered; and expressly takes from the slave, and vests exclusively in his owner, all right, whether in law or equity, to sue for the recovery of his stolen or plundered property. And this is called legal protection to property!! Lord Seaford and his manager may be quite at their ease as to any danger to them from this clause. It is perfectly harmless as respects them, do what they may. At the same time we are very far from supposing that Lord Seaford would require any law but that of his own sense of right to guide his conduct in such a case. All this, however, may show what incorrect views, not merely the public at large, but even well-informed men like Lord Seaford, are apt to take, being gulled by mere words. Reading in the margin of the Jamaica Act these deceptive words, "Property of slaves protected," they take it for granted that the Act and the margin correspond; whereas they are in direct variance. The intelligent mind of Lord Seaford, if he had read the law with any care, could not have overlooked its futile and utterly evasive nature.*

But there is another part of Lord Seaford's evidence to which we must object still more pointedly, as at war with fact.—"I cannot pre-

* It ought not to be forgotten that, in a parliamentary paper printed on the 28th March, 1831, No. 301, Mr. Burge joined the other West India agents in imposing on Parliament and the public the version of the above clause in the act of 1826, respecting property, with the real nature of which Mr. Burge especially had been so conversant, as a complete protection of slave property. "It secures," they say, "to slaves the possession of personal property." Can any assertion be less true?

sume," says his Lordship, "to say from what reasons the Assembly of Jamaica, having refused at one time to make an enactment, should at a subsequent period have thought fit to make it. They refused to admit the evidence of slaves by an overwhelming majority, only two members voting for it: two years afterwards an Act was passed admitting the evidence of slaves WITHOUT ANY RESTRICTION" (p. 99). Can Lord Seaford possibly have used these words, speaking upon his solemn oath? We think there must be some mistake in the report. This law, which Lord Seaford affirms to admit the evidence of slaves without *any* restriction, will be found in our last number (No. 104), at p. 446. Even if Lord Seaford had not thought it necessary to look at the law before he *deposed* to this effect, he could hardly have wholly forgotten the comments upon it of his deceased friend, Mr. Huskisson. He might have learnt from him, as well as from the words of the act itself, that, instead of admitting, it absolutely excluded the evidence of slaves in all civil cases, which is to exclude it in a very vast majority of the cases in which slaves can have an interest, and admitted it not in the multitudinous cases of wrong connected with the ordinary and daily course of plantation discipline, but "in those cases of crime ONLY in which they (i. e. slaves) are usually either the actors or the sufferers, excluding their evidence in other cases; a distinction which," adds Mr. Huskisson, "does not seem to me to rest on any solid foundation."

Nor is this all. Two slaves, examined apart, if there be no free witnesses, must depose consistently to the same fact, before any free person can be convicted; so that the rape of a slave may altogether escape punishment. Again, no slave testimony will avail against a free person after twelve months from the commission of his crime, however atrocious it may be. Nay, however a man may have been maimed or mutilated, the very exhibition of his bleeding body in court would be a bar to that court to grant him his liberty; and his mutilator, though convicted, cannot be bereft of a master's absolute dominion over him. This is a most barbarous enactment, breathing the very spirit of cruelty and distrust; and yet Lord Seaford says of it, on his oath, that it admits "THE EVIDENCE OF SLAVES WITHOUT ANY RESTRICTION."

Before Lord Seaford was called to give his evidence, as it has now been analysed, an important paper was laid on the table of the Committee, by Richard Garrett Amyot, Esq., first clerk in the Slave Register Office, containing a view of the births and deaths of Africans and Creoles on Lord Seaford's three estates in St. James's, between the years 1817 and 1829. We will state the gross results:—

The number of slaves on these three estates, by the registry of 1817, was 450 males and 527 females, in all 977 slaves; exhibiting a state of population, in regard to the sexes, highly favourable to its increase, the females being about a sixth more than the males.

The number on these estates, in 1829, is not given in this statement, which is a great defect, and serves very much to puzzle it; but, as far as we are able to make it out, the excess of deaths over births, in the intervening time, was 101, which would make the population of 1829

876, the males being 404 and the females 472; an equally favourable state of the population as was exhibited in 1817.

The decrease, nevertheless, even thus shown, amounts to nearly one per cent. per annum. But this is clearly below the truth, as Lord Seaford's manager states the slaves at only 864 in 1825; and in 1830 his returns to the vestries of Hanover and St. James were only 846.

We are aware of the argument which it is intended to build on the distribution which is made, in this statement, of the deaths, into Africans and Creoles, and also on the distribution of the births between African and Creole mothers; but we reserve this point, to which we shall have a sufficient answer hereafter, until we execute our promised purpose, of taking a complete and comprehensive view of the whole question of population, as it has been argued both in this Committee and in that of the House of Commons. Meanwhile we shall limit ourselves to the single remark, that until Lord Seaford shall be able to show how it happens that the slave population of the United States should have increased so rapidly as it has done, namely, at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, since the date of the abolition of the American slave trade in 1808; and that his Lordship's slaves, dating from the same period of the abolition of the British slave trade, should have decreased at the rate of 1 per cent., we shall deem this boasted argument of no value whatever. Supposing the population of his Lordship's estates, in 1808, to have been 1050, at the American rate of progress it would have amounted, in the year 1829, to 1600; instead of being, as it actually was in that year, only 876; leaving a positive waste of human life, on these three estates, in 21 years, as compared with America, of 724. No one will venture to say that this is not a murderous difference, which no special pleading about Africans and Creoles can deliver from its guilty stain.

In one point of view we cannot regret that the course of the examination should have forced us to individualize on this occasion, painful as it must be to his Lordship's feelings, and unquestionably so as it is to our own. But where could we have found an example of a slave-holder more entitled to the praise of humane and liberal conduct towards his slaves than this nobleman? But such is the system which he has unhappily had to administer, that its inherent wickedness has set his Lordship's best wishes and efforts at defiance, and has triumphed over them all. On his beautiful estates, where all nature seems to smile, and both all vegetable life and all other animal life are seen luxuriating in the exuberance of their productions,

> "Man only is the growth which dwindles here."

We have indeed heard the case of Lord Seaford, and his severe losses by the late insurrection, cited, not only with the commiseration for his share in that calamity which we participate with all who have access to know his urbanity and other estimable qualities, but as a proof of the innate obduracy and ingratitude of the Negro character, which no kindness can soften, and no obligations can bind. Here, however, we must wholly dissent. His slaves, we do not hesitate to say, owe Lord Seaford nothing. Even the kindness he may have meant them, if not intercepted in its distant progress, has reached

them only through hearts and hands known to them, not by any interchange of affection, but by the stern exaction of their unintermitted toil. While they have been surrounding *him* with every enjoyment which wealth can purchase, *they* have been wearing out their lives, by night as well as by day, in bitter bondage, under the frown or the lash of unfeeling task-masters. Compared with those under whom they plied their unremitting labours, what was Lord Seaford to them? Their happiness and their destinies, from day to day and from hour to hour, were not in his power, but in that of his overseers; and while health and life were wasting, as we have seen, apace, it is but the dream of a driveller to suppose that there existed any principle which could enable them to avert their minds from the scenes around them, and fasten them on the kindly feeling towards them which might dwell in his Lordship's bosom amid the festivities and splendours of his lordly mansion at Seaford or in Audley Square.

5. Major-General Sir John Keane, K. C. B.

This gallant officer passed eight years in Jamaica, in the interesting period from 1823 to 1830, as Commander-in-chief of the forces; and, during a year and a half of the time, he administered the civil government also. He conceived himself to have had abundant opportunities of becoming acquainted with the condition of the slaves, having moved about a good deal in the island, and visited many estates. We question, however, whether he could have been a very accurate observer of what was passing around him during those years. For example,—he says, speaking of the Negro, that he has always observed it to be "very much contrary to the nature of that *animal* to tell the truth." He thus illustrates this opinion:—"Since the enactment of slave evidence being admitted, it is quite extraordinary to see the proof given in courts. They will tell a thing off-hand, and you suppose they had it perfectly; and on their cross-examination they will forget what they have said, and will tell a story diametrically opposite to what they have before told" (p. 167). Now this is certainly a very off-hand statement of Sir John's, considering that he is on oath. Sir John Keane himself tells us that he quitted Jamaica in 1830. But the act which admitted a slave to give any evidence at all against free persons did not pass till February, 1831, and was not in force until the November following. It was therefore impossible that the gallant General could really have witnessed what he swears to have taken place. It must have been the illusion of a dream.

Again, Sir John Keane tells us on his oath that one man in England does more [labour] than ten Negroes (p. 168).

Again, he never even heard of a Council of Protection in Jamaica: it must have been after his leaving the island (p. 169); while, in truth, it forms a part of the acts of 1816 and of 1826, and was renewed in the very act of 1829 upon which he himself put his veto as Governor.

Sir John Keane says he never heard of one complaint from slaves during the whole time he was in Jamaica. Their condition was good; they were contented; their food and clothing were sufficient. He was sure they would have complained had there been any cause; but they

never complained to him; and he had never, even by accident, heard of their complaining. They were advancing fast, according to Sir John, in amelioration and moral improvement; and he had never heard of such a thing as any obstruction to it (p. 163—165).

The slaves, Sir John thought, if made free, would sit down and do nothing, like the Maroons—nothing for themselves and nothing for others; and yet he says they had become excessively enlightened: many could read and write, and could understand their catechism; yet they do not improve as to their habits of lying, thieving, dishonesty, and licentiousness; but they pay great attention to their offspring, and they have married more of late years.—The planters dislike the missionaries as alienating their slaves from their work and home.—A slave protector would, in his opinion, be of most dangerous tendency; besides, such a person was not required. The Governor, the King's representative, was their best protector. In all his own visits round the country, he had never heard a complaint in Jamaica (p. 169). There was a strong disposition in the planters to improve the slaves in every way. A protector is wholly unnecessary. If the Governor wishes for information he can have it from the Custos, or can write to the Custos for his opinion. No cruel proprietor or manager would be tolerated in Jamaica. The Negroes would go to a magistrate either in a body or individually; but in the eight years he was in Jamaica he never heard of a complaint, and never heard of a cause of complaint (p. 170—172). He is quite sure emancipation would lead to utter ruin and extermination; "because," says Sir John, "an aggregate body of 350,000 slaves in Jamaica could not arrange, if they were emancipated to-morrow, any thing like a livelihood or a state of creditable being for themselves; and, with St. Domingo so close to them, I think they would follow the ruinous example of that ill-fated island" (p. 173).

Sir John Keane reiterates with emphasis that he had never heard of any complaint whatever. He then corrects himself, and says, he had heard of *one* case of corporal punishment that took place when he was in Jamaica. It was the case of the Rev. Mr. Bridges of St. Ann. Being asked if he recollected the particulars, he said, "it was a very nonsensical thing about a turkey which Mr. Bridges was angry about, and he flogged his female slave 'in the most cruel manner in the world.'" He knew of no other instance of corporal punishment, and he never saw one himself, and never saw a slave struck.—How, then, he is asked, are slaves made to work? By usage and custom; they are used to it from infancy. He cannot tell whether they are influenced by the fear of corporal punishment; he never asked them what motive they had; he supposed, however, that the law sanctioned the driver in arbitrarily punishing a slave, but over the law he had never had any control. Slaves worked from habit, and from a wish to serve their owners, but he understood they might be flogged if they did not work. Masters did not wish drivers to flog them, and they themselves had told him so. The magistracy of Jamaica he knew, and thought them incapable of concealing cruelty (p. 175, 176).

The Negro, Sir John thinks, would consider emancipation as giving him the "free exercise of his own will, which, by the character of the

animal, leads to idleness" (p. 177). He knew nothing of spell or of the interior management of estates but what he picked up in conversation, or had seen himself at times. "The Negroes in Jamaica are a magnificent race of people." He does not know whether the regulations of estates are likely to make the Negroes industrious as "the nature of the *animal* differs so much;" but, if free, "they would not work as they now do, or work at all perhaps." And yet he saw nothing like disgust with their work. "It was a most extraordinary thing; they were always singing," and they were most happy at the heaviest work, "cracking their jokes, and singing from one end to the other;" but he has formed the opinion, and he "will stick to it," that they will not work if free (p. 178—180).

He praised highly the discipline and good conduct of the black soldiers, but he can draw no comparison between a soldier and a Negro. The Negroes are idle; they would, if free, "like to enjoy themselves in the sun and scratch themselves" (p. 182). He professed great ignorance about religious instruction. He had never given slavery a thought before he went out to Jamaica (p. 184).

Such is the evidence given by Sir John Keane, K.C.B., Commander in Chief of the forces, and Governor, for a time, of Jamaica! With such Commanders and Governors no one can wonder that slavery, as a system, should have been so little understood in this country; and that, with all its abuses, it should have lasted so long. But for the indignation such things excite, it would be truly ludicrous to listen to such dotages from public functionaries.

6. William Shand, Esq.

This gentleman was examined at great length before the House of Commons, and a full abstract of his evidence will be found in our last number, p. 431, &c. In substance, it is so identical with that given before the Lords' Committee that it would be superfluous to abstract it again. We find, however, a very few novelties, to which we shall briefly advert.

Mr. Shand is explaining, philosophically, why the slaves eat little animal food. He says (p. 198), "a population little accustomed to eat animal food have no great desire for it. I believe, in many cases, the Highlanders of Scotland *cannot* eat animal food. There are people on my estate who have not tasted animal food, I should think, a hundred times in their lives. They are satisfied with potatoes or oatmeal."*

He had frequently seen the whip applied to women as well as men. Both worked equally in the field. He did not know to how many lashes a driver was now limited, as the law had been altered since he left Jamaica† (p. 204).

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* The people on Mr. Shand's estates, whether in the West Indies or in the Highlands of Scotland, we presume, do not and cannot eat meat, precisely from the same cause in both cases, because they have it not to eat.

† There has been no change in the law in this respect. It was ten lashes in 1788. It is ten lashes in 1833.

Mr. Shand repeats (p. 206 and p. 208) the extravagant proposition that one day's labour might enable a slave to cultivate food enough for the whole year; and that he has no need to labour on Sunday (p. 207).

The proceedings in this country are now, says Mr. Shand, the chief occasion of punishments. Otherwise there would be few (p. 209).

"A slave is, in many respects, better off than if he were free. He no doubt would have more time if he *chose* to labour. Beggars swarm *here*. Mendicity is unknown in the colonies" (p. 209).

Mr. Shand affirms that no slaves have been branded since the slave trade ceased: a law was then passed to forbid it"* (p. 210).

The slaves do not generally use mattresses. They no more desire mattresses and bed-clothes than shoes. The Africans commonly prefer going naked: their clothing is light, very light (p. 217).

After much shuffling about night work, Mr. Shand admits that in crop-time he himself, as a book-keeper, was obliged to keep his eyes open 18 hours and a half out of the 24 (p. 282). The Negro, he admitted, had daily six hours of additional work in crop-time (p. 283).

7. Sir Michael Clare, M. D.

This physician of 30 years' experience in Jamaica never knew or even suspected an instance of a Negro being turned out to work when unfit for it. Sick slaves had boards to sleep on, and, if their limbs were broken, they were supplied with blankets (p. 264).

Suicide used formerly to prevail among Negroes. He could not tell why, but thought it was because they expected to get back to their country and friends on death. On one occasion, eleven slaves committed suicide. "One hung the other ten. He did it by persuasion, and in a species of mirth and gaiety, and then hung himself, and, the withes breaking twice, he hung himself the third time with a withe which did not break; and they were not discovered till all were perfectly dead"† (p. 266).

Sir Michael scarcely recollected any slaves sent into the hospital in consequence of punishment. In that respect they were much better off than soldiers, who were always sent there (p. 267). He recollected one instance of a white man of the name of Lee, punished with fine and imprisonment, and the freedom of his slave, a female, to whom he was made to pay £10 a year, and whom after flogging he had stamped on the breast with a heated stamping iron. And yet her crime was one for which she would have been hanged in England; running away and stealing. She was a domestic. He did not recollect one act of cruelty on estates, either in the hospital or out of the hospital (p. 268). He had known sores indeed the effect of punishment, when Negroes having been punished kept out of the way. The sores became fly-blown (i. e. full of maggots). The custom is to confine the Negro who is punished in the stocks till he gets well, but he never saw one so punished as, if so confined, to make medical aid necessary. If allowed

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* The first law on that subject was in 1831.

† The sapient physician did not explain how he came to know all this, none remaining to tell the tale.

to walk about, bad sores may follow (p. 269). The sores are on the back and buttocks. But he never had to treat a slave medically merely for having 39 lashes, except there were sores. He remembered two or three cases of injuries inflicted on Negroes by persons acting under the impulse of violent passion;—one where the Chief Justice, a gouty and passionate man, knocked out the teeth of his domestic, and injured his own hand, and lost two of his own fingers, and nearly died in consequence. He was not tried for the assault; as the Negro made no complaint. He was a very good master, and never struck his domestic with that hand again (p. 269, 270).

The Negroes are liable to sores from brushwood and other things. They will not, however, wear shoes at their work; but only when in full dress. He never knew an instance of debility from overworking or insufficiency of food (p. 273). He kept the children on estates healthy by dosing them every Monday morning with salt water to carry off worms. The deficiency of breeding women was very striking, and the perpetration of abortion common (p. 274, 275).

Negro parents are very severe, very harsh and tyrannical in punishing their children. They do it with ebony rods on the buttocks. It is a cruel and painful infliction: and he had heard, too, though he had never seen it, of their pickling them afterwards with brine; that is, applying salt over the raw part: but he never knew or heard of such things on the part of masters, but only of parents (p. 275, 276). He had seen it, however, in the army (p. 278).

The morals of the Negroes were improved in appearance, but not in reality. They were all very licentious; and proprietors, he thought, had no power, and made no attempt to stop it, or to prevent wealthy Negroes from engrossing several women. He saw no remedy but removing the children wholly from their parents. Parents, however, disliked this, as it deprived them of the aid of their children, whom they wished to work for them while they sat still. They are more polished, but not at all mended in reality as to morals; and emancipation would aggravate their vices, and lead to the indulgence of every vice without restriction—(p. 277, 278).

In the same vague, gossiping, and unsatisfactory style, this learned physician proceeds to talk upon a variety of topics, as abortion, polygamy, marriage, religious instruction, progress of population, medical treatment, day and night labour: but with respect to none of them had he ever once heard of any thing to the disadvantage of the system, and with respect to none of them had he ever even heard of any thing occurring discreditable to it. He had never even heard of an instance of the whip being used to stimulate labour, or of any insufficiency of food, or of any waste of life by overworking or underfeeding. The slave, at the same time, will never work if he can help it, and his only idea of freedom is to sit down and do nothing (p. 279—287). No Negro, if freed, will ever hold a hoe—will ever touch it; with much to the same effect (p. 288—290). And all this is sworn to by Sir Michael Clare, M. D.!*

* It is worth while to contrast this account with the evidence of Dr. Williamson, a contemporary of Dr. Clare, who lived on Lord Harewood's estate. See our Vol. ii. p. 249 and 317, and the pamplet "Negro Slavery."

8. Admiral Sir Lawrence Halsted, K. C. B.

By this witness's account, nothing could surpass the comfort of the slaves. They did not want to be free; their comfort was studied to the utmost. He never saw such nice arrangements for the sick as in the hospital of Mr. Archdeckne's estates, in St. Thomas in the East. He saw no stocks, and never saw a Negro in them; he never saw a hand lifted against a Negro, or a Negro scolded by his master. The slaves show no signs of being ill used, hard worked, or badly fed. His conversations with Sally Adams, his housekeeper and cook, which he details very minutely, proved to him the general comfort prevailing among them; and, instead of any undue means being used to make women submit to licentious desires, the gentlemen of that country were most respectable and virtuous in their ideas and habits. He never saw a dejected countenance among slaves; they all appeared cheerful, some hard at work and some idle, for they are indolent and required some one to stimulate them; and without that he did not think they would work at all. Their houses were very comfortable, with decanters, tumblers, glasses, wine and spirits. They were not a bit jealous of his going into their houses (p. 291—294).

He had seen an excellent school in Kingston attended by slave children.—He was much opposed to having protectors for the slaves. They would do harm and no good. He never knew but one or two instances of cruelty; and, from the general disposition of the community, the injured slave was sure of redress (p. 296, 297). He always considered the slave as completely happy and contented: they were better off than the peasantry in this country. Many Englishmen would be exceedingly happy to be in their situation; not, indeed, to become slaves, for he did not think the system of slavery would be a good thing for Old England: but still he should like to see the labouring population here as well off as they (p. 298, 299). He would not plead for making Englishmen slaves; but he never saw any cruelty, never heard any harsh language used to them. They had no complaints, and abounded in comforts. He never saw them driven at their work; indeed he never was in the field when they were at work: but he knew there was a driver with them with a sort of whip. He had never seen ploughs at work, but he believed there were ploughs. A whip being shown to him, he said that was a most horrible thing, and had he seen that, he should have enquired more about it, for he could not conceive it to be used where people had any feeling (p. 300—302). He did not know about their hours of labour, or their night work. If free, they were so indolent he thought they would not work without some law to compel them; and yet those who supplied the markets must be industrious. Concubinage was not more common, he thought, in Jamaica than in England (p. 304).

9. Colonel Alexander Macdonald.

This officer was in Jamaica two months at one time, and three at another, and had been in the habit of visiting sugar estates. He had never known any acts of cruelty committed towards slaves, nor ever

saw any punishments of field slaves. He had known a slave express an opinion that he was better off in a state of slavery than he should be in one of freedom (p. 305).

He had invariably seen the slaves in Jamaica both happy and contented; and he had known instances of slaves refusing their freedom, for this reason—that, if they were old and could not work, there was no one to take care of them; but, by the slave laws, masters were obliged to clothe and feed them. The service required is not half of what was required in this country. He had never in his life known what he called cruelty (p. 306). In Honduras, the only labour was cutting mahogany: it is not severe labour. He never saw people better treated in any country. Their food is very good. He never saw any punishment inflicted on slaves there. Being Governor there, he never permitted it. Their religious instruction was much attended to, and all the slaves were in the habit of attending church. There was a school attended by children, both slaves and free. Offences were tried by magistrates chosen by the settlers of property, whether white or coloured. Some of the coloured people were magistrates. They had been treated ill by his predecessors; but Sir George Murray had approved of his appointing them to the magistracy. The slaves make money by cutting logwood on their own account. There are Wesleyan and Baptist missionaries there, who have done much good. The male population exceeds the female, which is a great disadvantage. The habits of the slaves are naturally licentious; and, if free, it would be morally impossible to keep them in order.* They are now kept in order by knowing they are subject to the will of their masters; but, if left to themselves, they would not work at all. They are trusted with arms without any apprehension of danger. They are well clothed. They do not care for freedom; and, in many instances, will not take it† (p. 307—320).

10. The Rev. James Curtin.

Mr. Curtin had resided 30 years in Antigua, to which he went in 1799 as a missionary of the Conversion Society, and in 1819 took charge also of the parish of St. Mary. The only religion he found among the Negroes on going there had been imparted to them by the Moravians and Methodists, chiefly by the former. Religious instruction had made great progress since that time. The slaves were then generally very ignorant, except those who attended the Methodists and Moravians. There were six parish churches; but the clergy did not then consider it a part of their duty to instruct the Negroes. There was one Moravian and one Methodist meeting-house. There are now the same six parish churches and five chapels of the Church of England, also five Moravian and five Methodist establishments. The improve-

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* And yet the number of emancipated people is very considerable, and they are respectable and wealthy, by Colonel Macdonald's own admission.

† And yet, by looking at the returns from Honduras, it will be found that a larger proportion of the slaves purchase their freedom there than in any colony in the West Indies. See Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. i., No. 19.

ment had been great before the Bishop went out in 1825, and many could read the Scriptures well. He had baptized considerable numbers, and married 150 couples up to 1824.* He instructed them according to the catechism of the Church, and the test of their being sufficiently instructed was, their taking pains to learn the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments, as he could not enter into their natural habits and know what their state of life was.† He kept himself quite aloof from the sectarians, and minded his own business; he could not tell, therefore, how they went on; but he was on terms of courtesy with all religious parties, except sometimes the clergy. He got, however, on one occasion, into a quarrel with the President of the island, about some money matter, and was sharply rebuked for it by the Bishop of London; but he had been irritated by being prevented by the President from adding to his small income of £200 a year (having a wife and family). He did not however lose in the end, as he afterwards got the charge, in addition to his salary as missionary, of one of the island livings (p. 345—348).

He was generally well received by proprietors, with one or two exceptions. "I *always* found," he says, "the slaves on plantations very comfortably situated, *generally speaking*, and very rarely making complaints; they *always* looked well, cheerful, and happy." "I have never known them grumble on the plantations with respect to their allowances. Perhaps there may be an exception or two, and very partial, by a few of the slaves." He had free access to plantations; but he *never* did any thing clandestinely, and *always* sent word to the manager when he was coming. He had not known of any acts of cruelty. He recollected once to have heard of a cruel thing, many years ago, by a coloured man to his slave, and the coloured man was put into prison for it. He did not think there were any severe and unnecessary punishments. His general impression, *latterly*, was, that the planters were very loth to punish their slaves, if they could help it; they had a great deal of feeling for them, and this feeling was much stronger before he left the island (p. 349, 350).

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* We find from the parliamentary returns, No. 204, of 1828, p. 18, that Mr. Curtin, in his capacity of missionary, had married only 21 couple of slaves, and, in his capacity of rector of St. Mary, 2 couple, from January 1, 1821, to December 31, 1825; and he was the only clergyman by whom any were married in those years. This return is accompanied by a letter from Mr. Lane, the Colonial Secretary and Clerk of the Crown of May, 1827, to the Governor's Secretary, stating that there was then no law in Antigua making marriage between slaves either a civil or religious contract, or for preventing the separation of husband and wife; so that the surprise is that Mr. Curtin should have married so many even as 23. He alone indeed at that time married any.

† And yet what is the business of a minister of the gospel but to turn men from their "natural habits," and to lead them to alter their "state of life?" "But," says Mr. Curtin, "I could not enter" into that. Mr. Curtin, we find, from his evidence, had been a Catholic priest before he became a Church of England missionary. He seems to have adhered, in this case, to the doctrine of the sufficiency of the mere *opus operatum*. He baptized them, and taught them to repeat the Creed and the Pater-noster, not entering into the question of their life and habits.

His mission was put an end to by the bishop in 1827. Prior to that he had had at his mission chapel 306 communicants. Only some of the clergy co-operated with him; but others looked to the emoluments—meaning, we presume, the baptismal fees; for he had no claim, he says, on that score: he baptized free. The slaves were not buried in the church yards, but in places appropriated for them. He heard one or two instances of complaints from slaves of hardship or cruelty, but the evidence was *ex parte,* and he did not choose to act upon it. The magistrates, too, were always ready to give relief, and he advised their going to the magistrate rather than coming to him (p. 350, 351).

Before marriages were so frequent as now, Negroes in many instances lived together as man and wife, though not married. But now their marriages are legalized and celebrated by banns, and the children are now taken better care of. Almost all in Antigua are now baptized. The Sunday is now well observed in Antigua, better than in some parts of England. The slaves go to church, carrying their prayer books, joining in the responses, and in the psalms and hymns. He has seen them with the Bible and prayer book on their own little tables, with decent chairs to sit on. A great number of them can read. The Methodist and Moravian slaves are generally very regular, good, well-behaved people. The slaves sometimes say they would prefer the church if they could have the regular clergy to attend to them, as it would be some saving of expense. Instruction has made the slaves, in every respect, better. He never had any idea of insurrection among them, and should not now but for excitement. The service is attended by white and black, but these sit separately. Formerly they did not communicate at the same sacrament table. The prejudice is lessening, and the blacks are modest and do not press forward. He does not know that there is any jealousy between the church and the sectarians. He never disputed with them, or aided them, but was always civil to them. The Moravians had the greatest number of slaves, the Methodists the greatest number of the free people (p. 352—354).

The slaves in Antigua were partly fed by a regular allowance from their masters, and some of them had grounds. They had their noon time to labour in their grounds; and superannuated slaves and pregnant women could also go to the provision grounds when they pleased. He had seen them working in their grounds, too, on Sunday: but not so much now; they now go to church very much; still they work habitually in their grounds on that day. The planters do not interfere to prevent this, and no steps had been taken by the legislature or by individuals to prevent Sunday labour for themselves; they do not work for their masters on that day unless voluntarily, and when paid for it, except in picking grass for the cattle, which used to be done formerly, and, for aught he knows, may still be done out of church hours (p. 354, 355).

Mr. Curtin never visited a slave property on any account without the leave of the master or manager; he never attended the slaves privately unknown to him (ibid).

When slaves complained to him he advised them to go to the magistrates. He only recollected one instance of his mentioning the matter

to the master. He once applied to the master to forgive a slave for running away. He refused, and the slave was punished (p. 356).

The Sunday market has recently been abolished by law, but the slaves were averse to it, because they wished to go in their fine clothes, with their fruit, &c., to market on that day, and there was an insurrection about it They need not have broken the Sabbath, but they did it that they might get another day, and they have got that other day since ; the Saturday, he understood, was now allowed (p. 356, 357).

The excitement among the slaves to which he alluded arose from their reading publications stating slavery to be a crime and a sin, and that no man has a right to hold another man as his property. The slaves would be more contented if left quiet. He was not for the perpetuity of slavery, but for an *imperceptible*, gradual abolition of it ; and the best thinking slaves themselves would be more contented to let things go on quietly, and gain their freedom, than to have a complete extinction of it. The control of an owner over his slaves is so checked by law and magistrates that, if ill disposed, he cannot behave ill to his slaves. If a driver or manager punishes a slave arbitrarily he may be called to account for it. He does not think the driver has now authority to flog a slave to a certain and limited extent. He had seen the custom of carrying a whip in the field cease in many cases. It is now carried in very few cases indeed ; and the Negroes know that so many eyes watch the driver that he does not use his whip, and he thinks it is not now applied to the person of the slave. In short, slavery is merely nominal in Antigua: it is no longer absolute power over the slave. The master is watched by the clergyman and the medical man ; and the Governor cites the master to his bar, so that he is bound down by law (p. 358).

We shall have some remarks to make on much of the above abstract of a part of this reverend gentleman's evidence before we have done with him. In the mean time, the following part of his examination is so striking a proof of his dexterity in evading inquiry, that we shall give it in his own words :—

"Suppose a slave, when called upon to go into the field with the gang, refuses to go, what means are employed to make him go ? He must allege the cause for which he refuses; he must give a reason.—Supposing it is an inadequate reason ? Then a complaint must be made to the owner or manager.—Is the whip employed to force him to go ? I do not think it is employed at these times.—Is he liable to be forced by the whip to go to his work ? If the driver's use of the whip is not abolished ; I do not know whether that is or not.—Do you believe, if not prohibited, that he would be liable to be coerced ? With that part of the business I was not so much engaged in ; mine was religious ; all I had to do when I visited them was to see that they were contented.—Do you believe that if the slave was coerced and punished, either for refusing to work or not working with sufficient diligence, any slaves being of your congregation would have stated to you the facts of the case ? Yes, I believe they would.—Have you ever heard such complaint ? I have scarcely ever heard of one complaint.—Have you heard such complaint ? Yes, some years ago ; not of late.—How lately have you heard such complaints ? Perhaps not since 1812 or 1813.—Is the slave in Antigua compelled to work by his apprehensions of the whip ? No, I do not think they are compelled to work ; I think they go voluntarily. The religiously educated Negroes will go to work from

principle, as they conceive it is their duty to do. They must work.—Do you know how many hours they work? That is another part of the business I never heard of any excess of labour.—That has a good deal to do with voluntary labour? The times that I thought the Negroes' appearance looked better was in crop time. When they laboured most they always appeared better in health and more cheerful than when they were not so employed. — Is it to the increase of labour you attribute their improved appearance? No; they receive more nourishment from the juice of the sugar cane, for they eat plentifully of it in the field; I believe they were not restricted.—Do you think that the sugar cane, nutritious as it is, would improve the condition of yourself or any other man who was fed at another time? I do not know; but I believe it is nutritious.—If it had this effect on the slave, and it would not have the same effect upon a well-fed man at another time, what inference is to be derived from the fact: is it not a fair inference that his food had not been so ample previously? I think they are generally well fed.—Are they over-fed in crop time? I never knew them to be under-fed; and I apprehend that at that time and at all times they have provision sufficient out of their own grounds to carry to market to dispose of, to buy them any thing they want.—You have been in the habit of seeing great brewers' draymen going about town? I have seen a great many draymen.—Do you think they get fatter when they drink a great deal of porter? I think that the draymen here work much harder than they do; I never see them drag such loads as they do here.—If they refused to draw such loads in Antigua, what would be done to those slaves? But they never did require it.—What would be the consequence to the slaves if they did refuse? The only instances I have seen of drawing is tanks from the ships.—What would be the consequences to a slave of refusing to do the work his master ordered him? would the slave be liable to corporal punishment for that rejection? He would be liable to confinement or something. —Would he or not be liable to corporal punishment? I suppose he may be liable to corporal punishment.—Do you consider the coercion to labour, as regards the slaves in Antigua, as severe as that used in our navy and army? I do not think it is. I have seen sailors on board ships as I passed through, and I think they are treated with greater harshness than the slaves by their masters. On board merchant ships I have seen them treated with much more harshness by captains or owners than I ever saw a slave treated in Antigua.—If they are ill-treated, is that any reason why the Negroes should be ill-treated? No: but I believe the proprietor of the slave treats him with more kindness, looking to him for his labour.—Do you conceive the sailors or soldiers are liable to the infliction of corporal punishment at the will of their superior? I have seen them get lashes without any order but the master's wish; I have seen the cabin boy knocked about by the captain.—Have you ever seen an instance of a soldier or sailor flogged at the arbitrary will of his superior? I have not been in the army. I can speak of what I have read in different papers about the flogging them.—As an Englishman, do you not know that it would be contrary to law to inflict corporal punishment on any one without an order of some court? It would be considered an assault for even a master to strike a servant, I conceive.—Would it be so in the case of a slave? The slave could call his master before the justice for it; he could go and take his complaint before the next justice, and the magistrate would immediately order an investigation.—In going to make his complaint, would he not be liable to be apprehended as a runaway unless he possessed a pass? No; I do not know that he would be liable to be apprehended as a runaway: and there is another circumstance; if the Negro slaves, whether male or female, considered themselves to be aggrieved or harshly treated by their owners, or felt it unpleasant to belong to such a man, they apply to the Governor, and he instantly listens to their remonstrance, and their owner is summoned before him, and he is desired to give that person a ticket to provide himself with another owner, and the slave is at liberty to look out for another owner; he is not obliged to live with a person that he does not wish to serve; if he says he is hardly treated by

such a person,—'He is very severe to us, and we wish to belong to another owner,' the magistrate says, 'You must give him a ticket to get another owner.' —Does he say, 'You must,' or 'I advise you?' The owner in general would wish it, because he does not wish to possess an unwilling slave; he had rather give him the ticket to get rid of him.—How many instances have you known of such a case as that? I have heard two or three instances.—Have the goodness to name them? I cannot name them now. There is a general impression upon my mind, but I can remember one instance. I have been very frequently called upon to go to the slaves to visit them in their sickness and in the hour of their distress; I have been called upon to visit them in gaol, and when they were under sentence of death. In the year 1817, I think, there were two slaves condemned to die that belonged to the Treasurer of the island; they were condemned for breaking open the bureau and getting money out of it. I was called to visit them, and administer baptism to one of them under sentence of death. When they were to be carried out to execution, I desired the black man—one was a fair-coloured man and the other black,—'Speak to your friends every thing that is in your heart, and give them some advice, as you are going to leave the world, to show your regret and sorrow for robbing your master.' He told them that he was led into temptation, having free access to his master's keys, and that they took the keys out of the chest and robbed their master, and dissipated the money; 'But,' said he, 'I will tell you—I will tell it as a dying man—I wish it to be known to all the Negroes (this was at the place of execution), I wish it to be known to all bystanders, that if whites are to be attended, I would not advise them to be attended by Negroes, for whites are the properest persons to attend on white persons, for we are not willingly domestics or agriculturists to the white people.' This man said so on the place of execution. Now, said I, observe this, and I minuted it down, and I took notes. In the course of my ministry I always found an unwillingness in the Negroes who became free to become domestics and agriculturists; they will frequently reproach one another, and say, 'You menial'" (p. 357—360).

"Have the goodness to state what makes the essential difference between the Negro and the rest of mankind so great that he would not be actuated by the same stimulus to labour that the rest of mankind, being free, are actuated by? I believe the climate has a great deal to do with it.—You are aware that there are free persons who labour in climates as hot as that at Antigua? Yes; I suppose there may.—Why should the Negro be unwilling to work for wages, when wages will induce others in a similar climate to labour? I only know this, that I believe the wants of the Negroes are so few that they would not expend much time at their work to have those wants supplied. They would require little clothing and little food. In those tropical climates they can do with much less food and clothing than in these northern climates. The Negroes are naturally inclined to indolence; they would rather go a fishing, and so on, than give themselves up to agricultural labour. When they are made free they take trades, such as shopkeepers and dealers, and so on, to avoid being under any authority of any kind. They frequently go off to other islands seeking their fortune, and come back, not succeeding in other places, and go living among the Negro slaves on the plantations if they can.—You mean that the slaves in those hot climates would prefer fishing to cane-hole-digging? Yes; if they were free.—From that you infer that the slave would not labour for his own subsistence if free? They would labour in fishing or something of that kind, but they would not at other occupations.—Not even to save themselves and their families from starvation? I have no great opinion of their foresight; I think they generally look to the present time.—You have stated that they have, in many instances, acquired considerable property? They have acquired property, some of them.—By what means did they acquire this property? By raising vegetables and fruit and stock.—Is not that done by the exertions of their own industry? Yes; but there are exceptions to general rules; there are a few exceptions.—How can you reconcile with the fact that

the slaves labour on their provision grounds during the portion of time which is their own, the great portion of it being devoted to the service of their master, the supposition that if made free they would not labour for their own subsistence, having the command of all their time? I think I can reconcile that by showing that those slaves I allude to are in superior circumstances to some of the other Negroes, as there are in all gradations of society persons of superior talent; and by the perquisites those superior Negroes receive, by saving some of those perquisites they have, they are able to lay up something; and then, by having a power over other slaves, they can make up this deficiency.—You mean to say that the possession of property is confined to the superior class of slaves, such as head men, drivers, and artificers? The possession of considerable property.—You know no instance of field Negroes possessing such property? Yes; there are field Negroes I have seen very comfortable too.—You would not call the field Negroes a superior class? The field Negroes frequently appear to be such. They have a good deal of stock. I have bought stock from them myself, and fruit.—Have you ever known an instance of a free man returning to labour in the field? Never.—You say many of the slaves possess horses: are they allowed to possess horses? I believe there is no law now against it; I have seen them come to church and driving about with their horses on Sunday.—Do you speak of common field Negroes keeping horses? No, not the common field Negroes: the head men on the estates. There was another instance I knew;—a boat was carried away with some slaves from the island by a storm; it was carried to another part of the country; and I have known an instance of them returning to their owners rather than remain free; I knew a man, and I spoke to him one day; I said, 'You have returned?' He said, 'Yes, massa; I have returned in preference, to live on massa's property.'—You are aware that there are on the island of Antigua several hundred free Negroes, under the name of liberated Africans? Yes.—They are persons who have been captured in consequence of the abolition of the slave trade, and as such are free? Yes; there are, I believe, a few hundreds, not very many, perhaps two or three hundred. I have baptized and administered the Sacraments to some of them as African apprentices; they were never considered as slaves.—Do you know any thing of the mode in which they maintain themselves? They were maintained for a time by the Custom House.—How long has that ceased? I know it has ceased, and that they were directed to be freed, and that they went about as jobbers, in the town, as porters, and things like that: but I did not see any of them go to agricultural labour.—How long is it since you were in the island? A year and ten months ago. I had two of these African apprentices myself. I will tell an instance regarding one of those men. I got one of them apprenticed to me in the year 1811.—As what? He was apprenticed to me. It was thought advisable to put them to some trade. I had a Negro a tailor, and I bound him to that tailor to learn that trade: he was with me from the year 1811 to nearly the time I left. There was an order sent from Government to make them free; this man came and said, 'I have an order, Sir, to be free.' I said, 'You have been free these three years, why do not you accept it?'—'Oh massa, I had rather remain with you.' I said, 'You may remain as you are.' He remained there for a few months, but some free person put it into his head that he ought to get more wages from me. He came and applied for more wages; I said, 'No; you said you were contented to remain; if any body puts it into your head, go where you can better yourself;' and he went from me, kept away for about six weeks, and then returned about three months before I left the island, and he said, 'Massa, they make me fool.' He had been to persons to work for them, but he said he had worked harder, and had rather come back.—Do you know whether those free persons maintain themselves in the island by their own industry and by the wages of labour, or by what means? I believe some of them maintain themselves by their own industry; but I believe some of them live on the plantations among the Negro slaves, and work for the Negro slaves on the plantations;

whether they are connected by having wives, or women having husbands, and so that they live with those people, I cannot say: they will not go to agriculture willingly.—Do you or not know that those persons actually do maintain themselves by the produce of their own industry? I do not know that they do.—Did you not say that they worked about the town? Some of them.—And some you say you saw on different estates? Yes.—Those persons you describe as going and living among the slaves are persons who have within a very few years been brought to the island from Africa? Yes.—They are not Creoles? No.—Have you known any instance, of your own knowledge, of those native Africans who have spoken no English at all going and living among the slaves on any plantation? Not the newly-arrived Africans; they have been some time on the island as apprentices to people; then when they become liberated they have liberty to go on the plantations.—Their numbers have been increasing year by year? I do not think there are more than three or four hundred altogether.—Do you know, of your own knowledge, that any of those persons had gone and lived among the slaves on the plantation doing nothing? I do not mean to say doing nothing; they work with the slaves.—Who pays them? The master of the estate does not pay them.—They are supported out of a portion of that which the master gives to support the slave? Yes; or they may perhaps work to help the slave to keep house or to mind his stock.—Were those captured Africans in any instance among the proprietors of Antigua as apprentices; were they desirous of obtaining them? Yes; they were desirous of obtaining them when they first arrived; I did not hear of any latterly coming there.—Did they continue in general satisfied with the services of those apprenticed Africans? Yes, generally; there have been complaints.—Do you know the Governor of Antigua? Yes, perfectly well.—He is not liable to misrepresent any thing? Not at all.—If he were to represent that they were remarkably well conducted, very industrious, and supporting themselves by the produce of their own industry, with very few complaints against them for misconduct, should not you suppose that to be conclusive evidence that those persons were not precluded, either by their habits or dispositions, from supporting themselves by honesty and industry? If the Governor gave that testimony positively and decidedly, after proper inquiry and investigation, I should begin to hesitate; but from my own knowledge—I do not speak of the Governor's knowledge, and I think I have as much right to know as the Governor about those Negroes—I have known of several complaints on estates of their trespassing on the properties, and I have known them to be idle in the towns, and taken before the magistrates. I do not think it is so much in the Governor's way to know of these sort of things as a person who is living as I am among the Negroes.—Supposing the Governor's account of the condition of those Negroes should have been given lately, you having been absent a year and ten months? Then there must have been a great change since I was there.—Have the goodness to state some instance of the trespass you refer to? I recollect no instances; I have had a general impression upon my mind they are on Sir Henry Martin's, and on an estate on another part of the island, towards the old road.—When did this take place? It took place before my leaving the island.—How long before? Perhaps a year or two before I left the island.—How do you know that those trespasses were committed by the liberated Africans? I know the Africans to be living upon the estates, and I have heard it from the managers.—Do you mean to say that a trespass took place on the property? They lived upon the estate. I do not know whether it is to be called a trespass.—You stated that they had been guilty of trespassing? I do not know that they had been guilty. They were living among the Negroes on the estates.—What do you mean by the word trespass? Living on other person's estates.—Against their will? Perhaps without their consent.—You do not mean to represent that they had been guilty of any crime? No; I cannot say as to crime. If they had been guilty of crime, they would have been amenable to the laws.—In whose houses did they live? In the Negro houses.—The houses of the plan-

tation grounds? Yes. They helped the Negroes where they had husbands and wives.—Did you ever hear of an instance of one of those Africans going to field labour? No, I never did. I had one of them, called an African apprentice, and he would not work in the garden if I sent him.—What wages did they get? Half a dollar a week, besides any clothes they wanted—Were those board wages? Yes; they had wages and board wages, and clothes whenever they wanted them. —Was that half dollar a week board wages, or did you feed them besides? They got that to feed themselves, and they were frequently fed off the table.—Did they get nothing but the half dollar a week? They got clothes besides, and occasionally something from the table.—Did they get that every day? When they wanted it.—You have been asked about a slave having made money by his industry, his labour consisting of rearing poultry and small stock; is that at all to be compared to field labour? No, certainly not; but those men frequently got perquisites.—Is it your opinion that the attendance of the Negroes on divine worship would be increased or diminished by their emancipation? That is a question I should wish to take time to consider.—Do you think the attendance of the Negroes at divine service would be increased or diminished if they were emancipated? May I ask whether the question refers to their being let loose without restraint?—If their manumission took place, would their attendance on divine worship be increased or diminished thereby? I do not know what to say to that question; I think they act as well now as they would do when emancipated.—Do you think they would attend as well? I think they attend as well now as they would then.—Do you think, if they were freed from all restraint, they would attend as well? I do not think they would attend as well if they were free from all restraint.---Do you believe that in the same situation in which emancipated Negroes now are, they would attend as well? I do not think they would. Do you know any instance of emancipated slaves attending a place of worship now? Yes.—What reason have you to think that the slaves who might be emancipated hereafter would not attend church as regularly and as willingly as slaves who have been manumitted? The reason I think so is, that the slaves who have been manumitted have been gradually brought up and inured to attending church; but that with immediate extinction of slavery, that would throw things into such a state of confusion that I cannot tell what they would do.—You assume that which is not intended in the question, namely, that upon emancipation the slaves are to be freed from all restraint whatever; whereas the question supposes the slaves being manumitted, and legal restraint substituted for absolute power, proper means of instruction being afforded them, and every sort of means used to secure good order and proper conduct among them? I will answer that question in this manner:—if any sudden change took place in the system at present, they would not draw that distinction your Lordship does; but they will say, 'If we are to be free, we will do what we please, and go where we please.' The Negroes would not take that into consideration; they would imagine themselves to be a free people.—Do you mean the freedom from the whip? I mean that freedom being given them, or any change of this kind, would upset their ideas altogether, and that they would not know what they were about; they would say, 'The law is a sufficient protection for us;' though I conceive the laws could not sufficiently protect him.—Do you apprehend that emancipation, in the opinion of the slave, means freedom from restraint of the law? I conceive that emancipation, in their opinion, is exemption from any kind of control whatever; not merely from legal restraint. I conceive that any slaves would immediately conceive they were exempt from any control.—Do you conceive that they would consider it as exemption from the municipal law as the law exists? I do not know; they do not enquire about the municipal law; they will say, 'We are free, and we will be free.' —They know the difference between restraint and slavery? I think they are satisfied as they are at present.—Would they not think it an exchange between present slavery and a proposed state of restraint? I do not think they would.—You think their notion of emancipation is entire exemption from all labour?

From all control.—Do you think that they understand it also as an exemption from labour? Some of them do.—Have any pains been taken to correct that erroneous opinion? Some pains have been, and some are content enough to labour; but if they are to be exempted, who is to give them land, and what is to become of their old and their young people?—Where they have been convinced of their error, you do not mean to say that the slaves do understand emancipation to be freedom from control? It is a very delicate subject; the more I think of it the more I think it is hazardous to touch upon it. There have been great improvements lately. I am for amelioration, and progressive amelioration, and that by *episcopal control;* and that gradual amelioration has taken place in a wonderful degree.—In how many years do you think that the slaves might possibly arrive to a fit state, in your opinion, to be emancipated? Perhaps it may take half a century; but I will mention one circumstance that will lead to conclusions. Out of 5560 slaves I baptized as slaves, nearly one-fifth part of them became free by the voluntary consent of their owners, so that they were become fit subjects for freedom, and no doubt many others will become fit subjects for freedom.—You think that the emancipation should take place gradually? Yes.—Those persons have conducted themselves well since? Yes; I have seen their children and grandchildren; but the generality of new slaves would not do at all to be freed.—Did those persons remain in the island after they had been freed? Yes, some of them have.—You have spoken of persons trespassing; you do not mean as a crime, but that they had lived with others, and obtained a livelihood in that way? Yes. I cannot tell what has happened since I left.—Do you mean by trespass that they were living in those houses without the knowledge of the master or manager? I do not wish to use the word 'trespass;' but perhaps the master does not choose, for kindness to his own slave, to interfere with them if they have a husband or wife there.—In a part of your evidence respecting the punishment of slaves in going to the field, you have stated there was no necessity for punishment, as they went out voluntarily to labour; explain that word 'voluntarily;' do you mean by voluntary labour that their habits were such as to induce them to go into the field without compulsion? or did you mean what others understand by it, with a reference to labouring or doing nothing? I mean that the slaves, when they are going to work, go as a matter of course, as they know it is their duty; and therefore they willingly do what they know to be their duty.—Do they not know that they would be flogged if they omitted it? They know that they might be confined or flogged, but they do not go under fear of the whip.—You *know* that? I know that they may go reluctantly; but there are very few cases in which they are reluctant; but very few" (p. 360—366).

"Is there any regulation in Antigua that they shall have one day to themselves in every fortnight? Since I left it I understand there has been; it was in some places when I left.—Have they plenty of time to cultivate their own provision grounds, without working on Sunday, if so disposed? No; I think they must intrench upon the Sunday for their plantation grounds before this allowance lately made to them was made.—Are the free people considered in general to live by industry, or are they charged with encouraging plunder on estates? With regard to the free people of Antigua, I know many of them are in a very respectable class; some are not respectable, and some are trespassers—the lower orders of them.—Is it a matter of complaint amongst the proprietors that the free people are often harboured upon their plantations without their knowledge, and that plunder is encouraged by them? I have heard that complaints are made, and very serious complaints too; I have heard of free people taking boats and taking people's slaves off the island, and I have heard them complain that their stores have been robbed by the free people.—Is it not possible that many of those liberated Africans subsist by the plunder of the plantations on which they reside, where they are harboured in the Negro houses? I suppose they are like other free people; some of them are very good characters, educated men; but many are otherwise" (p. 367).

"You say you occasionally heard complaints; that you discouraged ex parte statements, and you recommended them to go to the magistrates. You were asked whether you could bring to mind any case, and you could not recollect any instance? I could not bring to my recollection any instance when asked yesterday. I think I recollect one case—the case of an estate called Miller's. A white man came to me to make complaint that the manager of Miller's estate had used a woman very ill, and he brought the woman with him. She was a woman that he kept; he was an overseer on the estate. That being out of my line I did not feel it right to make any interference in these sort of things. I sent one of our old nurses, a slave woman, to look at this woman, to see what infliction of punishment there had been upon her, and she made a report that she was punished, and I immediately sent for the man. I said, 'I shall not take upon myself to look at this punishment, it does not belong to me as a minister, but you will go directly to a magistrate and show this woman, and make a report.' He did not go as I directed, but he waited three or four days before he went; then he was obliged to undergo a trial, and I believe was imprisoned for a false accusation. I consulted Mr. Burke, the Attorney-General, and he said I did very properly in not interfering; that it was a malicious charge against the manager.—The complainant in that case, when you did interfere, was punished for interfering? He could not make out the case.—How was he punished? I think he was put in prison. There was an action for slander, or something to that effect, brought against him.—The fact was that the woman was flogged? Yes; but not with that severity that the man described. She was flogged on the back. It was a woman that he cohabited with; and the man himself turned out no great things afterwards.—Do you recollect the name of the woman that was flogged? I do not; perhaps it may be on my minutes; but the name of the manager against whom the charge was made was ———, a Scotch gentleman. I think that was about the year 1807. I said there were exceptions to the general good conduct, and that was one of the exceptions.—Are you acquainted with the estate of the Honourable Mr. ———, called Orange Valley? Yes, I am very well acquainted with it.—Is not Mr. ——— a magistrate and a member of His Majesty's Council? He was a member of His Majesty's Council. I have been told lately that he is not now.—What was the treatment of the slaves on that plantation; was it not humane and indulgent? Taking it upon the whole he was a good man. He kept his slaves well clothed and well fed. Taking it upon the whole, it was reported he worked them hard; but I did not observe much about that.—You considered Mr. ——— to be a kind master? Taking the man altogether he was a good master. He had little freaks and oddities of his own, but not cruel.—Was he not generally respected in the island? He was in the first class in the island; I used to meet him at the Governor's myself. He was not considered a cruel man by any means; he had enemies, I know. I used to find myself a little rough language from him. From the nature of the business I was employed in I was looked upon with a sort of suspicious eye. I was called a friend to the slaves; and now I am here I am said to be a friend to the planters. Mr. —— would say, 'Oh, you are an emancipator.'—Have you been so called here? I was called so by a clergyman of Bristol. I was visiting, and met with clergymen who are of the Anti-Slavery party; they asked me a number of questions, and in return I demanded of them what they thought of my opinions; they said, 'We cannot contradict you, for we have not been there; but we think you are a friend of the planters, and a practical minister to the slaves.'—Did you not know the late James ———, a magistrate? Yes; but never as a magistrate.—Did you know Mr. ———, the magistrate? I never knew him as a magistrate. I have been told since I came here that Mr. ——— has been put into the commission.—You knew them as gentlemen? Mr. ——— was a gentlemanly man.—Was not ———? Mild, with a rude character.—Were not they persons of respectability and good character? ——— was not a bad character.—Were they religious men? I do not know much

about ——— religion; I know he was a freemason.—Have you not heard of Mr. ——— shooting one of his boys? Yes, I heard a report of it. It happened long before I got into the parish where he was; it was when I was a missionary. —You were in Antigua at the time? Yes.—Can you state the circumstances under which it took place? I know no more about it than what I observed in the island at the time; I only heard the report.—Did you hear of Mr. ——— killing another Negro, and burying him in a pond?—I never heard of his killing a Negro, but I heard of his burying a white matross in the sand; but that was only hearsay. I only heard of it from persons, perhaps, that were not his friends. With regard to shooting the Negro, he went and gave himself up for that, and I believe he was acquitted, or the coroner's inquest brought in a verdict of accidental death. There was some sort of trial, but I believe there was a great deal said about it that probably he did not deserve; I think so.—Was he tried for it? I think he was; he gave himself up to the Attorney General for the time. I am not clear about it. I asked him the question about it once; he said it was some accidental thing; he was shooting out in a part near his own house, and that this was a favourite slave, and that the gun went off when he did not intend it, and some one gave it out that it was intended.—Was he tried? I believe he was.—Were you in the island at the time? Yes; but it did not come so much within my view; I was only a missionary.—You heard of his burying another slave? Yes; but that is no proof that he killed him.—Is not the nephew of Mr. ——— now in this country? I heard somebody say that he was going out to Antigua. I know him well too" (p. 401, 402).

"Was not Mr. ——— the manager of Rigby's estate? Yes, he was once.—Did not that estate belong to Mr. ———? Yes.—Was not that let to ———? Yes, as I have heard.—At the expiration of that lease did not Mr. ———, the father-in-law of Mr. ———, recover damages in an action at law from the lessees for injury done to the slave gang under Mr. ——— management? I cannot speak to that any further than I heard there was an action at law; but I never heard it was for an injury to the slave gang; I heard it was for an injury to the property generally.—The slave gang would be a part of that property? Yes; I heard of the trial, but I was not in the court house.—Do you know the result of that trial? I know that the action was given in favour of Mr. ———; I believe he recovered damages.—Was not Mr. ——— a member of your vestry at the Valley Church? Yes.—Have the goodness to state what conversation you have had with Mr. ——— at any time respecting the stated cruelty of Mr. ——— towards the slaves? I do not recollect any conversation with Mr. ——— upon that business.—Are you sure you never had any? Never, that I know of, about the cruelties of Kearns" (p. 402).

"Have you ever heard of a Mustee slave, belonging to Mr. ———, of the name of Betsey White? Yes, I have.—Was she not confined by Mr. ——— in his dungeon? I cannot from my own knowledge say any thing of that.—You have spoken of what you *heard* of the liberated Africans; do you or not believe this to have been the fact? I do not know to my own knowledge; I heard a report of it.—Did you believe the report? I think in the general way it is possible it may have been the case.—Was she not delivered of a child during the night in the dungeon? I do not know that; I heard talk of it.—Do you believe it? I did not give much attention to it; I do not think it was at the time I was rector of the parish, or I should have given more attention to it.—Was not the woman without assistance in that dungeon? I cannot tell.—Did you not hear it? I might have heard it, and not believed it.—Do you believe it, or not? I do not think I can believe it to the extent which will authenticate it, for I know that this gentleman had enemies.—Was it not discovered in the morning that the child had been devoured by rats during the night? That is a question I know nothing of from my own knowledge; people may say that.—Did you hear it? Yes, I heard such things.—Was not this slave subsequently sold, with the rest of her children, to Mr. George White, the Collector of the Customs? I think I

heard that too; but I do not think I knew it. I do not think that happened when I was rector of the parish.—Did not this sale take place by advice of the magistrates? I declare I do not know that either.—You do not know those facts? No; I might hear them, but I do not know them; and I did not know the woman.—You have no other knowledge of those circumstances but rumour? Yes; just so.—Was not the advice of the magistrates as to this sale given in consequence of Mr. Osborne's cruelty to the slave? I cannot say, indeed.—Did you ever hear of Rock Dungeon belonging to Mr. ———? This is the first time I ever heard of it.—Did you ever hear of any dungeon belonging to Mr. ———, in which he confined his slaves? I was never there; I never saw it.—Do you recollect having heard of a dungeon in which he confined his slaves? I really do not know. I heard nothing particular of his dungeon more than other people's dungeons.—You have heard of a good many people's dungeons? Yes; there are dungeons; and many persons considered it proper to have a dungeon, though they did not probably use it.—Will you state that you do not know any instance of a slave being confined in a dungeon? Yes; I believe there have been instances of slaves being confined in a dungeon.—Then they are not entirely for the purposes of terror? Not entirely; partly for terror, partly for punishment.—Have you ever seen one of those dungeons? Yes; I recollect having seen one some years ago; that was a stone building, with a proper door and a window, like the cages I have seen in Ireland.—Were they under ground? No; they were well ventilated. I saw one in Briggens, and the manager told me that he kept it for terror, for that the Negroes were more afraid of confinement on the Saturday evening than of any thing.—Were they subterraneous? No. — Did you ever see a dungeon dug out of a solid rock, without any aperture except the front? No, never.—Did you ever hear of Mr. ——— confining a slave boy a whole year in his dungeon? No.—Nor for any considerable length of time? No.—Nor for any time at all? No. Mr. ——— is only just a friend of mine; I cannot say a friend, any more than a parishioner. I have been on the estate frequently, and I think if there was any cruelty among the Negroes upon that estate I should have heard of it one way or the other, and I never heard of that word, *rock* dungeon, upon his estate.—Did any of the Negroes ever complain to you of cruelty? No, no more than other people's Negroes; they always told me that they were well fed.—Was not Mr. ——— connected with an estate called Harvey's estate? Yes; he is of Harvey's.—Was he not prosecuted? I understood since I left the island that he was.—Will you state the offence for which he is said to have been prosecuted? I have seen some newspaper from Antigua.—Is the newspaper the only source of your information upon the subject? Yes; I have had no particular communication from any inhabitant upon the subject.—Have you not heard any thing from any friend as to the prosecution of Mr. ———? I have been conversing with the proprietor, a very old gentleman, Mr. ——— of Portland-place, who told me that they had been prosecuting his attorney.—Are you ignorant of the offence for which he was prosecuted? Quite ignorant.—You do not know that it was for cruelty—flogging some Negroes on Harvey's estate? No, I do not.—You have not heard that? Really I do not know whether I heard it was for cruelly flogging or not" (p. 403—405).

Having given these characteristic extracts, we now proceed with the abstract of what remains of Mr. Curtin's evidence.

He could not tell very clearly how many hours of the day the slaves worked in Antigua, but he believed from sunrise to sunset, with intervals of half an hour or an hour for breakfast, and two hours for dinner. If they are required to work during these intervals, they are paid for it. In crop time they are allowed every thing requisite (p. 366, 367).

A question arose with respect to the slaves in his congregation who were polygamists, which was referred to the Society at home. By their advice he required that every slave, previous to baptism, should renounce a plurality of wives, and he did not admit to it those who refused to select one wife of the two or more he had (p. 396, 397).

The living to which he was appointed in 1819 had a population of 4132, the slaves being 4000, and the plantations twenty-five. He was himself possessed of slaves by marriage, about eighteen or nineteen at one time. He had manumitted one of them, a female, for six joes. It was against her own wish; but he urged her, because he thought, as she had already three or four children free, she might as well be free with them. He had, it was true, given an opinion to the Committee, that slaves, if free, would not labour for their subsistence, being of indolent habits and disinclined to industry; and that therefore to give them their freedom would be any thing but kindness. He was still of that opinion generally, but there were exceptions as in this case. Some will work well when free. This woman would work: she was a very valuable woman, and made dresses, and net laces, and things of that kind. There are also exceptions of valuable men, who deserved to be made free, who yet lived content as slaves. He had tried to sell all his slaves since he came to England, but had not succeeded in his negociation; but he did not care about it. If he could have got rid of them, he and Mrs. Curtin were disposed to do so (p. 399).

He did not think the Methodist slaves were better than the Moravian. But he thought the Church of England best of all, and free from cant and hypocrisy. He had never made any calculation as to the more or less of crime among the different classes (p. 403).

The Sunday schools were open for slaves except during service. He has seen them there from morning to evening, as many at one time as at another, domestic slaves taking it, he supposed, by turns. The liberated African apprenticed to him was an inoffensive creature, but a man of small intelligence, and could scarcely learn his trade of a tailor (p. 407 and 408). The liberated Africans he thought inferior to the free Creoles, but superior to the slaves; but the slaves attended Church (we presume as contradistinguished from Methodist and Moravian places of worship) more than either the liberated Africans or the free (p. 407).

He had quitted the Catholic Church for the Church of England on conviction that the latter was the most scriptural (p. 406).

He had had a dispute with a gentleman, a lawyer in Antigua, in 1814, whom he had charged with being a coward, because he took advantage of his cloth to insult him by doubting his word, and giving him the lie. He did not choose to horsewhip the lawyer as it was before a magistrate; but, being very indignant, as they went down the steps of the magistrate's office, he took the lawyer by the ear, and the lawyer put his hand to his face and broke a pimple on his cheek which bled. It was not a boxing match: this was all. Neither struck the other any more. They were prevented by the crowd, and were both bound over by the magistrate to keep the peace (p. 406 and p. 409, 410).

Mr. Curtin was further examined about Betsy White, the Mustee slave. He knew nothing, he said, but by common report. He had heard, but could not tell, that she was confined by Mr. — in a dungeon, and had been delivered there without assistance, and that the child was devoured by rats; but the report was vague and he did not inquire into it, and did not believe it to be true. It made no impression on him; he knew the man had enemies. He did not believe it enough to think it worth while to make any inquiry into the subject.

We have thus given the evidence of Mr. Curtin very fully and fairly, and we have purposely avoided to break its continuity, however much we were tempted to do so, by any partial observations. But, now that we have brought it to a close, we must take the liberty of making upon its statements a few passing comments, which may possibly run to some length. The occasion, however, seems to require this; because in the whole host of pro-slavery witnesses, produced before the Lords' Committee, we have met with none more justly chargeable with a want of ingenuousness in the course of his examination, and whose answers are more dexterously calculated to mislead the ignorant and unwary, than those of this reverend gentleman. We proceed to make our charge good:

1. It is a regular plan with Mr. Curtin to guard his answers, as far as he can, from all awkward hazards of cross-examination, by reserving in most cases "an exception or two" from the generality of his praise of the humanity of the slave system and its administrators. But, in his account of the allowances of food to the slaves which the law prescribes, he entirely avoids stating the amount of those allowances, and how very scanty he knew them to be; for this would at once have revealed to the Committee the fact of their entire incompetency for the comfortable subsistence of a working slave. He says nothing therefore of quantity, but speaks of the absence of all grumbling about it on the part of the slaves, unless in a few excepted cases; and the inference he obviously meant should be drawn from his evidence is, that the provision for the slaves, generally speaking, was abundant. But what was the fact,—a fact that must have been perfectly well known to Mr. Curtin, because he had slaves of his own to whom he was bound to deal out the allowances prescribed by law? It was this; that the master was required (Act of 1798, sec. 1) to give weekly to each adult slave eight pints of flour and twenty ounces of herrings, or equivalent food; and half that quantity to children. Mr. Curtin knew very well that this was a miserably starving allowance; but he knew too, and the slaves knew, that it was fixed by law, and that complaint therefore was vain. But he suppresses the fact of the amount of the allowance, and he swears that the slaves were contented with it, and that few grumbled. What greater act of unkindness could any man have been guilty of towards the slaves of Antigua than so to state their case, under the sanction of his clerical character and the solemnity of an oath, as to lead Parliament to believe that the food allowed them is ample, though it was such as he himself, if confined to it, must have sunk under?

2. Let us take a review next of the way in which this clergyman treats

the important question of the Sabbath. He does not tell us frankly of the long and obstinate adherence of the planters of Antigua to the practice of Sunday markets, and of the injury thus done to religion. He does not tell us plainly of their refusing to give the slaves by law a single day in the year, except Sunday, for cultivating any little ground that might be allowed them, or for eking out in any other way their meagre weekly allowance; or when, in mere spite, they at length suppressed the Sunday market, of their refusing to grant them by law a single hour in lieu of Sunday for going to market. He suppresses or slurs over all this in the masters, and imputes to the slaves all the blame of the turbulence which the unjust suppression of the Sunday market, without any equivalent, had almost of necessity produced. He says they broke the Sabbath wilfully, without any necessity, merely to display their fine clothes and sell their fruit, &c.; while the masters, who suppressed the Sunday market without giving time for any other, are not censured. Will Mr. Curtin venture to affirm, on his oath, that with their miserable allowance of food, and without a single week-day allowed them *by law*, either for going to market or for cultivating their grounds, the slaves were not driven, by sheer, stern, necessity, to violate the Sabbath by doing both on that day?

3. But Mr. Curtin takes upon him to state, on his oath, that time on the Saturday, in lieu of Sunday, is now given to the Antigua slave by law, for marketing and working in his grounds. We challenge him to point out any such law. It is utterly untrue that any such law has been enacted.—In the same way, he insinuates that the driver cannot now by law stimulate or punish slaves by the whip, of his own authority. Again we say, No such law has passed in Antigua.

4. The extreme caution and reserve with which Mr. Curtin always adverts to the delinquencies of the white class, as contrasted with his confident assertions respecting the demerits of blacks and browns, clearly shows the effect of thirty long years of intercourse with colonial society, and the depth of his colonial prejudices. At first, for example, he cannot call to mind a single instance of cruelty that he had ever heard of in Antigua. Happily, however, for the colonial cause, he recollects one such act, perpetrated, not by a white (that of course could not be), but by a man of colour, who not only did the cruelty, but, what was still more impossible in the case of a white, was punished for it.—The tendency, in short, of all this clergyman's evidence, is to exalt all the whites, "with exceptions," and to vituperate all the browns and the blacks, "with exceptions" also. He seems to have forgotten that while the whites in Antigua amount scarcely to 2000, of whom more than one in ten are paupers, the free coloured and black inhabitants are upwards of 5000, of whom Archdeacon Parry distinctly reports, in July, 1827 (see paper No. 204 of 1828), that "there were no free coloured or black paupers provided for by the parish." The paupers receiving parish relief were all white; and yet Mr. Curtin scruples not to *insinuate*, for he does not venture to assert, that not only the liberated Africans, but many of the free black and coloured Creoles live by what he calls *trespass;* a slander for which there is no ground whatever, as the judicial records of Antigua will testify.

5. Mr. Curtin has, moreover, the hardihood to affirm that the magistracy of Antigua, if even they could be suspected of doing wrong and neglecting their high duties, are so watched and controlled by clergymen and medical practitioners that they would not dare to transgress. (What control, we should be glad to know, has Mr. Curtin exercised over them?) Nay, he even affirms that any man who acts ill is amenable to the Governor, and may be cited by him to his bar. This is melancholy!

6. In the same spirit, he assures us, that the harder the slave is worked the better off he is. Indolence being his besetting sin, the stimulus of long-continued toil, and night labour, and protracted sleeplessness, are essential to his well-being. Crop time is the hey-day of Negro enjoyment; the fattening cane juice then swells out his flaccid frame, and inspires him with unwonted vigour. Why did he not also tell the Committee, that so kindly considerate are the planters, and so fearful of surfeiting the luxurious slave with the superabundance of the good things then bestowed upon them, that, to prevent the evils of repletion, they have actually, in their parental tenderness, made a law to cut off, in crop time, one-fifth part of the usual allowances? Happy slaves to be thus anxiously cared for!

7. Mr. Curtin could not recollect any instances (with one or two exceptions) of cruel treatment of slaves in Antigua, during his thirty years' experience; but, being reminded of a certain dungeon of a friend of his own, in which certain atrocities had taken place, the Rev. gentleman, in his too eager desire to vindicate his friend, maintained that at least his dungeon was not worse than the dungeons of others, there being many such in Antigua. But then, whatever might pass in the interior of these dungeons, he was at least able to say that they had the advantages of light and ventilation, so as to obviate all imputation on the humanity of those who erected those places of torture, and who had filled them with their wretched inmates.

8. But if there be evils existing in Antigua, and if slavery is to be deemed one of them, Mr. Curtin would have them all reformed in due time. He, too, is for emancipation, but, to suit his taste, it must be very *gradual*, nay, *imperceptible*, in its progress. The slave must not have the even tenor of his destiny disturbed by idle but inciting declamations about whips, and chains, and dungeons, and freedom, and such stuff. The planters must be left to pursue their own projects of amelioration, and then he has no doubt that, some fifty years hence, the effect of their assiduous cares will be seen in some approach to fitness for that freedom which, if rashly dealt out to them by modern visionaries, Mr. Curtin would regard as a curse and not a blessing.

But we must now take our leave of Mr. Curtin, and, after this exposure of his evidence, leave him to his own reflections, and to the admiration of all who love to contemplate bright specimens of dexterous evasion.

II. The Lord Howard de Walden.

This Noble Lord's evidence is confined to a document which he had extracted from some papers relating to certain items of civil and

ecclesiastical expenditure in Jamaica, and a summary of which will be found in our last number, No. 104, p. 461.

12. Rev. Jonathan Tyers Barrett, D. D.

This witness merely laid before the Committee an abstract of information taken from the reports of the Society for the Conversion of Negro Slaves, a great part of which will be found in our preceding volumes by refering to the Index. Those who have read our successive numbers, or who have attended to the evidence of Mr. Wildman, in our last number, p. 456, will not be surprised by the language the Bishop employs in his recent correspondence with this country.—"Our institutions," he says, "are improving, and our chapels are building. These are measures much too slow for some persons. I confess I dread the consequences of precipitancy in a matter of such importance, and so materially affecting the *property* and *security* of His Majesty's subjects." In speaking of the insurrection, he is strongly impressed with the "atrocities attending it, and the "audacity of the slaves, as well as their duplicity and treachery towards their masters." He adds, "Their huts are all consumed, and the hospitals and stores on every estate are no longer open to their necessities." "The poor creatures are sullen and desponding, and, although they have returned to work, their behaviour is constrained and sulky, and they feel bitterly the effect of their own misdeeds." He says little of the equally great atrocities of the white rebels, but only regrets "the ebullition of public feeling" in "the destruction of many Baptist chapels." This is speaking lightly of such crimes as arson, and robbery, and murderous excesses, committed in open day even by magistrates. The bishop seems also to have yielded to the colonial prejudice against the missionaries. For what else does he mean by alluding to the mischief alleged to have arisen from "the perversion of Scripture, and the fatal effect produced thereby on the minds of the Negroes?" This evil he has been trying to counteract by printing extracts from the Homilies on rebellion, &c.

The bishop has under him in the whole diocese of Jamaica, including the Bahamas, 28 catechists.—But what are they among so many?

13. Mr. Edmund Sharp.

Mr. Sharp lived in Jamaica from 1811 to 1832, and had been a book-keeper two years, and an overseer afterwards on various estates, having on them from 150 to 600 slaves. He has no property there himself. He had observed the following improvements of late:—1st. Slave evidence was allowed against free persons, though, he admitted, so recently that no instance of its operation had come under his observation. 2nd. Marriage was allowed, but with the owner's sanction. 3rd. The separation of families was forbidden.* Plantation labour commenced at sunrise and continued to sunset,† with intervals of two hours and a half. The hardest work is digging cane-holes, but it is not so hard

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* This, however, is a mistake. The law is just in the same defective state as ever.

† The law says, from five in the morning till seven at night.

as coal-heaving; 70 cane-holes is a day's work for an able man or *woman*. When dug by task the slave saves time, sometimes two or three hours, with which he does what he pleases. The other work of an estate is comparatively light. In crop-time about 26 persons are employed about the works, so that 52 are required for keeping spell, dividing the night between them. Those who keep spell at night leave the field half an hour before the others. On strong-handed estates, affording three spells, the night labour is lighter, and one spell rests the whole of every alternate night. He considers 26 days in the year, with occasional reasonable additions, sufficient for cultivating their grounds; he does not say whether with or without Sunday labour. The slave seldom has to resort to his master's store for food if he properly employs his own time. His property is his own to sell, or will, as he pleases. Mr. Sharp's remarks on population partake of all the hackneyed and mistaken notions of the colonists on that subject, and may be fairly thrown aside as unsound both in fact and argument. Mr. Sharp finds it difficult to decide when the slave will be fit for emancipation; but he is quite sure he will not work when free beyond his own few immediate wants. The condition of the slaves is much improved, Mr. Sharp thinks, of late years; but here he blunders in confounding law with practice. Catechists are occasionally employed to teach the slaves, but he does not specify what is taught, or how much time is given to instruction. The slaves were improving in disposition, but they have been unhinged by late events. They now look to emancipation as leading to a life of idleness, free from all restraint. Emancipation in their present state would lead to all excess, and property and life would be insecure. The African dreads it as a subjection of the weak to the strong, and the old and young would become destitute;* and the property of the planters, without labourers, would become valueless.† Nine hours a day, prescribed by the Order in Council, is too limited for the manufacture of sugar.‡ Sending out two pair of shoes would be ruinous.§ The matter of food should be left to the kindly feelings of planters, who must be the best judges.|| Immediate emancipation would be the greatest misfortune that could befal the slaves (p. 779—781).

Mr. Sharp had known free men cultivate coffee, never sugar. The free man would not degrade himself by labouring with the slave. If all were free, still they would not labour in the field; and this he inferred from no free man ever having done it. On coffee plantations, free men, he says, work with *their own* slaves. Yet he does not believe the free would cultivate the ground for hire in any case. Free

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* And yet nothing is more certain than that even now, in a state of slavery, the old and young are not maintained by the masters, but by the slaves.

† What, then, is to become of the labourers? Are they to die of freedom?

‡ Mr. Sharp makes the present labour out of crop to be only nine hours and a half, and the Order in Council does not forbid the planter to *hire* night labour.

§ Why send them out? Are there no hides in the island?

|| Unfortunately this is a bad dependence, as is proved by experience; witness the Leeward Islands (above, p. 514).

men sometimes cultivate sugar canes for their hogs. The lands of the Negroes are generally well cultivated. On good soil 26 days are enough; not on bad soil. Poor soils will not yield enough by 26 days' cultivation. Some cultivate on Sundays and at their dinner hours. The punishments he inflicted were rare, and with switches, not with the whip. The whip in the field, he thinks, may be abolished; he has done without it himself, and substituted solitary confinement, and the stocks, and switches which draw blood but do not leave marks; they are inflicted on the posteriors of men and women, and on both by the hands of men (p. 782—786).

The hogs of slaves were shot when they got into the cane pieces (p. 786).

Many free people lived about the estates he managed; some were mechanics, and some cultivated land, if they could get it, raising food for themselves, and growing cocoa, arrow-root, &c.; but he had never seen them acquire much property beyond that. Many slaves acquire property, not only by cultivation, but by raising hogs and poultry. A slave of Mr. Mitchell's, on Bushy Park, a mason, who built the works there, had slaves of his own, and possessed some houses in Spanish Town: he treated his own slaves kindly, as far as he knew (p.787, 788).

Mr. Sharp admitted that slaves working at task-work were much more industrious, that they might gain time; but did not believe, notwithstanding this, that they would work for wages. The book-keepers and overseers are bound to inspect the Negro grounds, for they make a return on oath every three months. The return is made and sworn to, but the grounds are not always inspected. There are few proprietors in Jamaica; therefore the slaves cannot be attached to *them:* their attachment to an overseer depends on circumstances (p. 789, 790).

Mr. Sharp is, on the whole, the fairest colonial witness we have met with.

14. Andrew Graham Dignum, Esq.

The evidence of this gentleman before the House of Commons will be found in our last number (104, at p. 440—442). That given before the House of Lords hardly differs from it, and need not be re-stated. He tells the same absurd story, with embellishments, of his going, at the head of an armed party, into a Negro village, and having a disclaimer from them of any wish for freedom. Mr. Dignum's credulity is the most absurd part of this absurd story and of the sweeping inference he draws from it. It may be useful to give Mr. Dignum's explanation to the slaves of what he meant by freedom, and which, doubtless, is the orthodox colonial doctrine on the subject. The following dialogue takes place between him and Timothy, the head driver, an intelligent man. There was a great number of slaves listening to it. "Timothy," said Mr. Dignum, "suppose your master says he will give you free to-morrow;—but this is not your land: you may take your hogs and poultry with you. But, if he makes you free, you must go and work some where for any body who will take you; and he must get some one in your place, and give him this house." He said,

"Ah, you hear the word the Captain say!" Mr. Dignum continued, "Your master says you are free, and you may go away, Timothy. You get on the road, and are very hungry, and have nothing to fill your belly. You know that Negroes do not like to see free people coming to their place to beg for food. You will be turned away like a dog, as you always turn away the free people when they come to beg of you here. You will be driven away in the same manner. Then you will get very sick on the road, and call for doctor. Now, Timothy, you must recollect master will not pay for doctor. When you are his servant, it is his interest to keep you in good health. Now you work for him, and you have a comfortable house according to your desert." He said, "You hear the good word the Captain say. I hope the Captain does not suspect any one of us. We are all good people. Massa, we no want for free;" meaning they had no wish to be emancipated.

What a driveller must Captain Dignum have appeared in the eyes of Timothy, if he regarded this conversation as serious! And how much more surprised will he be if he should hear that the Captain had produced it on oath, before a Committee of the House of Lords, as a proof that neither he nor his fellows desired their freedom!—(p. 813.)

As for Mr. Dignum's circumstantial details respecting the evidence taken in Manchioneal, which he says showed a connection of the late insurrection with St. Domingo and a general ramification throughout the island (all this being stated on mere hearsay),—together with the story of Mr. Panton's slave having taken a letter from St. James to Manchioneal, and afterwards having killed himself,—there is not one syllable of it in the examinations taken by the Jamaica Assembly, and which have been laid on the table of Parliament. The whole, therefore, must be regarded as a fable, as the mere gossip of Mr. Dignum and his informants (p. 814—821).

Mr. Dignum understood that the sectarian chapels were destroyed by the militia, aided by the slaves belonging to the sectarian congregations; but this he only knew from newspaper rumour. A slave of his own had belonged to a Methodist chapel, who told him he was not *obliged* to contribute money, but he nevertheless did do so. All he knew of the bad instruction given by the sectarian missionaries was from newspaper reports. He knew nothing of it himself (p. 818, 819). And as to free men being mendicants, he only knew of that too from hearsay, however confidently he had spoken of it (p. 820). He saw no jealousy on the part of the slaves to his entering their houses, though he went at the head of an armed party; but still he thought they would be jealous of the visits of a protector. The appointment of a protector, moreover, would degrade the master's authority in the eyes of the slaves, and would breed discontents and complaints, and do much evil (p. 824).

Mr. Dignum said that, in the late insurrection, great barbarities, amounting to murder and rape, had been committed by the slaves, in every instance where whites had fallen into their power, such as ripping open bowels, and scalping heads, and throwing children into the

fire. He had heard of trials proving these facts in St James but he had not been present at them himself* (p. 657).

Mr. Dignum did not believe there was any truth in what was said of the attachment of slaves to the missionaries, or their regret for the burning of the chapels; he thought it was quite the contrary. To prove this, he told one of his strange stories, as follows: "On my way to the assizes, in July last, I staid a day or two with Mr. Jobson, of Cotton Pen, in St. Ann. He told me it was very unpleasant to him—the constant singing during the night of psalms and hymns by the slaves; that he could not rest, and he thought it injurious to their health. But he did not like to prevent it; for rather than be troubled with questions from the Colonial Office, as Mr. Betty† was, he preferred the annoyance going on to interfering with it. On my visit to him in March last, on my way to the assizes, I heard the gomby and the slaves dancing to it; and, on my making the remark that the sounds were very different from those I heard last July, his answer was that he had been speaking to his head driver that morning and asking him how Methodism was going on; his answer was, 'Massa, I am very glad Methodism is all over, chapel down, and minister gone, for so long as the chapel was standing and minister there we were obliged to give our money, or we should be read out of the chapel, but now we have our fowls and our money, and do not spend our money as we did before, and we go to church.' While he was saying this, a man passed, and addressed him 'Daddy,' the name he was called among the Baptists, he being a Baptist; he said, 'Do not call me daddy now: call me father, as you used to do.' Mr. Jobson added that since the chapel was destroyed the slaves were more cheerful, and had their amusements of dancing and gomby, and were attending church. He had heard complaints about losing rest by singing psalms at late hours, ever since the missionaries had been in the island (p. 958).

Mr. Dignum had never heard the slaves complain of the courts that tried them. The slaves were many of them very ignorant; but it was their feeling that they could obtain justice against acts of oppression, though the oppressor was their master. He does not believe that of late the slaves are disposed to suppress their complaints from a fear of not having redress; but frivolous complaints have of late been so much attended to by Government that complaints multiply: and this Mr. Dignum thought a strong argument against having protectors (p. 559). There is no bias which prevents a slave obtaining justice. He has seen, by the newspapers, of overseers being fined for misconduct. He has heard also of many frivolous complaints being dismissed. He had never heard of slaves being oppressed by overseers for having made frivolous complaints to magistrates, or of their having been punished for the evidence they may have given.

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* This must also be untrue. We have seen the Jamaica newspapers and have met with no such trials.

† See Anti-Slavery Reporter, vol. iii., No. 69, p. 431; and vol. iv., No 76, p. 136; No. 77, p. 145.

15. James Simpson, Esq.

This gentleman's evidence was confined to one or two points, and did not go to the same extent as in the House of Commons. He seems to have been called chiefly to weaken, if he could, the powerful effect of Mr. Taylor's evidence, by representing him on his oath, to the Committee, as a weak and chimerical visionary, unworthy of attention: an attempt, we doubt not, in which he completely failed. And he took the occasion to declare also, on his oath, his belief that any overseer who should be mad and profligate enough to punish a woman for refusing to sleep with him would incur the risk of being driven from society and punished. This, however, is quite as true as that Mr. Taylor is a weak and chimerical visionary.

16. Mr. Edward John Wolsey.

Mr. Wolsey, a native of the United States, resided in Hayti six months as a merchant, collecting debts for his father. He had been on estates growing the sugar cane; but sugar is badly manufactured, from the ignorance of the Negroes who manage the estates. The labourers are indolent and do little, but are happy in their indolence. They grow a great deal of coffee, which does not require much labour, but not sugar. They trade much both with the United States and with England. Many of the population, both black and coloured, wear shoes. The blacks and browns do not seem to like each other. The trade, he thought, had fallen off from the very low price of produce, added to the indolence of the people. They were expecting there might be a French invasion, but had no fear of the result. He saw much of the blacks. Reading and writing are the chief branches of education, and music, of which they are fond, and play well. Pianofortes are very common among them. Music is taught by blacks. The religion is Catholic. The proportion of the married is small; but their manners are not dissolute, for they maintain a kind of matrimonial connection among all classes, high and low. They call it *placing* themselves, and, though no legal ceremony takes place, they raise and educate their children and treat them as if they were legally married (p. 1057—1060).

Mr. Wolsey lived on a plantation which grew cane, the juice of which was boiled into thick syrup and made into rum. The labourers worked but little, though they were partners in the estate, every one receiving his share. All the cultivators were partners in the produce of the estate, but he did not know the proportions. He has, however, seen beautiful sugar made in Hayti; but in general they use syrup instead of sugar, and the syrup is so thick that it does not ferment. He has not seen any of them work hard. A few hours' labour in the day is enough for their wants. He never knew any instance of coercion but one, where a man was brought back to the estate, having quitted it, but he was not flogged (p. 1061, 1062).

Mr. Wolsey was also on a cotton estate belonging to an Englishman, worked by slaves, in South Carolina. He never saw the whip used there, though they worked indolently. Rice and tobacco are

also grown by slaves. He believed very little of either would be grown if the blacks were made free. The blacks were lazy, but it was possible the whites might be equally lazy, if they were placed in the same situation in that hot climate. The climate enervates the system; he found it so himself (p. 1062, 1063).

The public works and roads in Hayti are very good,—beautiful. The French, he believes, made them. He saw the Haytian troops; they are not in a bad state; they looked very well. He understood there were 45,000 of them. The Hayti tobacco is very good. Coffee, mahogany, and logwood are their chief exports. He had no fear of insecurity in Hayti. A man may safely avow himself a Protestant there. The missionaries are chiefly in towns (p. 1064,1065).

17. Thomas Williams, Esq.

Mr. Williams resided 15 years in Berbice as a planter, and left it in May, 1832. A body of slaves, called the Winkels, chiefly artificers belonging to Government, were emancipated lately: their number is about 300. A great many are men of very good character, well disposed; some are vagrants. Most of them were educated, particular attention having been bestowed on them by Mr. Wray, a missionary. This, therefore, Mr. Williams thinks, is no fair experiment. These men too are artificers. It does not follow that emancipated persons will work as agricultural labourers for hire. He offered a free man a dollar a day to cut canes, but he refused with disdain (p. 1066, 1063).

Mr. Williams had 370 slaves, and his estate made 500 hogsheads of sugar. They work by task. The plough is not used: it does not answer. No whip is carried in the field in Berbice, and having tasks assigned it may be dispensed with. The hours of labour are from six to six, with intervals of three hours. There are two missionaries in Berbice, and in some places education is beginning (p. 1068, 1069).

Being asked if the Winkels had become a burden to the colony, he said, Not so much as they will be. Freedom is a novelty to them at present, and many of them have it in view to procure fine clothes and luxuries, but, having obtained these, many will become indolent. He thought only one-fourth of them would work industriously.—That is saying, in fact, though reluctantly, that they are *not* burdens on the colony, and are industrious (p. 1070).

Mr. Williams has known £500 paid for a valuable slave, a boiler, and for a good field slave £300; but their price would now be not more than a third.

18. William Burge, Esq.

We come now to the last remaining witness who was examined on the pro-slavery side in the House of Lords, Mr. Burge, the late Attorney-General of Jamaica, and now the salaried agent of that colony. Much of this gentleman's evidence, if evidence it can be called, more resembles the ex parte pleading of an advocate than the testimony of a sworn witness deposing to the facts of a case; indeed, it is avowedly a *defence* of his constituents as well as of himself personally, and was

evidently prepared and arranged with considerable care. But we are willing to accept it even on these terms; for we are far from thinking that it has had any very great effect in bolstering up the sinking cause of slavery, but rather has aided in its subversion.

Mr. Burge was 20 years resident in Jamaica, and is owner, by right of his wife, of a coffee plantation in Manchester, with about 130 slaves upon it.

Mr. Burge first produces a statement to the Committee the object of which is to show that the property in slaves had been created by this country. This statement contains the following heads :—

A. Origin and foundation of the African trade, and proceedings of Government and Parliament relative thereto.*

B. Respects laws and other proceedings for the melioration of the lave population.

C. Laws for the melioration of the free people of colour.

D. Papers relative to certain instances of maltreatment of slaves, and proceedings thereupon.

E. Papers relating to the late rebellion in Jamaica.

F. Miscellaneous papers.

All of these, with the exception of that part of the last head which relates to the condition, in 1825, of three estates belonging to Lord Seaford, and the list of manumissions granted in Jamaica between 1817 and Dec. 1830, are a mere transcript of papers already on the table, and in the hands of every member, of Parliament; and, with respect to the exceptions, they are papers destitute of any adequate authentication, the agent of Lord Seaford, whoever he may be, being alone answerable for the one, and no responsible officer of the Crown being answerable for the correctness of the other, as has always been the case in every return of the same nature from other colonies. The Jamaica returns come to us in this instance from the Assembly through Mr. Burge, instead of coming through the Governor to the Secretary of State, under the official signature of the proper officer, who, we believe, is the Secretary of the island. The omission of this necessary formality, in the case of Jamaica alone, renders the accuracy of the document an object of some suspicion, especially as there are variations, in the different returns which have been received from Jamaica respecting manumissions, which cannot be reconciled except by explanations which the proper officer is alone competent to give; and in the case of bequests of freedom especially, dependent on conditions, no distinct information is given as to the fulfilment of such bequests. See papers of 1823, No. 347, and of 1826, No. 353, &c., compared with the document now furnished by Mr. Burge.

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* A part of these papers relates to the transactions of the Jamaica Assembly in 1774, on the subject of a duty which they levied on slaves imported, but which was disapproved by the then Board of Trade. The whole turns out to be a mere financial operation, an easy mode of replenishing the Jamaica treasury, which the Government at home disallowed, but which had not the slightest mixture of any philanthropic desire to lessen the horrors of that trade, or to deprive Jamaica of what were supposed to be the advantages of its importations. It is downright hypocrisy to refer to it in that view.

We have so often exposed the defence again set up by Mr. Burge for the conduct adopted by the Assembly of Jamaica, in regard to the pretended amelioration of their slave laws, and generally of their intolerant enactments in respect to religion, that we should only be repeating what we have already said over and over again, even to satiety. All we think it necessary to do, therefore, is to refer to our former pages, viz. vol. ii., No. 29, p. 103—111; No. 33, p. 177—182; and No. 38, p. 261—270; vol. iii., No. 65, p. 349—361; vol. iv., No. 82; and vol. v., No. 93. Mr. Burge admitted that, officially, he had never known of any pecuniary contributions to the mission fund which were not perfectly voluntary, free-will offerings on the part of the slaves, or that any inconvenience to the police and good government of the island had arisen from the nightly meetings of sectarian congregations (p. 968, 969).

Mr. Burge states that "the two particular clauses which caused the act of 1826 to be rejected by his Majesty are not contained in the act of 1831." He is then asked, "Are there clauses of a similar nature in the law of 1831?" His reply is, "I will beg to refer your Lordships to the clause itself. By the 84th clause, the practice of nightly and other meetings is declared unlawful, and punishment inflicted on persons attending them." Now this clause 84 in the act of 1831 corresponds, verbatim et literatim, with clause 88 of the act of 1826, and has no relation whatever to the *three*—(not *two*, as Mr. Burge asserts)—particular clauses which have been expunged from the act of 1831, viz. clauses 85, 86, and 87 of the act of 1826. Does Mr. Burge, then, mean to say that the clause 88 of the act of 1826, which is retained and now forms clause 84 of the act of 1831, was directed by a side wind against religious meetings? If so, then the proceedings of the Assembly are still more insidious than we were disposed to believe. Both these clauses are directed against the practice of nightly and other *private* meetings of slaves. Was it meant that in the term *private* meetings were to be comprehended meetings for *public* religious worship with open doors? If not, then the object of his reference is not very obvious; because this cannot be said to be a law of "a similar nature" to the rejected clauses, which were directed exclusively to religion. But if he does mean that the term is to be understood as comprehending nightly *public* meetings for *religious* worship, then we should be at a loss for words to designate as it deserves such atrocious obliquity of legislation, such a fraud on the government, and parliament, and people of England. Mr Burge, we conceive, is bound to clear up this ambiguity, if it were only for the sake of his constituents.

Mr. Burge very dexterously suggests to their Lordships, as an apology for the existing slave legislation of Jamaica, viz. the law of 1831, the consideration that, "if they looked merely at the written laws which regard the condition of the slaves, they would do great injustice; they must enquire, not only for the written law, but the usage" (p. 970).

Now we do not deny that, if we were contemplating an enactment which, being of ancient date, had become obsolete, and being superseded by usage, like the old laws against witchcraft in this country, had fallen into total desuetude, the argument of Mr. Burge might be a very

fair and legitimate argument. But what would the parliament or public of England say to a grave proposal to re-enact the statutes against witchcraft in the year 1831? The charge against the Assembly of Jamaica is not that they had formerly enacted bad laws; but that being called to repeal bad laws, and having professed to employ themselves in a thorough revision of their slave code, they had deliberately, and in direct opposition to the urgent representations of the King's government and the unanimous voice of the British nation, determined to re-enact them. The very apology of Mr. Burge candidly admits the badness of the former enactments; and yet the Assembly adhere to them as to their very life's blood; and are ready to dare the omnipotence of the British parliament, in order to retain them entire on their statute book. The laws which Mr. Burge ventures to defend—(we commiserate the necessity he is under of doing so),—such as the law respecting slave evidence and bequests to slaves, as well as that respecting Sunday markets, are instances in point. They are a solemn mockery of legislation; and Mr. Burge must be convinced that they are so. Let the reader look especially at those laws which he represents as the masterpieces of improved Jamaica legislation, the law on evidence, and that on property, as they stand at p. 446 of No. 104, and above at p. 490, and he will be satisfied on this point. They are not laws—they are frauds in the shape of laws. So the provision for "*abolishing*" Sunday markets is, in fact, a provision for legalizing them during a moiety of the Sunday; and the law for *securing*—(see the margin of clause 15 of the act of 1831)—bequests to slaves contains the proviso "that nothing therein contained shall be deemed to authorize the institution of any action or suit at law or in equity for the recovery of such legacy, or to make it necessary to make any slave a defendant to a suit in equity;" and that even if the legatee's owner should institute a suit for his benefit he shall first give "security for costs."

In the same spirit Mr. Burge holds high the justice and liberality of the Jamaica planters for not molesting their slaves in the possession of their grounds and of any peculium they may thence raise. We are not disposed to dispute the fact that proprietors in general, nay, we may say almost universally, are disposed to encourage and protect their slaves, in cultivating land and raising provisions for their own use and that of their families, and that the very first and most essential means of attaining this object is a reasonable degree of security to the slave that he shall not be disturbed in the enjoyment of what he may raise. Without this the slave would have no motive to cultivate his allotment, and the master would in that case be forced to supply him with food, or suffer him and his family to perish from absolute want. The master gives him land, therefore, and time to cultivate it, not from any feeling of humanity, but on the pure principle of commercial economy. The clear obligation of the master is to feed the slaves. He frees himself entirely from this indispensable and onerous obligation, by throwing the whole burden of it upon them, substituting land and time for the food that must otherwise be supplied to them. To abridge them of either, or of any part of the produce they raise by

means of them, would be an act not only of the most atrocious pillage, but of the most egregious folly. It would be as if a master, having given to a slave the daily loaf he deemed adequate to his subsistence, were then to rob him of half and apply it to his own use. We can conceive no human beings so utterly destitute of all feeling of right as to act on any such system. Thus far, therefore, the disclaimer of Mr. Burge was wholly uncalled for, and he might have spared it. But is the property of the slave therefore secure, in point either of law or of fact? In point of law it obviously is not. He is debarred from all right of suit or action on account of it, not only against his master or manager, but against any other person whatever, unless by his master's direct intervention. But, besides this, he may at any time be seized and incarcerated for an indefinite time, and finally sold for his master's debts, without the power of revisiting his domicile, or taking a single step to realize it, or to preserve it from ruin. Nay, what does Mr. Sharp, one of Mr. Burge's own witnesses, tell us (see his evidence, p. 786)? When a slave's hog, he says, gets into a cane piece, "the usual practice is that the watchman kills it." And in Berbice, before the law of slave property was altered, as it ought to have been altered in Jamaica, we read of a case of a manager, Mr. Luyken, who admitted that he had killed ten hogs belonging to one slave, named Leander, and then put him in the stocks for complaining. The Fiscal dismissed the case as one violating no law (see our vol. i. No. 5, p. 41, and No. 16, p. 236). Numberless other cases might be stated, where, without any direct spoliation, the property of a slave is liable to be completely destroyed by the conduct of a manager. See the evidence of Mr. Duncan, as it was given before this Committee. Take for example also the instance of the wanton and cruel outrage committed by Mr. Betty, the magistrate of St. Ann, on the person of Henry Williams, not only in punishing him, but sending him, by his own authority, and without trial or even the allegation of crime, to a distant work-house, and there confining him for months under its torturing discipline, and all this with perfect impunity to the perpetrator beyond the expression of Lord Goderich's displeasure. Let this one case be duly considered, and we shall at once be enabled to appreciate the insecurity of slave property in a state of the law such as that which Mr. Burge so warmly eulogizes. The spoliation of the property of Henry Williams, we admit, was not Mr. Betty's direct object, but that property was as effectually injured as if Mr. Betty had robbed him of it with his own hand (see Anti-slavery Reporter, vol. iii. p. 356 and 431).

Mr. Burge's statement on oath, therefore, of the effect of the 14th clause of the Jamaica Act of 1831, as giving a legal right of property to the slaves, is a gross misconstruction of its plain and obvious tenor.

The invidious remarks about the Colonial Office, by whomsoever suggested, are wholly beneath notice (p. 975).

Mr. Burge takes immense pains to establish a communication between the Colonial Office and the insurgent Negroes in Jamaica—between Mr. Stephen, we presume, and the rebel Gardiner; for he infers, from the confession of a man of that name, that he was acquainted with the intention of Lord Goderich to recal Lord Belmore six weeks before the despatch was sent from this country. And all this

mighty structure he founds on these words in Gardiner's confession. Mr. Burge is evidently ashamed to quote them, he only refers to them. "We did not think," says Gardiner, "that the king's soldiers or sailors would fight against us. I even heard that the king had taken away the Governor some weeks ago, and that the country was left to ourselves; and that Colonel Williams, who is master of plenty of slaves, was joining in keeping back our freedom, and to get himself made the Governor down this side. I also thought that other gentlemen who were in other parts, and had plenty of slaves, were doing as Colonel Williams was trying to do" (p. 1352). Now all this wretched drivelling would really be below contempt but for the dark insinuation grounded upon it in a grave and solemn tone by Mr. Burge. It shows at least to what extremities his perverse ingenuity has reduced him in order to fix some traitor in the Colonial Office with the guilt of originating the Jamaica conspiracy, and of conveying, to some one from whom Gardiner hears it, that Lord Belmore was to be taken away, and Colonel Williams (who is he?) named as his successor. The whole affair is really too ridiculous for any purpose but to show that there exist minds capable of the fatuity of drawing such inferences from such premises.

Mr. Burge also seems to have altogether forgotten that, supposing the confession of Gardiner to contain any allusion to Lord Belmore's recal, there were in the course of that and the preceding year abundant grounds for such a rumour. The sharpness of the rebukes Lord B. had received in regard to his supineness in the affair of Mr. Betty and Henry Williams, all of which were published in Jamaica, was sufficient of itself to produce such an impression and such a rumour. But the most extraordinary part of the case is that Mr. Burge should think of bringing such nonsense, passing verbally through so many different unknown channels, as evidence to be adduced on oath before the Committee of the House of Lords. It is importing the laughable looseness of Jamaica examinations into England. It reminds us of the evidence in the St. Mary's plot, to which we have adverted above.

And as for the belief of the slaves that the British Government desired their freedom, and that the planters did not, but were violently opposed to it, what was this but the truth?—a truth which the planters, by the violence and exaggeration of their speeches and resolutions, during the months immediately preceding the insurrection, did all they could (as if it had been their interest thus to delude the slaves) to impress upon their minds, and that to an extent far beyond the truth. This delusion was their own proper work. The fact that it was so, is written as with a sunbeam in the pages of all the Jamaica journals during the months of July, August, September, and October, 1831.

Mr. Burge further labours to convey to the Committee the impression that the violent conduct of the planters of Jamaica was reasonably excited against the government in 1823 and 1824, by the belief that the abolitionists then enjoyed the confidence, and guided the counsels, of his Majesty's ministers. Never was any statement more untrue than that which would represent Mr. Canning and Lord Bathurst, and Mr.

Huskisson and Mr. Wilmot Horton, as swayed by the abolitionists. No confidence existed between them whatever. Neither in parliament nor out of parliament was there any concord, but much disagreement. The abolitionists disapproved entirely of the policy of that administration in leaving the work of legislation to the colonies; and even the very measures proposed to their adoption were suggested to ministers by the colonial club; and so Lord Bathurst openly avowed. In confirmation of this fact it is certain that any dissent from the ministerial measures of 1823 and 1824 expressed in Parliament, was not by the West Indians, but by the abolitionists; and almost the last act of Mr. Wilberforce's parliamentary life, which gave great umbrage to Mr. Canning, and excited from him a reply of some asperity, was to declare his utter hopelessness of any beneficial result from the plan pursued by ministers. Mr. Canning's habits of familiar intercourse lay with West Indians; for example, with Lord Seaford and Lord Dudley. Lord Bathurst's speech in the House of Lords, in 1824, was almost dictated by Major Moody; and Mr. Wilmot Horton's pamphlets and reviews were put into active circulation by the colonial club, and by them dispersed throughout the colonies. Is it not, under these circumstances, something too much for Mr. Burge to come before the Committee to swear to such a mis-statement?—(p. 982, 983.)

Mr. Burge gets a question put to him about his own appointment, which gives him the opportunity of highly praising his official conduct, as Attorney-General, and holding it up as a model of zeal and vigilance on behalf of the slaves. When he became Attorney-General, he became, he says, *emphatically*, the protector of the blacks. We pretend not to say what Mr. Burge may have done privately, in the use of his powers, for the redress of individual cases of cruelty. He may, for aught we know to the contrary, have been as active, and watchful, and liberal, as he asserts himself to have been. But we *do* know that he was the adviser of the Duke of Manchester in 1823 and 1824, during which time more acts of unrighteous oppression (and for these we refer to the records of parliament) took place, than it were easy to enumerate. And among them were the trials and executions in St. Mary, in which revolting case the Duke of Manchester distinctly says he acted on Mr. Burge's advice. There were also the cases of trials and executions in St. George, in Hanover, and in St. James, all marked with the same traits of illegality, injustice, and oppression, as those of St. Mary. There were also the cases of Lecesne, Escoffery, and Gonville, in which Mr. Burge was a principal actor, but in which he was so signally worsted. Of *all* these cases Mr. Burge was cognizant. In *some* of them he took a prominent part. In all of them he was the Duke of Manchester's law adviser; and we feel perfectly persuaded that against his advice the Duke would not have acted. Certainly we find nothing in these transactions which manifests the deep interest he professes to have taken in protecting slaves from oppression.

All the cruelties detailed in anti-slavery publications, he says, have taken place since he quitted the island. But he had not quitted either office or the island in 1823 and 1824. All the atrocities that have occurred since do not equal those of that period. The St. Mary's affair alone

would stamp an age with cruelty and injustice, to say nothing of the others. All that Mr. Burge, therefore, states, on his oath, in praise of his administration of the law, must give way before the broad, the immovable facts of those cases, the evidence on all of which Mr. Burge had seen before they were transmitted to England; for he was the Attorney-General at the time (p. 982, 986).

Mr. Burge proceeds to praise the magistracy of Jamaica, as persons who would be most unjustly described as men of hardened feelings. He thought favourably of *them*, as well as of the general tone of moral and religious feeling in Jamaica (p. 986, 987). We do not admit the competency of any man, who took the part that Mr. Burge took in the St. Mary's trials and executions, and in the other transactions of 1823 and 1824, including Lecesne's affair, to be a witness in a matter not of fact, but of feeling.

He swears that he believes the assembly and planters of Jamaica are not anxious to perpetuate slavery: they only desire the Negro's fitness for freedom.—Mr. Taylor's views he, of course, considers as visionary and impracticable (p. 988).

He labours hard to prove that the law of Jamaica may punish an overseer who is not able to show that he had good ground for inflicting thirty-nine lashes, or any smaller number, on any slave, male or female, subject to him. The attempt, with all Mr. Burge's special pleading, is an utter failure. It is true that clauses 29, 30, 31, and 32, of the last Act, do provide that owners or managers, *mutilating or dismembering, or wantonly or cruelly whipping, maltreating, beating, bruising, wounding, or imprisoning or confining without sufficient support, or branding, any slave, shall be liable to be indicted for such offence, and upon conviction may be punished by fine, not exceeding* £100 *currency* [about £70 sterling; of course the fine may be one farthing, for there is no minimum], *or imprisonment not exceeding twelve months, or both, for each slave so treated, with a power to the court, in atrocious cases, if the court thinks it necessary, to declare the slave free, and to assign to the slave when free an annuity of* £10; *and further empowering the slave so treated to apply to any justice of the peace, and, if the justice is satisfied of the truth of the complaint, he shall certify the matter to the Custos, who shall convene a special sessions to make further enquiry; and, if they find the complaint well-founded, they shall certify the same to the clerk of the peace with a view to the prosecution of the offender, and bind over the offender and the witnesses to appear; and the said special sessions shall constitute a council of protection to prosecute to effect such offender, the parish paying the expense, if the offender cannot.* Now all this process is cumbersome enough. However, if it were effective to its object, its defect in this respect might be forgiven. But then, that there may be no mistake as to such an enactment being intended to interfere with the *moderate* and *customary* exercise of plantation discipline, these four clauses are immediately followed by another, the 33d, which is intended, most plainly and obviously, to set masters and managers completely at rest as to any apprehension, that they shall be liable to the penalties of the former clauses, if they do but

restrain themselves within certain prescribed limits, viz. drivers within ten lashes, and owners, managers, or their delegates, within thirty-nine lashes, at one time and for one offence, and shall not inflict the same twice in one day, or until the delinquent shall have recovered from the effects of his former ten or thirty-nine lashes. And the violation of these restrictions may be visited summarily, on conviction before three magistrates, by a fine of not less than £10 currency, or more than £20, or commitment to prison for not more than ten days.

We have been thus precise, in order to show the utter fallacy of Mr. Burge's law on this subject. The clause which restricts masters or managers to thirty-nine lashes, and drivers to ten, does not say one word of the offences, on the part of the slave, which must be pleaded in justification of these licensed inflictions. He must be *proved* to have exceeded the legal limit as to the number of lashes, or to have inflicted them twice in one day, or before former stripes were healed; otherwise the penalty does not attach. Mr. Burge knows as well as any man that penal statutes must be construed strictly; and here there is not one word, no not a single letter, which can affect any owner or overseer, or any delegate of such, who shall (he being present) inflict, or cause to be inflicted, with or without one reason proved or even assigned; for any offence, or for no offence; 39 lashes of the cart-whip, or of the driver's whip, if Mr. Burge is too squeamish to endure the former term. We may, therefore, leave Mr. Burge to his ingenious special pleading on the subject, throwing in Mr. Dignum to aid him in making out his argument. It is really too bad to have our common sense insulted by such Tom-fooleries, under the name of law. Even Boyden's case, we venture to say, is not correctly represented by Mr. Burge. For there (we speak from recollection) not only was circumstantial evidence of the strongest kind adduced against him, but there was one free witness who directly testified to the outrage (p. 989).

Mr. Burge's opinion, which he enforces certainly with great ingenuity as well as force, as to the unfitness of the slaves in Jamaica for immediate emancipation, is of course just such an opinion as was to be expected from Mr. Burge. He has done his best for his clients. But all his efforts, if they were multiplied tenfold, will not explain, consistently with his reasoning, the appalling and damnatory fact that his constituents should have renewed, in 1831, with scarcely any material improvement, the slave law of 1816; even the *seeming* improvements being no better than studied evasions (p. 990—993).

Mr. Burge evidently dislikes the missionaries. He swears that he has not and has never had any feeling of intolerance, but he thinks it better that religious instruction should be given by clergymen (the Bishop to wit, and Archdeacon Pope, with his 700 slaves, and Mr. Bridges, the master of Kitty Hilton, and Mr. Girod, &c. &c.) But one great fault he has to find with the missionaries is their not having mixed with the general society of the whites, and with the bar at the assizes. What kind of missionaries must they have been to have done so? How many houses could they have entered where the vice of concubinage did not obtrude itself upon them with brazen front? And as for a missionary taking part in *grand night*, at a Kingston or Cornwall assize, it would have been not a little incongruous with his character. It was for Mr. B.,

and such as he, to have sought out these humble and retiring servants of Christ, and to have given them countenance and protection. He was struck, it seems, with the feelings of irritation that some of them had manifested in the course of their examination in the Committee, and he supposes it might have been modified by the turtle and Madeira in which the prejudices of the whites had excluded them from participating. We know the potency which West Indians ascribe to good dinners, and their fatal influence on many a member of Parliament in relation to this question. But Mr. Burge mistakes his men. He is not to suppose because Mr. Barry, and Mr. Duncan, and Mr. Knibb have astonished him and their Lordships, by their manly bearing, by their dauntless self-possession, by their powers of intelligence and observation, and shown themselves fully equal to any association even with the noble, that it was the object of their low ambition to covet the favour and convivial intimacy of their superiors. Their ambition took a loftier flight. They were intent on pursuing their high and holy calling. They had a mighty task committed to their trust;—to rescue the perishing souls of thousands from sin and eternal death;—to break the spiritual fetters which bound them in a still bitterer bondage than that of the stocks and the cart-whip;—and to raise them from the slavery of Satan to the liberty of the sons of God. And they have done much; and they have already had their rich reward: and He, whose they are, and whom they serve—He who can form a more correct judgment of their conduct and their motives than Mr. Burge, will one day say to them, "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you" (p. 997, 998).

Mr. Burge, while he disclaimed getting up a case for the House of Lords, frankly and candidly admitted that he, aided by Mr. Markland, a solicitor, had been industrious in obtaining witnesses of information and experience to appear at their Lordship's bar (p. 1000). His success has certainly not been signal.

He also frankly admitted that the funds of the West India Committee were employed in repelling calumnies and misrepresentations by the publication of suitable works (p. 1001). It cannot be said that these, though they have been costly, have been very influential.

Mr. Burge very properly, as we conceive, declined to enter on the case of Lecesne and Escoffery (p. 1003).

He professed to take his estimate of the effects of emancipation from the confessions of the slaves lately executed for partaking in the insurrection; and expressed his belief, on oath, that immediate emancipation would be attended with inevitable destruction to the colony. We trust, for the sake of Mr. Burge himself, and of his 130 slaves, that he will prove in this a false prophet (p. 1003, 1004).

Mr. Burge affirmed also on his oath that it is certainly a fact that there is a rooted inveteracy on the part of the slaves towards the coloured population (p. 1004).

Speaking of the Jamaica press, he alluded to the Watchman newspaper, which he said, but without one word of truth in the statement, had been set on foot by the Anti-Slavery Society. Had he been Attorney General, he would have put it down. "My firm persuasion is," says Mr. Burge, and certainly never was a more gross untruth

uttered, either with an oath or without one, "my firm persuasion is that the Anti-Slavery people in this country have been in the habit of making communications to certain agents of theirs in the island of Jamaica, and this information has been circulated among the slaves. The mischief is done by the communication which takes place, to the slaves themselves, from hence" (p. 1005). Again we say that this is as gross an untruth as was ever uttered, and is totally destitute of even the shadow of a fact on which to rest.—He seemed to think, indeed, that they employed the leaders of the sectaries to facilitate their communications, as far more excitement had existed since missionaries had gone out. And did he ever suppose that knowledge could be communicated without excitement? He must have been a very careless observer of what has been passing, if he indulged that day-dream. No, no; knowledge is power in Jamaica as well as in England, and that Mr. Burge and his constituents will know ere long. They are not the men to arrest its march. They must consult their own safety by yielding in time to its resistless progress.

Mr. Burge himself had been very discreet, and employed, with *his* slaves, no men who professed "to preach the whole word," and who held slavery to be incompatible with Christianity. His slaves went to church, and were instructed by the curate, and a better-disposed and more orderly set was nowhere to be found. They continued their work while the overseer was on militia duty. The effects of their instruction thus proved its beneficial tendency. He believed it possible to make them moral and religious—good subjects, good slaves, and good Christians, without producing that abhorrence of slavery which, *it is said*, they must feel, if they are *properly* instructed (p. 1006).

Now this is all very sound and orthodox doctrine, and we perfectly concur in it. There fortunately was no disturbance in any part of Manchester. Had the slaves of Mr. Burge been exposed to the trial, we trust his care, in having them educated, would have been amply rewarded by their peaceable and submissive demeanour. That is quite the natural effect of religion in such circumstances; and such was its effect, as is abundantly proved by the evidence before the Committee, in the case of all the slaves who were really converted by the Methodist and Baptist missionaries, as he may see by the incontestible proofs to that effect adduced by the missionaries. Numerous instances are given by the missionaries, in their evidence, of religious slaves, in the very heart of the disturbed districts, pursuing the very same course, under circumstances of infinitely greater difficulty, which his own slaves are stated by him to have pursued in Manchester. And this is as it ought to be. But ought no credit to be given, for this result, to the instruction of the Methodists and Baptists, as well as to that of the curate of Manchester? But let him not suppose that the best-instructed pupils of either school will decline their freedom when it is placed fairly within their reach. If they are men and Christians, they must have learned to appreciate the blessings of freedom. Moreover, to what, even in the disturbed districts, is to be ascribed the little white blood that has been shed, but to the influence of those very instructions of sectarian missionaries which Mr. Burge and his constituents, in their thorough ignorance of the characters and motives of the men, are disposed to view with so much suspicion?

Mr. Burge has great objections to compulsory manumission. But we need not follow him in his reasonings upon it: they are happily effete (p. 1006). He is also against abolishing female flogging. He wishes women *to be liable* to be flogged a little longer; but he objects to a direct law on the subject. In point of fact, female flogging exists to a small extent, and it must be allowed to wear out. But how does Mr. Burge know this? Can he swear that 100 women were not flogged yesterday, and 100 the day before? Or can he tell how many? To female flogging Mr. Burge does not seem very sensitive; but still, to propitiate English feeling, not to spare the bared bodies of women from laceration, it might be desirable to make the experiment of abolishing it by an express law.—Neither does he think the whip in the field can be safely abolished.—Neither would it be safe to substitute the magistrate for the master in inflicting corporal punishment.—In short, like a dutiful agent, he is quite of the mind of his employers on all points of improvement (p. 1007). With them, also, he thinks ill of Hayti, and the Code Rural, and stipendiary magistrates. The planter-magistrates are every thing that can be wished. The slaves confide in them (p. 1008, 1009).

Mr. Burge then exhibits a statement of the wealth and resources of Jamaica, which would make it appear that his constituents are the richest, while they cry out lustily that they are the poorest, people on earth. But all this is *en règle*. He then gives tables, which may be fairly passed by, making Jamaica worth 58 millions, and the whole West Indies worth 101 millions sterling (p. 1015—1034).

He then goes on to state the case of West India distress, in the approved style of perennial wailing, and enlarges on the absurd hypothesis that the happiness of the slave is intimately linked with the prosperity of the master; when the very reverse, as every body knows, is the fact (p. 1036, 1037).

Mr. Burge is certain that no overseer who has been guilty of cruelty would find employment in Jamaica. (Cruelty, of course, is a relative, not a positive term. Mr. Burge, for example, could tolerate a little female flogging, while there are some so squeamish as to condemn it altogether.)—There are no cruel overseers in Jamaica, at least according to Mr. Burge's standard (p. 1038, 1039).

Mr. Burge is quite sure, in common with his constituents, although almost every set of parochial resolutions passed, in 1831, by those constituents, proves the contrary, that the apprehension of being transferred to America never occurred to the Negroes, or had any influence upon them (p. 1039).

He labours also to assure their Lordships, notwithstanding the complete exposure of his views on that subject by Lord Howick in the House of Commons, that the practice of separating families in Jamaica has no foundation in law or in fact; but all his renewed special pleadings on that subject serve, as it appears to us, only to confute his own positions (p. 1040).

Mr. Burge concludes the whole of his harangue (for be it known to our readers that Mr. Burge was not catechised like an ordinary witness, but had the privileges of an *ex parte* pleader allowed him), he winds up, we say, the whole with a pathetic peroration, appealing

to the commiseration of their Lordships, and supplicating for delay; till they shall hear what certain delegates, then on their passage to England, have to say to their Lordships; and lest also, by their precipitancy, they shall produce a recurrence of the dreadful scenes we have already witnessed.

We have alluded to the peculiarity of what is called the *evidence* of Mr. Burge, in its being neither more nor less than the speech of an able advocate broken by a few questions. *Our* mode of treating it has therefore differed from the course we have thought it right to pursue with other witnesses. We are not conscious, however, of having misstated a single sentiment of his address, though we believe we have not left any of his positions altogether unshaken. He is certainly a formidable opponent; but we are, nevertheless, so well satisfied with the issue of this first encounter, that we look forward to a second meeting without the slightest fear of the result.

We have now paid our respects to all the pro-slavery witnesses whom Mr. Burge marshalled under his standard; and we trust that our readers will have been able to form a tolerably just appreciation of their respective claims to credit. Our remaining task will be comparatively easy, while we pass in review the Anti-Slavery array which appeared before the Committee.

ANTI-SLAVERY WITNESSES.

Of these no less than eight were likewise examined by the Committee of the House of Commons, and their evidence has been already analysed in our last number, viz.—Mr. Barry, Admiral Fleming, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Duncan, Mr. Cooper, Mr. Morgan, Mr. Knibb, and Mr. Thorpe. The evidence given by these gentlemen in both cases being substantially the same, it would be a useless waste of time and labour to do more than supply any additional matter which the course of examination may have elicited in the Lords' Committee, and which may not have been drawn out by the more limited enquiry in that of the House of Commons. Our present abstract, therefore, will be confined to what may be *new* in their evidence.

I. The Rev. John Barry.

This gentleman's evidence occupies from p. 341 to 352 of our former number.

Mr. Barry was travelling, in the public coach between Kingston and Spanish Town, with a member of the House of Assembly, who in the course of conversation stated that he hated England, on account of the efforts making there to deprive the colonists of their property. Mr. Barry observed that the colonists had much cause to blame themselves for the part England had taken; as they had misrepresented facts. They had stated, for example, that the use of the cart-whip had been abolished in Jamaica, while they all must know that it was as much used at this day as it was forty years ago. The honourable member admitted this, but added, "They tell lies upon us, and we are justified in telling lies too by way of defence" (p. 431).

The drivers often inflicted punishment on the slaves in the absence of the overseer. He once, in travelling, was arrested by the shrieks of a woman who was undergoing a punishment with the cat. She was extended on the ground. She was raised up and sent to her work on his coming up; but she was unable to stand upright, so severely had she been punished. He was shown a whip, and he pronounced it to be what is called the cart-whip, the instrument commonly used. He had seen hundreds of them (p. 433). He believed the driver's whip to be still used on all estates except a very few where it has been abolished. He had many and many a time seen the slaves struck, in the field, with such a whip as that now shown to him (p. 440).

Mr. Barry produced a copy of the instructions given by the Society at home to all their missionaries (p. 456). These warn the missionaries generally to avoid meddling with political parties or secular disputes, and to enforce, by precept and example, a cheerful obedience to lawful authority. The West Indian missionaries are particularly enjoined to exclude from the Society all who relapse into polygamy and adultery, and all who are idle and disorderly, or disobedient to their owners, or who shall steal or act in any other way immorally or irreligiously. Their only business being to promote the moral and religious improvement of the slaves, they are not, in the least degree, in public or in private, to interfere with their civil condition; and they are diligently to enforce on the slaves the apostolical injunctions—Ephes. vi. 5—8, and Coloss. iii. 22—25. No person living in polygamy, or in concubinage, or in promiscuous intercourse, is to be admitted into the Society. The missionaries must take no part in civil disputes or local politics, and they are to keep at the remotest distance from all temptation to a secular or mercenary temper. No missionary can raise contributions for himself, or be allowed to receive donations, except for the mission (p. 467). A very interesting sketch is given of the state of the Wesleyan missions in the West Indies in 1830 (p. 461—466).

While Mr. Barry resided in St. Thomas in the Vale, he was surrounded by coffee plantations, and he was in the habit of hearing, almost incessantly, the sound of the whip, from morning till night. He could not mistake the sound of the driver's whip inflicting punishment for that of the mule driver. The regular and measured sound of the former was not to be mistaken. No man familiar with slave properties could mistake it. The crack of the whip is so loud that it can be heard at an immense distance. This use of the whip was so frequent that it ceased to surprise him (p. 470, 471).

It is well known in Jamaica, Mr. Barry observed, one of those facts indeed that every body knows, that in many cases overseers conceal from the inspection of surgeons severe inflictions of punishment. After the infliction, slaves are sometimes locked up for days in a state of solitary confinement. He fully understood this to be the case, though he could not prove it (p. 473).

Mr. Barry believed that, among the planters of Jamaica, humanity was the exception, not the rule.

He also believed that the slave population decreases, and this from causes connected with slavery. The maroons increase, and the

free black and coloured population increase; the decrease of the slaves must be ascribed to causes connected with their condition. One of these he believes to be excessive punishment. The punishments are so severe sometimes as to occasion death. The late hours at which they are obliged to labour, and their licentiousness, are also causes (p. 476).

Mr. Barry does not think that any laws which have been passed will restrain men from inflicting severe and unnecessary punishment, or secure the slaves any adequate means of redress. In very few cases, he is convinced, will the Negroes be willing to run the hazard of incurring a proprietor's or overseer's displeasure by applying for redress. The practice of inflicting corporal punishment hardens the sensibilities of the human heart, and magistrates who are themselves slave-holders are deeply interested in upholding the system, and feel also the strong influence of prejudice. He detailed several cases of oppression arising out of the power possessed by masters and overseers to oblige female slaves to submit to their desires, as well as cases of excessive punishment for other causes (p 414, 415, 469, 475, 488). Another at p. 479 seems hardly credible, and, as the papers relating to it were lost, it would have been better to withhold the details entirely.

Mr. Barry communicated a letter which he had received from Jamaica from a brother missionary, Mr. Bleby, dated Montego Bay, 24th April, 1832, proving the violent excitement still existing against the missionaries, though they had been declared innocent by the highest authorities. Mr. Bleby writes as follows :—

"You will have heard through other channels of the proceedings on the north side about the time of your leaving Jamaica. The acquittal of the Baptist missionaries was a complete triumph, and disclosed such a scene of villany and corruption as will for ever stamp this country with disgrace and infamy. The suborning false evidence against Mr. Burchell, and the attempt to assassinate him after his acquittal,—the miserable mockery of justice in the cases of Gardiner and Knibb, and all the other acts of violence and injustice perpetrated by the infatuated colonists,—will tend only to unfold more fully the direful influence of slavery on the human mind, and subvert the wretched system they are intended to support.

"The people in Trelawney seem to have become as bad as in that hot-bed of oppression, violence, and infidelity, St. Ann's; and a foul attempt was made there to murder me a short time since, from which I was only delivered by the merciful interposition of Providence" (p. 488).

"On the 6th of April a letter was brought to me which had been taken up in the enclosure in the front of the house, evidently written in a disguised hand by some person who can write well, threatening me with tar and feathers, and the demolition of the house, unless I left the town. The letter was signed 'Mob.' This I did not think necessary to take notice of, further than to request several of our people to sleep in the lower part of the house as a guard the following night. The next evening (Saturday the 7th) we had just sat down to tea, when a band of white ruffians forced an entrance into the house, and came up stairs into the room where we were sitting. They were nearly all armed with bludgeons. Thinking they had the appearance of constables, I addressed myself to the two first, and enquired what was their business with me; they answered, they were come to take tea with us. A number of them then seized me, and with much abusive language, cursing me as a preaching villain, &c., forced me backwards to the other side of the room, one of them striking me a heavy blow on the head. One of them having brought a keg of tar into the room, several of them held me

fast against the window frame, while others covered my head, face, and breast with tar. In the meanwhile another of the ruffians took the candle from the table and attempted to set me on fire by applying it to my pantaloons; but, being frustrated in this attempt, he attempted, by putting the candle to the tar on my breast and neckcloth, to effect my destruction; but Mrs. Bleby, seeing his design, dashed the candle from his hand on the floor, by which means it was extinguished. By this time an alarm had been given, and several people came to my assistance;—the ruffians who were up stairs, hearing the scuffle below, left me and went down stairs, and ultimately succeeded in making their escape. It appears that in the dark several of the ruffians were mistaken by their fellows for me and Mr. Whitehorne, the Baptist missionary, whom they expected to find with me, and so severely beaten with their bludgeons, that one is not expected to recover; another has his scull fractured, one his collar-bone broken, and another his thumb disjointed. Mrs. Bleby twice thrust herself between the assailants and me; the first time one of them seized her, and threw her with violence on the floor, from which she is still suffering; the second time she interfered two of the ruffians dragged her away, and attempted to lock her up in the pantry, but could not succeed, as she clung to them, and got out with them. The child was lying on the sofa asleep; but being disturbed by the noise, and beginning to cry, one of the fellows called out, 'Throw the child through the window,' which Mrs. Bleby prevented by snatching it up in her arms. When they were gone down stairs, she succeeded in getting away through the back door with the child, without a bonnet, and with only one shoe, having been pretty well covered with tar in her efforts to prevent them from injuring me.

"Having made my way down into the yard, the same man who attempted to set me on fire rushed on me, and aimed a violent blow at my head, which I avoided by stooping. I again ran up stairs, and one of them struck at me on the stairs with a bludgeon: but the blow, falling short of me, fell with a tremendous noise on the stairs. I finally succeeded in making my escape over the fence at the back of the house, and took refuge in the house of a person of colour who offered me shelter and protection" (p. 489).

Mr. Barry was asked whether he would not have been perfectly justified in interfering on behalf of the suffering slaves, when he witnessed marked violations of the law. He replied,—

"Your Lordships must see the very delicate situation in which we were placed; a very strong feeling of prejudice existed against our mission, and it was our desire to meet that prejudice as far as we could, and this was also the wish of our managing Committee; if we had interfered in any degree in the circumstances to which the question alludes, the cry would immediately have been raised by the planters, 'Here are these missionaries interfering between the relative duties of master and slave;' and that would greatly add to the effect of the often-raised though unfounded report, that we were agents to the Anti-Slavery Society at home. We certainly have very frequently, under those circumstances, done violence to our own feelings; but we were restrained entirely by these prudential motives" (p. 494).

The following is Mr. Barry's view of the general circumstances of the men who fill the situation of overseers in Jamaica:—

"The men who go to Jamaica for the purpose of being overseers are generally adventurers, who hope to improve their secular interests by that change; they are generally men of humble character in life—men who possessed little or no influence in their own country. Any man acquainted with the general feelings and principles of human nature must admit that there is a strong desire to govern in the human mind—a strong tendency to the possession of authority. These men, when introduced to properties, are, in the first instance, to a very great extent,

debarred from all the advantages of religion and religious worship: it is not necessary for me to go into particulars to prove this; it is well known that such is the case throughout the whole island of Jamaica; and of course whatever elevating impulse or principle they might have previously possessed must, under those circumstances, very soon become deteriorated; independently of this, they have the example of their attorneys and overseers before their eyes living in a constant state of demoralization. While inferior officers upon the properties, they are invested with authority over the slaves, and that authority may be improperly exercised, from a variety of causes; some of these, I have stated, may be excited by a refusal of the Negress to satisfy the impure desires of the person placed over her, and also the influence of passion and prejudice in those men; and I believe it will hardly be denied, that in the same proportion in which they become inured to the infliction of corporal punishment the feelings of humanity become benumbed and deadened. That benumbing and deadening influence will increase in an increased proportion of the infliction of punishment, and the co-operation of these causes I do generally assign as the reason why we see so little humanity among the overseers generally. There may be other causes which will operate, but these I believe to be the principal" (p. 501, 502).

The planters, Mr. Barry admitted, speak a great deal about the amelioration of slavery, but he did not believe that they, including the legislature, were willing to effect it. They might be more willing if a state of amelioration did not include the information of the Negro mind, and thus militate against the perpetuation of the system; for he was convinced they would ever be opposed to whatever was calculated to make inroads on the continuance of slavery. He believed the planters and the legislature to be most decidedly anxious for the perpetuation of slavery, and they have publicly declared their purpose to maintain it (p. 509). The punishment of the whip is frequently aggravated by inflicting further licks with the ebony bush, which contains a number of small but sharp prickles (p. 512).

An overseer, Mr. Barry thinks, has the power of inflicting great personal suffering on slaves without violating the letter of the law. He may confine a slave; he may inflict tremendous punishment within the legal limit of 39 lashes; and even if he violates the law he runs no great risk of detection, slaves being prevented by the dread of subsequent punishment and ill treatment from preferring complaints. (p. 531.)

"An old lady in Spanish Town, a proprietress of slaves, was one day visited by one of our female subordinate teachers, a most intelligent woman; she had previously spoken to a slave belonging to this old lady on the subject of religion; however, she did not think it would be prudent to allow this slave to meet in religious society without the consent of the owner: she waited upon the owner, and told her that she had spoken to this woman on the subject of religion, and that she hoped she (the owner) would throw no obstacles in the way; she said, 'I certainly cannot allow her to pray (which is the general expression for religion in Jamaica); she is a *young* woman, and I must keep her to breed;' and that was the sole objection which the lady had to her meeting in religious society (p. 531).

Mr. Barry states that the law does not recognize the separation of families; but he is inaccurate in this statement, for there is no law which prohibits either separation by private sales, or separate levies

in execution, though if families are levied upon together, which is not necessarily the case, they must be sold together. He adds,—

"A lady, a member of our society in Kingston, of the name of Miss Barrett, unfortunately became indebted; the child of a female slave was seized, I think by the marshal; after the seizure the woman herself came to my house. I lived immediately opposite, and was well acquainted with the mistress, and she told Mrs. Barry that such an act had taken place, and she hoped that the minister would interfere. I was not at home, and knew nothing of it until afterwards; the child was sold, and I knew that woman in consequence to die of a broken heart.—I knew another instance of the same kind in Spanish Town, though not followed by the same effects; it was a young man, the son of a slave woman, who was sold from her, not by consent of the mother; she was totally averse to it; she lived near our chapel yard, and was engaged in cleaning the chapel; and I have frequently seen her weeping bitterly on account of her loss, though the boy was not removed to any great distance" (p. 535).

2. Vice-Admiral C. E. Fleming.

This officer's evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons will be found in our last number, p. 378—392. In his evidence before the present Committee, he makes a mistake in supposing that the use of the whip in the field was forbidden by the disallowed act of 1826. There was no clause to that effect in that act; a motion indeed was made to substitute the cat for the driving whip, but it was rejected. A whip being exhibited to him, he allows that that is the whip generally used for punishing slaves. He had seen it applied both to men and women when lagging behind (p. 550).

Were any one to tell him the whip was not used as a stimulus to labour he would not believe him. He had never heard it denied (p. 552). In other points his evidence is much the same as in the Commons.

3. William Taylor, Esq.

Mr. Taylor's evidence before the House of Commons will be found in our last number, p. 319—341.

Mr. Taylor repeated his belief that overseers have the power of inflicting a very great degree of personal suffering on slaves without violating the letter of the law.

"I have known," he says, "eighteen lashes cause a degree of suffering that was dreadful, and called for notice; but, the law having allowed thirty-nine lashes, the parties who sought redress were completely baffled. The case was one of a young girl of eighteen who received eighteen lashes; it was one on which many men felt deeply, and the chief magistrate of the parish took it up very warmly, and the official people of the parish took it up very warmly, but the overseer set them all at defiance by simply pointing to the statute. It was in October 1830. The chief magistrate was Mr. Custos Maize of St. Andrew's; the public prosecutor of the parish was Mr. Clement; the person offended against was a girl, Jane, of Temple Hall; the perpetrator was Martin, the overseer of Temple Hall. They carried the thing as far as they could do; it went before the Attorney General" (p. 570).

In this instance, Mr. Taylor thinks that if the overseer had violated the letter of the law, he would have been punished. The cause assigned for the punishment was insolence. The cause *she* gave was a very different one, and that was believed. He had heard many

instances of barbarous floggings; and in mixing in West India society you hear particular men pointed out as kind, or as savage as brutes. A man of a harsh temper indulges his temper, and the law gives him abundant scope to do so.

"I remember," he added, "a poor creature came to complain, thinking I could do something for him. He stated himself to have been barbarously flogged; and on being stripped, which I caused him to be, his body did present a most dreadful aspect. He was suffering at the time from disease; he was weak in body; he was perfectly unfit to be punished, however flagitious his conduct might have been. I told him what the law was; that he might go before the magistrate and exhibit his person, which of itself was abundant evidence, and called for a council of protection; but the man said there was no use in doing that; that it would end in his getting another lashing, and that he would rather let it pass unless I would go with him, which I could not, for I was about to embark for England. This was on Prospect Hill in St. Andrew's. I had him inspected by old Negroes, who had witnessed these things themselves and had suffered them, and they told me it was a dreadful punishment he had got. I am sure he got no redress, for he determined to go home. I should doubt whether he was alive, for he seemed in bad health; I think he must have died some months after. I do not mean to say that the flogging killed the man; he seemed as if he would not long live, he was in such a state of health. He was certainly not in a condition to receive such punishment" (p. 570, 571).

"I have met with many instances of very cruel treatment, but on examining into them there was no law to meet them, and therefore it was impossible to do any thing. There was another case of a girl of nineteen; the only redress her friends had was to get her manumitted; an individual applied for her manumission; her owner, a cruel woman, I suppose did not wish to get into any altercation with this person, and she consented to sell her, and she is now free. She was severely flogged in the St. Andrew's workhouse, worked in the chain, and flogged after. There was no redress for it; I could only tell them that the mistress had a legal right to do so" (p. 571).

This girl was confined to the workhouse by her mistress's sole authority. This was allowed by law, and therefore the way to redress was barred. Women and men were equally liable to be flogged, and were constantly flogged in the St. Andrew's workhouse. Mr. Taylor saw four or five women flogged; they were of all ages; one of sixteen, another of twenty-two, another of thirty-five, and an old woman of sixty, a grey-headed woman; that was the only female punishment he ever witnessed, and he never wished to witness it again. It was very dreadful. They were made fast by means of a block and tackle they had in the workhouse, which not only confined them, but stretched them—they were flogged with a cat-o'-nine-tails. He did not mean to say that the stretching was done to add to the torture, but it did so unavoidably. He spoke to two Negroes who were punished in that workhouse, and they told him it was the severest part of the punishments; their expression was, that "they were stretched till their backs cracked" (p. 571, 572).

"On one occasion," says Mr. Taylor, "I saw two women flogged; I would not call it severe flogging, for it was nothing compared to the flogging I have described in the first part of my examination; but, riding in a remote part of the island, I came upon the spot, and saw the punishment. I did interfere, but it was useless, for it was legal. The individual who was employed in flogging told me, very firmly but

very respectfully, that he could not help it—he was a slave himself—he was obliged to do it, and was acting under his orders, and those orders were perfectly legal. I was myself a magistrate of the neighbouring district, but I could not interfere. If one had been his mother, and the other his sister, he would have been equally obliged to flog them. The law makes no reservation" (p. 578).

He had heard slaves state that they were deterred from marriage by their repugnance to seeing their wives flogged. It is the custom to flog women as well as men in the home-yard or in the field, where their nearest relatives may be; and their relatives may be employed to flog them. A driver is compelled to flog any one he is told to flog: he has no choice (p. 581).

Mr. Taylor was asked, "Did you ever know an instance of a hole being dug to enable the driver to place a Negro woman that was pregnant in the hole to flog her?" He replied, "Yes; I was told that by the head driver of Papine, a man that I have every reason to believe was respectable, a man I had very little to do with. I had been told those stories about flogging pregnant women. My attention being called to the subject, I was exceedingly anxious to arrive at the truth by asking other people, and I was determined to ask the Negroes and overseers and book-keepers. Among others I asked this head driver of Papine, a decent man, as I thought him, and he told me one instance in which he had himself inflicted the punishment. The woman was pregnant, and he told his story very clearly. This woman had been punished in that way. What made me believe it was,—this was a woman who had carried some complaint to Mr. Wildman; she complained of her being punished and losing her children in the womb; and afterwards she brought forth her children." His impression was, that the loss of the fœtus was in consequence of this. The driver told him there was an excavation made, and she was placed in it, and he flogged her with a whip, and afterwards, Mr. Taylor thought, with the ebony switch, After giving them the thirty-nine, they switch them. There was another respectable Negro upon the estate whom I examined separately. He had not been present, but he said he believed the thing did happen, and that during his residence on the estate those things had often happened; that pregnant women were often flogged; and he believed every woman upon the estate had been flogged over and over again. This was before Mr. Wildman went out to Jamaica (p. 592).

Mr. Taylor admitted that much exaggeration had taken place at public meetings held for Anti-Slavery purposes. He was asked whether he believed it to be true, as had been said at one of those meetings, "that a person had been scourged to the borders of the grave for no other crime than worshipping his God?" He answered, "I do believe in Jamaica there are instances of Negroes who have been severely and repeatedly flogged for no other reason than worshipping their God; I would not say to the borders of the grave; it does not consist with my knowledge that they have been scourged to the borders of the grave, I do not know that they have died, in consequence of *that*" (p. 594).

Again—

"If you had heard it stated that the Church Union Society was organized for

two distinct objects—the demolition of places of worship and the banishment or murder of the missionaries, would you consider that a gross exaggeration?

"No; from what I have heard of the proceedings in Jamaica, I should not consider it at all an exaggeration, for I think it is borne out by facts. It was organized since I left the country; with the exception of one man, I do not know any of them, and I would believe that man capable of any wickedness. I am asked about a society of which I know nothing; I only know the proceedings of the society from certain imputations in the Jamaica newspapers; it was organized since I left the country. I have read of gross outrages committed upon the persons of missionaries, which certain documents and newspapers have said were perpetrated by members of the Colonial Church Union; I have no other information. Assuming that for truth, the inference is by no means a gross exaggeration; but your Lordships will observe, I only gather that from the public prints"—(p. 525).

Mr. Taylor was asked whether the newspaper called the Watchman was not supported by the Anti-Slavery Society's principal agent there. His reply was, "I do not know any agent of the Society there; I never knew any. I have often enquired for the Anti-Slavery Reporters there, and could not procure them" (p. 609).

4. The Rev. Peter Duncan.

The evidence of Mr. Duncan before the House of Commons Committee will be found in No. 104, p. 352—365. Mr. Duncan stated to the Committee the following facts, though he himself had not often been in situations to witness the inflictions of punishment:—

"I have seen myself instances of very great strictness respecting the punctuality of Negroes attending at the hours of labour; and I have also seen instances of severity used when they happened to be a few minutes behind the hour. Perhaps your Lordships will allow me to refer to one particular case: I remember once sitting in my lodgings in Manchioneal Bay, when I saw about a dozen of females that came into the field five or ten minutes too late, and each received a number of lashes from the driver. I have witnessed similar cases" (p. 637).

"In the year 1823 I knew of a slave driver having to flog his mother. In the year 1827 or 1828 I knew of a married Negress having been flogged in the presence of her fellow slaves, and I believe her husband too, for it was her husband and herself and other slaves who told me the circumstances. Merely because this Negress would not submit to satisfy the lust of her overseer, he had flogged and confined her for several days in the stocks. I was then in St. Thomas in the Vale. Connected with that station, we had two places of worship, one in the St. Andrew's mountains, but just on the boundaries of St. Thomas in the Vale and St. Mary's; a considerable number of Negroes from St. Mary's attended at that place of worship; among others there was one of the name of ————, from ————. I was always particularly struck with her regularity in attending divine service; I observed her absence on one or two sabbaths, and I asked a lady what had kept her away. She said she believed Ann had got into trouble again, poor thing; that she had been punished by the overseer, whose name was ————. The name of the lady was Mrs. Lawrence; she told me that Ann had been often punished for coming to the chapel by her former overseer, whose name was ————; but that she believed she was coming the next sabbath, and I should hear her statement. The next sabbath a considerable number of Negroes from that property came to me, and among others Ann and her husband. I asked her what had kept her from the chapel. She said she had been severely flogged; she looked very ill; she was scarcely able to walk. I said, 'What have you done?' She said she had done nothing, but her overseer had

wished her to come and sleep with him. She said, 'No, Massa; I am a married woman, and I was married in the Church of England on the Parade at Kingston, and I cannot do any thing of the kind.' Other Negroes told me that they were present at a part of this conversation, and saw Ann flogged, avowedly for that reason, and among the rest her husband; she was very severely flogged; I was told she got about fifty lashes, and was then put into the stocks. After she had remained in the stocks two or three days, the overseer asked her whether she would come and sleep with him yet. She said, No; she was ready to do her master's duty, but could not do any thing of that sort. He brought three or four others, and pointed her out by way of scorn, and said, 'This is a holy woman—this is a married woman; she cannot come and sleep with me because she is a Methodist, and has been married in the Church of England.' There were a considerable number of Negroes with her at the time I saw her, who were witnesses to the whole or part of these facts. The woman was in a very poor state, hardly able to walk, in consequence of the very severe flogging she had got, and for the reason stated. Though I do not at present recollect any other such flagrant instance of cruelty as that, it was no uncommon thing to me to hear that the young female slaves had been flogged because they would not comply with those wishes of their overseers" (p. 641, 642).

The Negroes had been described by one witness as happy and cheerful. Mr. Duncan's opinion of that statement being asked, he said, "I have seen some apparently happy enough; but I do not conceive they are all cheerful and happy, or that cheerfulness and happiness are very common among the slaves. As it regards punishments, I have already observed they are generally inflicted in such a way and at such a place that strangers have seldom the opportunity of beholding those punishments in the act of infliction; but I have seen some punished myself; I have seen Negroes who have been punished scarcely able to move; I have also seen one or two others with their flesh most shockingly torn. I cannot conceive how it is possible *they* can be cheerful and happy" (p. 643).

The property of the slaves was generally respected; but he had known instances to the contrary.

"I have known Negroes complaining at least, in my hearing, in different parts of the island, that their provision grounds had been taken from them by the overseer, and that they had got in lieu of them uncultivated grounds, and had to begin all their work again; and I have heard frequently of managers or owners injuring the property of a slave, by shooting his hogs or poultry, without the possibility of their obtaining redress" (p. 645).

The means of redress to the slaves, for injuries or harsh treatment, he believed to be extremely difficult; and he stated the following as *one* instance in proof of it:—

"When I resided at Montego Bay, in 1829, there was a very painful case brought to my knowledge,—an estate, either Flint River or Tryall—I think the former; they are just contiguous; on which estate we have a number of Negroes connected with our societies. I was informed that they had no day for several months allowed them to work their provision grounds; that they went to their overseer, and he had promised them Saturday, but when the Saturday came he ordered them to finish the remainder of the cane piece; they refused, and went in a body to Lucea, either on Sunday or Monday, and complained to the magistrates that they had not had a day so long, and that their overseer had deprived them of this Saturday. I believe they were nearly all flogged; the matter was perfectly notorious: the flogging began, as the person who was a

spectator informed me, about two o'clock, and continued till about five; men and women stripped, exposed, and flogged in the market-place: the whole of this case is fresh in my recollection. According to the rules of our society, by which we act in Jamaica, we are bound to censure such slaves as may disobey their masters. There were two of the Negroes in company with those slaves who went away to Lucea; and according to that rule, though a painful circumstance to my own mind, I was compelled to expel them from our society. The matter was public, and therefore quite well known. It was not, I believe, denied that the slaves had been refused their Saturday, nor was it ever called in question that they had no day of their own for weeks, and perhaps months; but because they came away on Monday they were all flogged" (p. 646).

The cases of Henry Williams and Kitty Hilton were then largely referred to. We will merely quote a passage from the conclusion of it. Henry Williams had himself told Mr. Duncan that the sufferings he had endured from the flogging he had received from Mr. Betty, and his subsequent treatment in the workhouse for attending the Methodist chapel, had broken his constitution. He feared he never should be strong again. It was not by the magistrates that he was flogged, but by the arbitrary will of his master, Mr. Betty; and by the same arbitrary will he was sent to the St. Thomas in the Vale workhouse, and that workhouse has the worst public character for severity of any in the whole island. The treatment in the St. Thomas in the Vale workhouse is considered to be much more rigid and severe than in any other in Jamaica. This workhouse was not in the parish to which he belonged; he was in St. Ann's parish; but he was sent to a much greater distance, to this workhouse in St. Thomas in the Vale. "I believe also the Rev. Mr. Bridges sent some of his Negroes to that workhouse, and he stated it was because the discipline was more rigid in that workhouse than in that in the parish of St. Ann. The word discipline, as referring to slaves in Jamaica, means simply punishment" (p. 651).

In neither of the cases, neither that of Henry Williams nor that of Kitty Hilton, whom the Rev. Mr. Bridges flogged and treated so cruelly, was any redress obtained (ibid).

The barrenness of the women in Jamaica he considered to be attributable both to the severity of their labour and the looseness of their morals (p. 652).

The whole of the parochial resolutions published in Jamaica in 1831 conveyed to the Negroes the information, in clear and unqualified terms, that the government of Great Britain wished to make them free, and that the planters were opposed to it. Mr. Duncan added,

"His Majesty has not in his dominions a people more loyal and devoted to his person and government than the religious slaves. They revere the name of his Majesty and of his government too; and, as the inhabitants of Jamaica have published to the world that His Majesty and His Majesty's government wished to give the Negroes their freedom, this brought the matter before the Negroes in this way: Here are the King and his government wishing to make us free; here are our masters will not allow it: and I am well aware, should there be a question between the King and their masters respecting the Negroes, which side they (the Negroes) will go to."

"I consider that the principal cause of the late insurrection has been the hasty

and intemperate proceedings of the colonists themselves, and the violent manner in which they have opposed the wishes of His Majesty's government from year to year; the violent language which has been used, both in the legislature and out of it. I cannot conceive it possible that such language could have led to any other result. I have already intimated to your lordships the natural impression made upon the minds of the slaves would be this: His Majesty's government wish to ameliorate our condition, and ultimately to make us free, but that every measure tending to this has been most violently opposed by the colonists, both in and out of the legislature."

Mr. Duncan entered into considerable details respecting the persecutions that had been endured by the missionaries. We need not follow him in these details. They are sufficiently known, and are not questioned. He enters into many details, also, to show that the opposition of the planters is not to the sectarian missionaries alone, but to religion itself; and as much to clergymen of the established church as to Wesleyans or Baptists (p. 672, 673).

He produced also some important documents in proof of his statements, as to the persecution of missionaries (p. 681—685).

Exorbitant sums are often asked for the manumission of slaves, as much as £300. A planter told him that a man of the name of James Walker, on Holland estate, offered a very large sum for his freedom to Mr. ———, whose answer was, "Ah, James, if you were free, you would go to the devil.—Go to your work"—(p. 690).

Mr. Duncan has known fifty lashes avowedly given to a slave, with a whip nearly resembling that now shown him, and equally efficient.

"A Negro was laid down to be flogged almost under my window, when I resided at Morant Bay—at least at no great distance. His master went to the workhouse; he came back with the supervisor, and four workhouse Negroes came along with the master and supervisor; two of them had whips. The Negro man was laid down; two of the Negroes held him down, one at the feet, and the other by the hands; and the Negroes who had the whips went one to each side of the man thus laid down and stripped. I counted either thirty-nine or forty lashes; that was with a cart-whip—I mean what is called a cart-whip." This was in 1821. "The Negro man received thirty-nine or forty lashes with the whip. I observed that they still kept him down, while the two men, the Negroes who had been flogging him, went some little distance, and came back with tamarind switches—they are hard and flexible almost as wire—and then they began upon him again, to flog him with those tamarind switches. I did not count the strokes they gave with the switches; but to the best of my knowledge they were as many as had been given before. I observed, when the former lashes were inflicted, the slave never uttered any thing more than a deep groan; but, when he came to be flogged with the tamarind switches, he shrieked most dismally. His flesh was first lacerated with the whip, and then those small switches gave him great pain. I would observe this is a very common course in Jamaica; after they have received thirty-nine or forty lashes with the whip, then to use the tamarind switches; the common expression is, 'beating out the bruised blood.'"

"I have seen many cases of flogging (but not very near where I happened to be), when travelling through the country, especially on the sugar estates. When I went first to the island, my attention was often arrested by the sound of the whip, a sound very well known to those who have resided any time in Jamaica. I have looked in the direction, and seen persons subject to punishment, and have

counted more lashes than the law allowed. When residing at Morant Bay, the workhouse punishments I knew particularly; at that time they generally employed two Negroes for flogging; I never knew that on estates; and I have known them to exceed thirty-nine lashes, or even fifty lashes, without intermission; I did not see them punishing, but I know that so many have been inflicted without intermission. From the particular sound, I could judge of the instrument—a whip something like that produced to me" (p. 696).

"I recollect, in St. Thomas in the East, a man of the name of Phelp or Philp; he was flogged; he told me it was for attending a meeting for prayer. After a week or two, he came up to see me, and I desired him to sit down in the balcony of my house; he was not able to sit, but he leaned against a post. He afterwards went up to the curate of the established church; the curate told me he had examined him, and he was most dreadfully cut up. This, I think, was about 1824. I recollect again another case, of a coloured slave, belonging to Rhine estate; he was a tradesman; he had been flogged. I know it was many weeks before he got over it. He used to walk about with his stick: he was unable to do any thing. He told me that he got fifty lashes, and that each lash cut him. About the same year, I recollect another case, in St. Thomas in the East, in which I was at a property for change of air—myself with my family; the property belonged to a distant relation of my own. I recollect the overseer one night threatening to flog a young Negro woman (a woman about eighteen or twenty years of age), and I merely asked him what she had done. He told me she said there was no pleasing Buckra; but it was not for that, but because she had said Aha! (a very common mode of expression), that he would flog her" (p. 697).

"I remember another case, of a young woman coming from the workhouse at Morant Bay; she was coming over with one of her fellow slaves, who had been sent to the workhouse with her. I did not see her flogged, but she had on an Osnaburgh petticoat, and it was literally saturated with blood, which had been dropping on the ground all the way along. That was during my residence in St. Thomas in the East. After I went to Kingston, I saw persons who had been flogged looking very ill indeed. I do not know that I can now particularise any of them. I have seen flogging in St. Thomas in the Vale; I have seen children of from ten to twelve and fifteen laid down and flogged in 1827 or 1828. From that station I went in 1829 and 1830 to St. James, and I saw other slaves, who had been flogged. I have heard of others; I have heard, from a number of slaves that came, about one young woman particularly; her flesh was almost torn from her body, because, as I was told, she would not sleep with the overseer"—(p. 697).

"There is one estate, a coffee property, situate next to my house in St. Thomas in the Vale, Mount Concord. That property is very much embarrassed. The Negroes belonging to it have a very excellent character given them; indeed they bore an excellent character for many years; but, in consequence of severe labour, a number of those who had been the most steady, excellent, and valuable people upon the estate actually ran away. I found two of the Negroes, members of our society, had run away; those people, much against my personal feeling, I was obliged to exclude. I was well acquainted with the gentleman who was the overseer of that property. His name was ———. The overseer informed me that the case was this: that the debt of the property must be paid off, and therefore a considerable number of Negroes were sent out to job. I believe the distance was between twenty and thirty miles. Mr. ———— told me himself it was a great hardship upon the Negroes, and the Negroes were determined they would not put up with it any longer, and for these reasons: in the first place, they had harder work; then, they were a week or a fortnight away from their families at a time, and never saw them but on Sunday; that they had no opportunity of returning to the property to which they belonged; that their provision grounds were at that time uncultivated; and their allowance nothing like a compensation for losing their provisions; that they had nothing like a comfortable

house—nothing but temporary booths covered with cocoa-nut branches, on the sides of the road, instead of their comparatively comfortable huts on their own properties; therefore, as they were harder wrought, and taken away from their families, they were determined to put up with it no longer, and ran away to the woods. The overseer told me it was very hard, and he felt it so, but that the property was so involved; and he thought he could clear £500 a year by this kind of jobbing. I have known much individual suffering from slaves being taken to gaol, where they were confined for the debt of their master. I have seen the Deputy Marshal (or, as he is called, the Marshal's Dog), arrest Negroes, and drag them away for miles; and I have seen them crying and tearing themselves in the most violent manner. I remember once a young woman, who was arrested in a house where I happened to be at the time, on account of some debt owing to a gentleman by her owner. This young woman was about fifteen when she was arrested by the Deputy Marshal; the lady in whose house she was was very much affected, and appeared very indignant. I asked what was the matter; she said she had heard the Negro state there would be a fine prize at night for the gaol. 'Now,' says she, mentioning the name, 'this is a girl, though she does not belong to me, whom I have brought up as my own child; she has been religiously instructed, and can read the Scriptures; she is going at night to get into the fangs of one of those villains that belong to the gaol, and he will make her his temporary wife; that is a common case with the young Negro women about her age, when they are cast into gaol for the debts of their owners.' I was present at the time, and if I had not assisted to redeem the girl, she would have been taken to the gaol. There was another case, of a young lad, about fifteen years of age I should suppose; he belonged to a property which was very considerably involved; he was a very decent young man; there was also the mother of this lad, with about seven children; they were a very comfortable family, and religiously instructed and well taken care of: this lad was seized and was taken to gaol, and kept there for some time; then sold and separated thirty or forty miles from where he had been brought up, and where the other branches of his family were. This I state from personal knowledge, that he was removed from his mother and brothers and sisters. I have also, in visiting the gaols, seen respectable Negroes, or at least apparently respectable quiet-looking people; I have asked what they were there for: I was told for their master's debt. They had been confined a longer or a shorter time" (p. 700, 701).

5. The Rev. Thomas Morgan.

The evidence of this missionary before the Committee of the House of Commons will be found at pages 391 and 392 of No. 104.

Mr. Morgan is asked, "Have you heard or known of an instance of Negroes being addicted to vindictiveness and cruelty?" His reply is, "When I was in Antigua, there was a member of our society executed for murdering his overseer, but it was in consequence of the overseer debauching his wife." He knew of none in Jamaica (p. 712). He thought the slaves remarkable for their attachment to those who treated them kindly. He believed that, in regard to missionaries, the Negroes were disposed to lay down life for them; and he had witnessed many instances in regard to their owners also, when treated with any thing like kindness (ibid).

He considered the distress of the planter to arise mainly from slavery itself. It was founded on wrong. It was an iniquity calling he feared, for the judgment of heaven (pp. 713, 714).

If slaves were emancipated, he believed the parents woud be eager

to have their children instructed, and would pay for their instruction. On plantations children go to work at five years of age (p. 715).

He has seen the slaves beaten in the field with the cart-whip, the same kind of whip now shown, only the handle not quite so long (p. 717).

If the slaves were emancipated, there would still be law, of course, to restrain them; and in proportion as religious influence extended among them there would be peace and order (p. 718).

He always commended the slaves for attending to religious worship, and where there was any failure of attendance urged them to it. He considered neither himself nor them as breaking any law in pressing this duty upon them, whatever the wish of their masters might be (p. 720).

6. The Rev. William Knibb.

The evidence of this missionary before the House of Commons' Committee is contained at pages 392—405 of No. 104.

Our readers will recollect how roughly Mr. Knibb was handled in that Committee, and particularly how it was attempted to falsify his testimony as to the confidence reposed in him by Mr. Miller, the custos, in respect to the examination of the Negro insurgents, who were under sentence of death, particularly in the evidence of Mr. Baker and Mr. Dignum (see Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 104, pp. 339, 341). He now produced a letter from this identical Mr. Miller (who was the attorney of Mr. Hankey's estates, and also of Lord Seaford's), addressed to Mr. Knibb on the eve of his absenting himself, for a few months, from Jamaica, on account of his health, and to which island he returned just after the Baptist chapels had been destroyed, in February 1832. It is dated Falmouth, 12th June, 1831, and is as follows:—

"Dear Sir,

"I am sorry to find from your letter that your ministry at Rio Bueno and Arcadia is about to cease, particularly as you have acquired the respect and esteem of the white persons residing at Arcadia, as well as of the slaves.

"I send enclosed a note for Mr. Whitehouse, requesting him to attend at Arcadia in your stead, which you will oblige me by conveying to him.

"Soon after my arrival in England I shall call on Mr. Hankey, when he will no doubt be particular in his enquiries respecting the progress his slaves are making in religious instruction, and in every matter which relates to their welfare.

"Please accept my best thanks for your kind wishes on my behalf; and wishing you the enjoyment of health and happiness," &c. (p. 738.)

Instantly on his return to Jamaica (in February, 1832, as mentioned above), Mr. Custos Miller sent for Mr. Knibb, and had a conversation with him for two hours, in which he stated his sorrow for the demolition of the chapels, and said the island was ruined by it (p. 738).

Lord Belmore issued a proclamation about the destruction of the chapels, which was nugatory. No attempt was made to prosecute the offenders, some of them magistrates, though the missionaries in their memorial gave him the names of the whole of the magistrates and officers of militia, whom they said they could prove to have been engaged in the demolition of the chapels (p. 739).

Mr. Knibb produced to the Committee Jamaica newspapers stating

the formation of the Colonial Church Union, framed for expelling dissenters and screening the destroyers of their chapels, stating the day of meeting, the proceedings and objects of the society, and the persons, magistrates and others, by whom it was formed. Among the resolutions of one of these meetings, held at Falmouth, in Trelawney, on the 24th March 1832, and signed by the custos, James Macdonald, who was in the chair, are the following:—

" 1st. That the representatives of this parish be instructed to support every measure that may be brought forward in the house of assembly for preventing the sectarians any longer being permitted to disseminate their dangerous tenets amongst our slave population.

" 2d. That it appears from a mass of moral evidence, that the sect called Baptists has been most instrumental in misleading our slave population by the inculcation of doctrines teaching disobedience to their masters. As Sectarianism leads to revolution both in church and state, it behoves us to adopt means to prevent any other than duly authorised ministers of the established churches of England and Scotland from imparting religious instruction to the slaves; and in furtherance of this measure we call upon all proprietors of estates, or their attorneys, to put down all sectarian meetings on their respective properties.

"3d. That our magistracy should be most strongly urged to withhold, for the future, their license to sectarian ministers and their places of worship.

" 6th. That this meeting pledges itself to operate with the other parishes in this island in the general Colonial Church Union, for the purpose of protecting our interests from the diabolical machinations of the anti-slavery party in England, and their emissaries the sectarian preachers in this island" (p. 740).

As to pulling down the chapels, the Cornwall Courier, edited by Mr. Dyer, a magistrate, contains the following passage :—

" The war now may be considered at an end. The deluded victims of sectarian treachery have tried their strength, and are satisfied of their utter incapacity for warlike operations. The ease and celerity with which they have been subdued, and appalling examples, have struck a terror which will not be got the better of; and we might anticipate a long series of peace, were it not for the portentous events with which the political horizon of the parent state is overcharged. There we are to expect nothing but what the most rancorous animosity, backed by power, may inflict; but we are happy to observe that a feeling and spirit is aroused throughout the island which will enable the injured and insulted inhabitants to withstand and repel the assaults of their enemies. This has been manifested in the destruction of those dens of sedition and hypocrisy, the sectarian chapels.

" Retribution has been inflicted in the most speedy manner, and it has been inflicted by those who had a full right to do so. Society has its rights as well as legislature. The prerogative of society is undeniable ; it is at all times greater than that of legislature, which is dependent on it. Here is one of those instances where the representatives were powerless, and the people have taken it in their own hands. When we say the people, we do not mean a mob—a gang of thieves and pickpockets, such as the happy politics of England now acknowledge as their liege lords ; but we mean the magistrates, vestrymen, and freeholders of the island, who have been in arms to preserve their property, and who have in open day done this thing in self-defence" (p. 741).

The Jamaica Courant of the 1st March, 1832, a paper universally circulated in the island, contains the following denial of the slaves owing allegiance to the crown, but only to their masters.

" On an attentive reperusal of the governor's opening speech to the legislature,

we are sorry to remark, that his Excellency persists in his allusions to 'the machinations which have been employed to seduce the slaves into rebellion;' and to talk of their *allegiance!!* and the *duty* they owe to their masters. The Earl of Belmore has been long enough in Jamaica to know that the slaves owe no allegiance, and that the contract between their owners and the government of the mother country provides only for their obedience to their masters; and we deprecate the idea of inculcating upon the Negro mind the bare supposition that the king has any control whatever over him; and we have no doubt that to the frequency with which such doctrines have been held out by the sectarians is mainly to be attributed the cause of the late rebellion" (p. 741).

Mr. Knibb had heard of instances of torture being used to extort evidence from slaves against the missionaries.

"I have," he said, "the history of one man as he wrote it down as soon as he had been flogged, and I can produce that. I have heard of other cases; and a female told me, Miss M'Clellan, when she was taken up, she was shown the gallows, and told, if she did not tell all that Parson —— had told her, she would be hung there; and she was asked how she would like it. I do not mean to say that I have every word, but I have the substance of what she said.

"During our endeavours to collect witnesses, William —— came to a brother missionary, and told him he was smoked with fire and brimstone a long time in the gaol, because he would not implicate Mr. ———. This I was told by the attorney who was employed to obtain evidence for our defence. I know William ———; I was in the house when he told it, but I had my own witnesses to examine" (p. 742).

He had known also an instance of a slave being flogged by his master for refusing to assist in demolishing the chapels. The man had been Mr. Knibb's own servant for two years.

"He told me that his master requested him to go and assist to pull down the Baptist chapel; his master lives just opposite to it; that he beat him very unmercifully; that he took away fifteen flag stones, with some timber, and that these were then in his master's kitchen. He came to beg my pardon for doing it, and I said it was not his fault. He said he was unmercifully beaten for refusing to pull down the chapel; he said this to me when I returned; he had been a servant of mine; I was rather attached to the lad, and I was desirous to purchase his freedom if I could have done it. I had heard that the boy had been there and had taken a part in it, and he came to beg my pardon, and stated that his master had made him do it."

The following is the statement that was enclosed in the further memorial of the Baptist missionaries to Lord Belmore, dated 18th April, 1832, and which they pledged themselves to substantiate:—

"During martial law the following property in which the Baptist missionaries were entrusted was destroyed by the militia:

"A new chapel called Salter's Hill, in St. James, just completed, was set on fire by a party of the St. James militia, under the command of F. B. Gibbs, Esq. and Captain George Gordon.

"A private house in St. James, called Pultney, rented as a place of worship, and a residence called Wellington, in Hanover, the property of Mr. Burchell, were severally burnt by the militia; and a house in Hanover, called Shepherd's Hall, hired as a place of worship, was entered by the militia, and the pews, furniture, and pulpit therein, belonging to Mr. Burchell, were taken out and burnt.

"On the 8th of February last the Baptist chapel at Montego Bay was pulled down at noon-day, by a large mob, among whom were the following magistrates and officers of militia, most of whom were actually engaged:—

"*Lieutenant-Colonel* William Charles Morris, *Major* John Coates, *Captains* Geo. Gordon, Wm. Mitchell Carr, John Cleghorne, Joseph Bowen, Benjamin Hampton Thorpe, *Magistrates*. *Captains* Wm. Nettleton Balme, John Thaife, Edmund Evans. *Lieutenants* James Gordon, Joseph Tray, Wm. Plummer, Thomas Watson, Charles Wallace Ogle, John Henry Morris, George M'Farquhar Lawson, Jun. *Adjutant*, Henry Hunter. *Ensigns* William Fowle Holt, James Coates, Wm. Gordon, Joseph Gill Jump. Alexander Campbell, Esq., Charles O'Conner, Esq., Wm. Keith, Esq., *Magistrates*. Wm. B. Popkins, *Head Constable*.

"This outrage occurred within two hours after the custos, and G. M. Lawson, colonel of the St. James regiment, and a magistrate also, had been informed that it was about to take place, yet the parties met with no interruption in their proceedings.

"The perpetrators of this act are well known at Montego Bay; and no difficulties whatever exist in discovering the authors of the outrage.

"The governor's proclamation of the 13th February was posted about the town of Montego Bay, but within an hour after it was torn down.

"On the 14th of March the lodgings of Mr. Burchell, a Baptist missionary (the indictment against whom had been that day ignored), was approached by a mob, composed chiefly of white persons, for the purpose, as they said, of doing him some bodily injury; and but for the voluntary opposition offered by private persons, all their purposes would have been effected before a magistrate came to the spot, and during the time occupied by some of the authorities in procuring affidavits of Mr. Burchell's danger, which they required, though they saw him surrounded by the mob, before they would call in a military guard. Mr. Burchell was obliged to quit the island for the preservation of his life.

"On the night of the 12th of February the Baptist chapel at Rio Bueno was attacked and partially destroyed by the grenadier company of the Trelawney regiment, dressed in their regimentals, which was stationed at Bryan Castle estate, near that place; and on the evening of the 18th it was burnt down.

"On the ——February the chapel at Stewart Town in Trelawney was partially pulled down by some persons, also connected with the militia.

"The Baptist chapel at Falmouth had been occupied during martial law as barracks by the St. Ann's regiment. On the 7th of February, when that corps was about to quit the town, Mr. Isher, Mr. Gaiver, a magistrate and ensign, and Adjutant Samuel Tucker, commanded the men to break down the chapel, and themselves set the example, saying those were the orders they had received. It was completely demolished.

"While the work of destruction was proceeding information was given to Lieutenant Thomas Tennison, of the Trelawney regiment, the officer on guard in the town. His reply was, 'that it was no matter whether they broke it or not; he supposed they would set it on fire.'

"Mr. Knibb, one of the missionaries, paid a visit to Falmouth early in March. For three successive nights his lodgings were stoned; and he was cautioned by two respectable gentlemen against venturing out in the evening, as a party had clubbed together to tar and feather him.

"After martial law was discontinued the horses of Mr. Knibb were taken from Falmouth by Major-General Hilton, who has till very recently retained possession of them.

"At Lucea, on the 6th of January, Lieutenant-Colonel John Edward Payne, and Major Richard Chambers, magistrates, and Mr. Heath, the rector, went to Mr. Abbott, the Baptist missionary's residence, and stated that he had run away. Mr. Payne asked if he had any letters from Burchell, and said, 'the Baptists had tried to ruin them; but, instead of that, the Baptists would be ruined themselves.'

"Mr. Chambers opened Mrs. Abbott's desk with a false key, though he was told it was hers, and searched her letters. They locked, nailed, and sealed up

the doors and windows of the house, and used a great deal of abusive language to Miss Dixon, who had charge of his house. Mr. Heath took away Mr. Abbott's church books, which have never been returned.

"On Thursday, February 9th, in the morning, the Baptist chapel at Lucea was destroyed. The following parties were among the perpetrators of the outrage:—John B. Heath, *Rector*, D. A. Binns, Charles Younge, *Constable*.

"Mr. Alex. Campbell, of Lucea, a magistrate, was present, and did not attempt to prevent it. Mr. Heath, the rector, asked a gentleman to go with him and destroy the d——d Baptist chapel.

"Mr. Richard Chambers, on the evening of the same day, refused to exercise his authority as a magistrate when Mr. Abbott's dwelling house was violently entered by D. Binns and others, armed with hatchets, &c., for the purpose of destroying his furniture. On this occasion a respectable female, attempting to protect Mr. Abbott's property, was struck with a horsewhip by D. Binns, who threatened to push her down the steps if she did not go.

"Several dozens of wine were destroyed; and several of Mr. Abbott's books and clothes stolen.

"On Friday night, February 10th, at about ten o'clock, a number of men rushed into the chapel at St. Ann's Bay, and violently destroyed the windows, with part of the pews and benches, causing great alarm to the missionary and his wife, who were residing under the same roof. The next day that missionary brought this outrage before two of the magistrates, Messrs. Thomas Raffington and W. S. Harker, who examined several witnesses, but afforded no adequate protection. In consequence of being left without protection by those who had the military force under their command, the missionary, his wife, and infant child, were compelled to flee from their home for safety; and on the following Tuesday, in the forenoon, the whole building, comprising the chapel and residence, was pulled down, and the materials stolen. Among the parties engaged in this act were Dr. George R. Stennett, and Lieutenant Henry Cox, junior, magistrates, Captain Samuel Drake, and the head constable.

"We are informed that, on the last-mentioned day, some magistrates sent for the boxes of the missionary to the court-house, searched them, and took out sundry papers and others of their contents.

"On the 24th of February Ebeny chapel, at Hayes Savanna, in Vere, was wilfully destroyed by fire. A day or two before, Mr. Heath, Mr. Lean Wood, a magistrate, with another person, went and broke some of the windows of the chapel, and took away the key.

"On Friday, the 6th of April, about ten o'clock at night, a mob of white men, armed with swords, pistols, muskets, and bayonets, went to Mount Charles chapel, in St. Andrews. In the way from the gate of the premises to the house they met with a poor old man (a free negro), unarmed, and fell upon him with their swords, cutting him severely in several places on his head and body, and one of them with a bayonet stabbed him in his side.

"When they got to the house they broke open the door, and fired in at it. Some of them broke the windows of the bed-room, forcing in the glass frames, and shutters with such violence that the bed on which Mrs. Baylis, (the missionary's wife) and her infant were lying was nearly covered with pieces of glass. They then fired in at each of the windows, and one of the ruffians applied a candle to one side of the room, for the purpose of setting it on fire, but it was put out. They proceeded to break the hall window, swearing the house should be down that night. Seeing the candle was out, one of them broke open the door of an outhouse, saying he wanted fire, and that he would burn down the house; but, the alarm being given, they made off.

"The chapels and places of worship at the following places have also been destroyed:—Savanna-la-Mar and Fullersfield, Westmoreland; Green Island, a hired house; Brown's Town, and Ocho Rios, St. Ann's.

"On the 10th of January nine dozens of Madeira wine, which were being

sent from Mr. Burchell's residence in Montego Bay to him on board the ship Garland Cume, were taken possession of by Lieutenant John Henry Morris, and have never since been restored. On the 12th the same person returned, accompanied by Mr. James Gordon, a magistrate, who said that, by order of Sir Willoughby Cotton, he came to see what quantity of wine was remaining. They went into the store, counted the wine, locked up the store, and took the key away. The key was not returned so late as the 5th of April.

"Besides the particular instances mentioned, much more of the private property of the missionaries has been destroyed or injured during and since.

"The loss of property sustained by the mission amounts to upwards of 20,000*l.* currency.

"The Jamaica Courant (understood to be the newspaper most extensively circulated in this island) has endeavoured, and still endeavours, with impunity, to excite the inhabitants to the commission of every species of outrage on the missionaries, recommending destruction of property, and even threatening life if they remain in the island. This paper is generally (and from the almost universal support it receives is properly) considered as the organ of the colony. Concurring in opinion with the Jamaica Courant and other newspapers, many of the inhabitants of this island have connected themselves in an association, under the designation of 'the Colonial Church Union,' the predominant object whereof is to procure the expulsion of all the missionaries from the island—an endeavour, in fact. 'Englishmen have the right to abide in their own country as long as they please, and not to be driven from it, unless by the sentence of the law;' and they submit that an association for such a purpose is illegal, and at variance with the whole spirit of the British constitution.

"The first place at which this Union was set on foot was St. Ann's Bay, where, on the 15th of February, after the demolition of several chapels, and the promulgation of the proclamation, the following among other resolutions was passed:

"6th. That it is expected from every member of this Union that he will lend his influence and support on all occasions to those patriots who, in behalf of the paramount laws of society, have hazarded their personal responsibility for our preservation from the murderous machinations of our enemies."

"The presidents of this meeting publicly announced are—Honourable Henry Cox, Custos of St. Ann's, major-general of the militia, and member of the House of Assembly, and James Laurence Hilton, Esquire, a magistrate of that parish, and also a major-general,—two of the authorities who are required by the proclamation to prosecute the offenders and prevent further outrages in that parish.

"In Spanish Town the Colonial Church Union for the county of Middlesex was held on the 21st of March, and the resolutions of all the parochial meetings seem to have been then recognized and amalgamated. The Honourable John Lunan, a judge of the Supreme Court of the island, custos of the precinct of St. Catherine, and member of Assembly, was appointed president of this meeting.

"It would be an endless undertaking to enumerate all the law preservers and justices of the peace who are members of this illegal and peace-disturbing Society; but the missionaries cannot omit to notice that the custodes of the several parishes of Trelawney, Manchester, and Vere have accepted the office of president in their respective parishes. In the parish of Trelawney, one magistrate, Mr. W. Dyer, publishes a newspaper called the 'Cornwall Courier,' in which he has repeatedly urged that the missionaries should be tarred and feathered. An attempt was made, on the 7th of April, to practise this on the Wesleyan missionary at Falmouth; and in the next number of that paper this act was spoken of with approbation. Our eyes cannot be shut to the fact that William Dyer, editor, and Mr. Dyer, magistrate, are one and the same person; and it seems a little too much to expect from human nature, that what the editor recommends and applauds the magistrate will very rigidly judge or severely punish.

"Another magistrate, Joseph Hodgson, who resided within a few doors of the place where this disturbance occurred, was applied to for assistance; his reply to

the applicant was, that 'she had better go home, they would not hurt the minister.' These instances of the degree of sanction which some magistrates give to the acts of violence committed on the missionaries were adverted to in a letter addressed to His Excellency's Secretary on the 14th instant" (p. 750—753).

The correspondence also which took place between the Baptist missionaries and Commodore Farquhar, who was on the Montego Bay station, was also given in evidence by Mr. Knibb. This officer had thought proper, in an address to the inhabitants of St. James, to say to them, "Gentlemen, I rejoice and do most sincerely congratulate you that this most unnatural rebellion (raised in a great measure by the fanatical preaching and teaching of the sect called Baptists) is now at an end." The missionaries wrote to him demanding an explanation. He did not deign to reply to them. A second letter was written to him renewing the demand, and intimating that the correspondence would be laid before the Admiral and the Lords of the Admiralty. To this he replied by his secretary, that he did not hold himself responsible for any letter in the public prints which he had not ordered to be inserted; he had nothing to do with the steps the missionaries might take; and he declined all further correspondence with them (p. 757—760).

We trust the Lords of the Admiralty will teach this commodore a lesson he has not yet learnt; that even missionaries have rights as British subjects which he is bound to respect, and not to outrage, as he has most unwarrantably done.

Mr. Knibb gave further, in evidence, copies of the confessions made to him by the Negro convicts, in compliance with the request made to him by Mr. Custos Miller; and of the striking testimony in his favour by Mr. Samuel Moulton Barrett,* the brother of the Jamaica delegate to this country (p. 760—764).

There are in Jamaica many religionists among the slaves who call themselves Baptists, but who are in no degree connected with the Baptist missionaries, and whom it was not impossible that overseers, or any other ignorant persons, might confound with the missionaries and the slaves of their congregations. Mr. Knibb said he himself had a congregation of about 3000, whose contributions amounted in the year to about £600, half of that sum being contributed by free persons, and half by slaves. The contributions were quite voluntary, and were quite unconnected with admission or rejection (p. 767, 768).

Mr. Knibb was not aware that reports of cruelties to slaves were circulated in his congregation against the planters. He very seldom heard of them.

"The slaves are by no means desirous of telling acts of cruelty; they will conceal them. They feel the degradation of being flogged so much, that it is with the greatest difficulty they will tell when they have been flogged."

He therefore thinks there were a great many such cases which he had not heard of. "Flogging is as common on the estates as eating," p. 768.

He was led to believe that the condition of the slaves was rendered worse by the insurrection.

"In the disturbed districts they were obliged to work harder, at least as I was

* See a copy of this letter in the Anti Slavery Reporter, No. 101, p. 282.

informed; I left that part of the island, for safety, as soon as I could; but so much being destroyed, I was credibly informed that all were obliged to work harder, which is rather the natural result after so much property had been destroyed. I consider that being made to work harder is severe treatment. I was told that they were obliged to work all the Lord's day, but I did not see that" (p. 770).

The following is a copy of the affidavit of Mr. Reaburn, a magistrate, respecting one Stennett, who was suborned to inform against Mr. Burchell, and who offered, before two Montego Bay magistrates, Messrs. Reaburn and Manderson, to swear that the information he had given was false, and that he had been bribed to give it. They (the magistrates) declined receiving it, and Stennett has been committed to take his trial for the perjury.

"Personally appeared before me Thomas Reaburn, who, being duly sworn, maketh oath and saith, that he was the non-commissioned officer on guard at the court house on Wednesday the 22d instant; that he was called upon by J. Manderson, Esquire, a justice of the peace, and requested to accompany him to the room in which Samuel Stennett and a number of prisoners were confined, as he, the said John Manderson, wished me to hear some confession that the said S. Stennett was anxious to make. That this deponent together with J. M. and S. S. went into a separate apartment, when the said S.S. was told by Mr. M. to relate what he had to say; he then stated that he had done wrong in swearing against the Baptist parsons, as the statement therein contained was false and unjust. That this deponent then asked him what motive he could have to make this declaration, as he must be aware he would place himself in a very strange situation. He said he could not help it; he wished to appease his conscience, or words to that effect. This deponent asked him if he had made the affidavit against Burchell and Gardner when under the influence of fear. He said no, he was induced to do so from a promise of reward, as four gentlemen (naming them) had assured him that he would be well thought of by the gentlemen, that he would be allowed ten pounds a year from the country, and that one of the said gentlemen would make the sum fifty. The said S. Stennett further stated, that he never joined the Baptist Society, as a member, until Mr. B. had left the country; that he knew nothing of the missionaries Burchell and Gardner, and expressed his willingness to make oath to what he then stated. This deponent further saith, that he never before had any conversation with the said Samuel Stennett. So help me God. (Signed) T. Reaburn. Sworn before me this 24th February 1832. (Signed) William Ewart" (p. 771).

Mr. Knibb also delivered in a statement of all their baptized, in other words, of all their communicants; for the baptized and communicants are identical in the Baptist churches; amounting, at 24 different stations, to 10,838. This of course does not include enquirers (about 17,000 in number), nor persons excluded for misconduct. The number of these was 111, of whom 69 had been restored.

Mr. Knibb further swore, that on first hearing of the rebellion, he had felt the strongest desire, and made the very utmost efforts to quiet it.

"I instantly warned some of our congregation. We had a chapel to open the day before the rebellion broke out; I rode between thirty and forty miles, and had a free person with me, of the name of Vaughan, and went among them, and stated that I understood they were going to refuse to work, and assured them they were totally mistaken about a free paper; and I gave an address to all the people I had with me, and I sent my deacons to more than fifty properties; and not on one single estate where I sent was there any insurrection" (p. 773).

A report having reached Falmouth, on the 4th of January, 1832, that Mr. Knibb was to be shot, the following letter was sent to him to Montego Bay by express, signed by Mr. Barrett, a proprietor of two estates, and a member of the Church of England, and two Presbyterian ministers, viz.—

"My dear Sir, Falmouth, 4th January, 1832.

"It was only when we returned from Cinnamon Hill last night, that we heard of your accusation and arrest. We deeply sympathize with you and your brethren in your present trouble. We have heard this morning of apprehensions being entertained for your safety, and use the utmost haste to assure you that we are convinced you have not been either intentionally or directly guilty of creating the present insurrection. We are prepared to repair to Montego Bay and witness to this effect, and, as far as our knowledge goes, to your peaceable character as a Christian and a minister.

"We are, dear Sir,

With most sincere feeling for your affliction,

To the Rev. William Knibb,
Montego Bay.

H. M. Waddell.
S. M. Barrett.
George Blyth."

(p. 773.)

Mr. Knibb further swore that he made it a conscientious rule never to talk with the slaves about emancipation, and being asked how he reconciled that with his feeling of the impropriety of his holding language in England which he would have thought wrong in the West Indies, he replied—

"My duty in the West Indies was to instruct the slaves in religious matters; when in England, I am speaking to free people. It is my firm opinion that Christianity and slavery are entirely incompatible. I consider myself, when in England, justified in using any language which I consider consistent with truth, and that I am not responsible for where my language may go. In point of fact, I do consider that Christianity and slavery cannot possibly be co-existent; that is my firm conviction."

It will be allowed by every candid reader, that the missionaries, Mr. Barry, Mr. Duncan, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. Knibb, have done themselves the very highest honour by their examination in the Committees of both Houses.

7. The Rev. Thomas Cooper.

This gentleman's evidence before the Committee of the House of Commons stands at page 365—367 of No. 104.

When Mr. Cooper was in Jamaica, prior to 1821, he did not know that there was any school of any kind in the parish of Hanover. There was, it is true, a charity school in that parish, of which the Rev. Mr. Rose, the rector, was the master, and received the salary; but during upwards of three years that Mr. Cooper lived in that parish, it was of no use to any one person in the world, but to Mr. Rose. One free brown boy may have attended the school, but not a slave. The salary was paid from the Jamaica treasury. He knew Mr. Rose

very well, and assisted him in teaching his own children, and two or three others (p. 791, 792).

All slaves not above forty are desirous of freedom, and if made free, he believes they would be a happy and useful peasantry. He never knew any other stimulus applied to obtain labour from them but coercion. All in Jamaica, planters, clergymen, and others, all conceived nothing was to be done but by the whip. The free people are industrious and make money. He had heard of money-making among the slaves only as a miracle, not as a general rule. If *masters* resisted emancipation, danger might follow, not otherwise. He had never heard of free people requiring parish relief. He considered the peasantry of this country as princes compared with the slaves (p. 795).

Planters resident in this country, he believed, knew very little of the real condition of their slaves, or they would be the first to make them free. He considered the supply of food to the slaves very inadequate (p. 796).

"The field Negro received seven or eight salt herrings in the week; at Christmas, a small supply of salt fish, by way of present; he was allowed to cultivate land on the back parts of the estate, and I believe he was not restricted with regard to the quantity of land; he had to cultivate that land on a Sunday, and on the days allowed by law, amounting to twenty-six, I think, in the year."

The Sunday too was his own, and with that employed they might obtain enough. He did not say that they suffered in health from want of food, but they dwindled from 410 to 393 while he was there. The treatment was not more harsh than on other estates. There was no cruelty for cruelty's sake. The harshness he complained of was the every day practice. He remembered sitting at breakfast and hearing the whip going at a distance. After breakfast, a young woman came up to him and told him to look at her. She turned round, and all across she was cut in a dreadful manner, and the blood running. They were removing dung, and she could not keep up with the rest. She had no idea the driver did it out of spite; he might or he might not (p. 799).

Mr. Robert Hibbert was the owner of that estate. On Mr. C.'s return to England he paid Mr. H. a visit at his seat in the country, and reported to him the state of his Negroes. He told Mr. Hibbert that he had been invited to publish his observations on the state of slavery, and Mr. Hibbert encouraged him to do so. His mission was so far successful as to satisfy himself that slavery must give way before Christian instruction, and this he wrote to Mr. Hibbert before he left his estate. Mr. Hibbert wrote back to request him to remain on the estate, but prohibiting him from teaching the slaves to read. Finding he could be of no further use to the slaves, and that his situation had thus become a sinecure, he resigned it.

Those who wish to appreciate the value of Mr. Cooper's testimony may turn to the evidence which he gave upon it in the year 1822, soon after his return from Jamaica, and may be seen at length—and an invaluable document it is—in a pamphlet entitled "Negro Slavery; or a View of the more prominent Features of that State, and especially in Jamaica,"

fourth edition (printed for Hatchard), p. 36—55. That evidence produced a most powerful effect at the time; and was, in fact, the precursor of all the Anti-Slavery efforts which have since been made.

8. Rev. John Thorp.

Mr. Thorp's evidence before the House of Commons' Committee may be seen at p. 370—372 of No. 104.

There were two estates in St. Thomas in the East where reading was taught to the slaves. These belonged to Sir George Rose. Letters were taught in the *Sunday* school; but the impediments were very great, as even the children had to attend their grounds on Sunday, and the same children could not attend more than once in two or three months. They had fresh slaves every Sunday. The slaves, at the same time, were very eager to receive instruction (p. 1044).

Mr. Thorp admitted it would be very desirable that ministers of the gospel should conciliate the esteem of the planters, only as far, however, as they could do so conscientiously. But the immoral lives of the planters would prevent such persons from forming any very intimate connexion with them. The connexion he formed with them was more from his situation as the curate than from any other circumstance. Were he to return to the colony again, he certainly should not visit them, even to the limited extent he did when there. His reason for entertaining that opinion was the decidedly immoral state of the planters, which he thought compromises the character of a Christian, especially of a Christian minister; they live in open and avowed concubinage. He knew of no exception on any estate whatever, except one, that of Sir Henry Fitzherbert. There was scarcely another instance of an attorney or overseer being married.

The slaves had sufficient *vegetable* food, but that is not enough for hard-working slaves. The slaves, he thinks, are overworked to the injury of health and the shortening of life, by their labour being protracted to too great length. The hours of labour by law are from five in the morning to seven at night, with intervals of two hours and a half, being eleven hours and a half of labour. The hours of labour are not from sunrise to sunset, but, by law, from five to seven; and to the night-work of crop there is no legal limit. It makes sixteen hours daily in some cases, and in others eighteen. The night labour of crop is not so laborious as cane-hole digging; but it requires not only constant attendance, but constant and brisk action, and must be very laborious. He had heard it said that the Negroes were best off in crop; but he could not say he had observed that. He thinks them overworked to the waste of life (p. 1047—1050).

The whip was always carried in the field; he never saw a gang without it. It was carried for the purpose of being used, and he has seen it used (p. 1050).

Mr. Thorp knew the case of a slave on Serge Island estate, who died, it was supposed, from excessive punishment. The coroner's jury brought in their verdict, "Died of erysipelas, accelerated by the punishment previously inflicted." The overseer, who had absconded, was indicted; but the grand jury ignored the bill.

The jurors on the coroner's inquest were neighbouring overseers (p. 1054).

Emancipation, he thought, would produce an advantageous change of system. Ploughs and cattle would be substituted for manual labour, and the establishment of whites on estates might be reduced. At present the plough was in very little use indeed (p. 1055).

He conceived there was no sort of artificer's work could be wanted in the colony to which the Negroes are not equal. Not only did the free people work in the neatest and handsomest manner, but he knew many slave carpenters who were equal to any thing, even making writing-desks and dressing-cases.

Mr. Thorp's belief was, that the slave population in Jamaica was decreasing, while the free black and coloured population were increasing.

9. Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq. M. P.

Mr. Buxton was the only remaining witness on the Anti-Slavery side examined before the Committee of the House of Lords. His evidence was given at considerable length, and embraced all the variety of topics which might be supposed to have occupied the mind of so able a leader in this great cause—such as the moral debasement and the physical sufferings of the slaves; the frightful waste of human life produced by slavery; the impediments to religious instruction; the religious persecutions that had taken place; the causes and progress of the late insurrection; the cruelties of various kinds incident to slavery; the advantages of an early emancipation to masters as well as slaves, and the dangers of delaying it; together with a variety of proofs, drawn from history and experience, both of the perfect safety of such emancipation, and of the certainty of deriving, from free labour, an adequate supply of all the articles now grown by slave labour. It would be evidently impossible for us to follow Mr. Buxton over this wide field, nor is it necessary. He has it happily in his power to urge all these fruitful topics, in his place in parliament, with much more effect than we, by any abstract of ours, could impart to them. We therefore desist from the attempt, being satisfied, by the proof he has here given of his thorough mastery of the subject, that it is wholly unnecessary.

Mr. Buxton underwent a long cross-examination respecting his population tables and the inferences he had drawn from them; and it seemed clearly to appear in the result that his references were correct, and his reasonings and conclusions from the facts before him perfectly sound. This we hope, ere long, fully to establish.

In the mean time there are two observations we have to make. One is, that he has conceded too much to his opponents in admitting that the age of puberty in Negro females is as early as ten; whereas the fact is that it is not earlier than in Europe, namely, in general about fifteen. This is an extremely important fact to be kept in view in estimating the childbearing ages of the slave population.

Our second observation is this, that even if we were to admit

also, which we do not, that the partially selected returns which were made the ground of his cross-examination were fair and accurate—there would still remain one conclusive and overwhelming argument, which no ingenuity can by any possibility evade; and that is the argument drawn from the parallelism of the cases of the slave population of the United States of America and of that of the British West Indies, in that only respect on which the West Indians can for one moment rest the shadow of an apology for the destruction of human life attendant on their system. That argument we shall transcribe in the words in which it appeared in a preceding number of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 100, p. 264.

"The slave trade ceased in the United States of America, and in the British West Indies, in the very same year, namely, 1808. The relative proportion of imported Africans, on which the West Indians lay so much stress as accounting for the decrease of their slaves, notwithstanding the boasted lenity of their treatment, must therefore have been nearly the same in the two cases. But have the results been the same?

"In one of our late numbers (No. 97, p. 102) we have shown that, in 1808, the slave population of the United States must have amounted to about 1,130,000, and that of the British West Indies to about 800,000.

"In 1830, after an interval of 22 years, the slaves of the United States amounted, by actual census, to 2,010,436; being an increase of 880,436, or about 80 per cent. in that time.

"It appears that, in 1830, the slaves in all the British West Indies could not exceed 695,000, being a decrease of at least 105,000 slaves in the same period of 22 years.

"Now, had the British slaves increased, during that time, at the same rate with the American slaves, their number, in 1830, instead of being only 695,000, would have been 1,423,317, making the enormous decrease, as compared with the progress of population in the United States, of 728,317, a waste of life exceeding, by nearly 5 per cent., the number of the existing population.

"A similar result would be produced by a comparison of the progress of population, among the slaves, with that of the free black and coloured classes inhabiting the same colonies. Had they even increased at the rate of the Maroons in Jamaica, the least favourably circumstanced of those classes, the 695,000 slaves of the West Indies would have grown, in 1830, to 1,240,000, or, if at the rate of the free classes in Trinidad, to 1,500,000.

"These facts constitute a charge against colonial slavery which no sophistry can elude. After every deduction which the most elaborate ingenuity can suggest, it will remain under the stigma of being one of the heaviest curses which afflicts humanity, and this independently of the unnumbered political, moral, and spiritual evils which directly flow from it. And yet here have we, with our Government, and our parliament, in this land of Christian light and liberty, been coolly deliberating for ten years (and still are deliberating) whether this curse,

inflicted by ourselves on our fellow subjects, shall be at once removed, or shall be permitted, for months or years longer, to oppress and desolate one of the fairest portions of the creation of God! How long shall we continue to endure this depressing load of conscious guilt? Let the electors, aye, let the legislators too, of the United Kingdom, see to it! THEY are now on their trial at the bar of the Most High!"

But one of the most important portions of Mr. Buxton's evidence remains still to be noticed—we mean the documentary part, which is so important that any member who shall overlook it will have made himself very imperfectly acquainted with the evidence adduced before the Lords' Committee. We must limit ourselves, however, at present, to a mere *catalogue raisonnée* of its contents,

1. A statement of the case of Hayti, from 1789 to the present time, with the causes and consequences of its revolution; drawn from authentic sources (p. 840—853).

2. Extracts from the minutes of the board of trade of Bengal, of the 7th of August, 1792, on the culture of sugar by free and slave labour (p. 856).

3. Extracts of a letter from William Fitzmaurice, Esq., on the same subject, dated Calcutta, 5th Feb. 1793 (p. 857).

4. Extracts from Dr. Roxburgh's account of the Hindoo method of cultivating the sugar cane, and of manufacturing sugar in the northern provinces of India (p. 857—860).

5. Extract from the History of Java, by Sir T. S. Raffles, published in 1817, on the culture of sugar by free labour in Java (p. 860).

6. Extracts from Remarks on the Husbandry and internal Commerce of Bengal, in 1806, relative to the Culture of Sugar (p. 861).

7. Extracts from Sir George Staunton's Account of Lord Macartney's Embassy to China in 1793, on the Culture of Sugar in Cochin China and China (p. 863).

8. Extracts from M. de Guigne's Voyages to Pekin, Manilla, &c., 1784 to 1801, on the Culture of Sugar in China (p. 862).

9. Extracts from Mr. Abel's Narrative of a Journey in the interior of China in 1816 and 1817, on the Culture of Sugar in China (p. 862).

10. Extracts from Barrow's Travels in China, on the Culture of Sugar there (p. 863).

11. Extracts from Crawford's History of the Indian Archipelago in 1820, on the culture of sugar there by free labour (p. 865).

12. Extracts from Mr. Botham's evidence before the Privy Council in 1789, on the enquiry relative to the slave trade; being on the culture of sugar, both by free and by slave labour (p. 867).

13. Extracts from the evidence taken before a Committee of the House of Commons, engaged in enquiring into the trade of India, showing the state of the sugar trade at Calcutta in the years 1828 and 1829 (p. 869).

14. Statement by T. F. Buxton, Esq., of the decrease of the slave population of the sugar colonies, drawn from official returns (p. 872—881).

15. Reply to the West Indian explanations of the decrease of the slave population in the British sugar colonies (p. 891—893).

16. Correspondence of Viscount Goderich with the Bishop of Jamaica, and the Bishop's reply of the 29th August, 1831, on the state of religion in Jamaica and its dependencies (p. 896—900).

17. The case of Mr. Custos Jackson and his wife, respecting their treatment of two female slaves, as contained in a despatch of Viscount Goderich of the 1st November, 1831 (p. 905—908).

18. An account of the complete enfranchisement of the forfeited Africans, and of the slaves belonging to the Crown in all the colonies, as drawn from official and parliamentary documents (p. 921—924).

19. The history and the effects of emancipation in the case of Guadaloupe, as drawn from authentic sources, and accompanied by official documents (p. 924—929).

20. An account of the emancipation of slaves, and of the culture of sugar by free labour, in Mexico, drawn from the official correspondence of Mr. Ward, the Mexican envoy, with Mr. Canning, and from Mr. Ward's work on Mexico (p. 929, 930).

21. The case of the emancipation of slaves in Columbia, from authentic sources (p. 930, 931).

22. The case of the Maroons in Jamaica, with official statements of the progress of population among them, as compared with the surrounding slave population (p. 931—934).

23. The question of the tendency of emancipation to produce pauperism, as it appears in official West Indian returns, considered (p. 934—936).

24. Comparative view of the progress of the slave and of the free black and coloured population, in the island of Trinidad, as far as it can be ascertained from official documents (p. 936—938).

25. A view of the state of free labour and its advantages, in the Island of Trinidad, drawn from official returns (p. 938—940).

26. A view of the progress of the free coloured population in the colonies of Antigua, Barbadoes, Demerara, Grenada, St. Lucia, and Mauritius, drawn also from official returns (p. 940, 941).

27. An account of the receipts and disbursements of the Anti-Slavery Society from its commencement in 1823, to the end of 1831 (p. 949—956).

We have now finished our task of analysing the bulky volumes which contain the evidence on colonial slavery taken in the last session of parliament, by the committees of both houses. And, in bringing our labours to a close, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of again congratulating our friends, throughout the United Kingdom, on the results of the enquiry—results which we cannot but regard as most triumphant.

At the close of our last number we did not hesitate to express our entire conviction that the abolitionists had established their case in evidence. We do so

on the present occasion, if possible, with a still more undoubting confidence. It has been proved, with the clearness of demonstration, that colonial slavery may be abolished forthwith, to the unspeakable advantage of the suffering slave, and without danger either to the public peace or to the persons or property of the master. What motive, therefore, can exist for any further delay? What course can now remain for a Christian Government and a Christian Parliament to take, but to pronounce its immediate and entire extinction, accompanying the measure by such wise and just precautions as may obviate the alarms of the most timid?

We put these questions at the close of our last number. Since we uttered them, parliament has assembled, and our position is somewhat changed by what has taken place there. In reply to Mr. Buxton, who had given notice of a motion for abolishing slavery, unless government should take the matter into their own hands, Lord Althorp stated that it *was* their intention so to do, and that he should bring before the House, as soon as it was matured, a measure which he trusted would be both SAFE and SATISFACTORY.

Of the details of this measure we can of course know nothing; but we hail the announcement of it with unfeigned delight; and with heart-felt gratitude to the great Disposer of all events for this cheering indication of his favour. .

It would argue an utter ignorance of the frank and manly character of Lord Althorp to entertain the smallest doubt as to the sincerity with which this pledge has been given, and as to its entire accordance with the purposes of His Majesty's government. We therefore await the fuller developement of the proposed plan with confidence, indeed, but yet with intense anxiety. And this we apprehend is the feeling of the whole nation. They are looking forward, in a state of breathless expectation, for the result; and we trust that they will not be disappointed of their hope. The opponents of emancipation, we are well aware, will not be inactive. They are skilled in the mechanism of unfounded alarms, and no artifice will be spared to create such alarms. Only therefore let us be vigilant, watching with calmness the course of events, but prepared at a moment's notice to act with energy and decision; and then we need not doubt that the irreversible decree shall ere long go forth, which shall for ever efface this stain from the national character, and give liberty to the now prostrate slave in every corner of His Majesty's dominions. May God Almighty fulfil that expectation!

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THE

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

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I.—STATISTICS OF SLAVE COLONIES.

1. *Imports and Exports.*
2. *Persons committed as Runaways claiming to be free.*
3. *Slaves escheated to the Crown.*
4. *Marriages, Schools, Public Religious Worship.*

II.—INTELLIGENCE FROM JAMAICA.—*Governor's Speech on dissolving the Assembly.*

I.—STATISTICS OF SLAVE COLONIES.

Certain returns called for by the House of Commons from the different slave colonies on the 3rd of June, 1829, were only ordered to be printed on the 15th of July, 1832; and are numbered 660. The delay arose from the voluminous nature of some of the returns, especially those which related to manumissions, and sales in execution, in some of the colonies. These have been excluded. It is to be hoped, however, that an abstract will be formed of them which may exhibit the general results instead of minute details. We trust, therefore, that they may still appear in an abridged form, as the information they contain on the subject both of manumissions and of the market price of slaves sold in execution is important, and ought not to be lost.

The returns that are actually printed may be classed as follows:—

1st. The slaves imported or exported. 2nd. Persons committed to gaols as runaways, but claiming to be free. 3rd. Slaves escheated to the Crown; and 4th. The progress of marriage, and the state of education and of public worship in the colonies; in short their moral tistics.

These returns commence on the 1st of January, 1825, and are for the most part continued to the close of 1830, thus embracing a period of six years. We propose to give a brief abstract of the particulars contained in them.*

I.—Imports and Exports *(chiefly by licence or as domestics).*

Antigua, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent make their return *nil.*

Barbadoes	Imports	23	Exports	93
Bahamas	,,	20	,,	46
Berbice	,,	129	,,	99
Dominica	,,	19	,,	77
Grenada	,,	12	,,	10

* From four of the colonies there are no returns, viz.—Bermuda, Demerara, Honduras, and Mauritius. The returns from Jamaica are as usual very imperfect.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS.—Continued

Jamaica	Imports	3	Exports	13
St. Christopher . . .	,,	17	,,	30
Nevis	,,	78	,,	20
Anguilla	,,	7	,,	7
Tortola, &c.	,,	19	,,	2
Trinidad	,,	1109	,,	*nil.*
Tobago	,,	30	,,	46
Cape of Good Hope .	,,	1	,,	2

II.—PERSONS COMMITTED AS RUNAWAYS CLAIMING TO BE FREE.

In *Antigua* ten persons are reported to have stood in those circumstances. Of these three claimed their freedom on the ground of having been in England; but the claim was resisted, and under Lord Stowel's decision they were remanded to their masters. Two were set at liberty on exhibiting proofs of their freedom; and one, whose mistress had been dead for many years, and who had considered himself free all that time, was remanded to gaol, and given over to the executor of his deceased owner. One case of a female slave, called Sarah Diana, and her three children, Henrietta, William, and Charlotte, is peculiar, and seems to demand further enquiry. The following is the only account given of it by the provost marshal:—

"May 27, 1827. Brought up before a court of Common Pleas, under an act of this island" (the act is not specified). "Counsel prayed for time; granted by the court; and by consent the claimants admitted to bail to be produced when required."

"Dec. 19, 1827. William and Charlotte declared free, and discharged. Sarah Diana and her child Henrietta ordered to be delivered up to Mr. John Dapwell, the heir at law, and the administrator of Harriet Malone, deceased."

The allegations and evidence if produced might throw light on the apparently cruel case of the mother and child.

In *Dominica* 51 slaves appear to have found their way thither from Martinique and Guadaloupe, and to have been apprehended on their landing, and committed to gaol as runaways. Three of them died in gaol, after having been confined there from four to six months; 45 were released by the governor; and ten are said to have escaped. It is not easy to make out, except in a few instances, the length of time during which these refugees were confined previous to their release or escape, but in some cases it appears to have been upwards of seven months. The cause of this long detention is not stated, but it probably drove the ten, mentioned above, to effect their escape, probably to St. Lucia, where, for a time, a less harsh system was pursued, with respect to refugees of this description, than in Dominica. Latterly, in Dominica, the incarceration of these poor creatures does not appear to have extended beyond a week.

In *Grenada* two slaves, affirming themselves to be free, were adjudged to be given up to the persons claiming them as their property; and one woman, who had for thirteen years been kept in slavery by

the executors of her mistress, whose will had entitled her to freedom, was put in possession of it. It is not said that the executors were called to indemnify her for her thirteen years of illegal bondage.

In *Jamaica* no fewer than fifteen persons, claiming to be free, were sold from the workhouses into slavery, though no one attempted to establish a title to their persons or services. They were sold expressly for the payment of their fees, the surplus going into the island treasury. This most iniquitous practice is of constant recurrence in Jamaica; the only ground on which the parties are apprehended, detained, and ultimately sold, in the absence of documentary evidence of freedom, being the colour of their skin. And not merely are blacks, but mulattos and quadroons thus dealt with, contrary, not only to justice, but to the proclamation of the thirteenth of King Charles II., in which all the offspring of Englishmen are declared to be free denizens of England (see the papers laid before the committee of the House of Lords on slavery in 1832, p. 1013).

Some of the cases shew strongly the hatred to freedom prevailing among the magistrates of Jamaica. For example, at Black River, in St. Elizabeth, a special session of the peace is held on the 7th October, 1829, the Worshipful James Meller, E. F. Coke, Angus Macall, and John Shakespeare find that James Douglas a negro, and Alexander Tillington, a quadroon lad, detained as runaways, but claiming to be free, have no documents of freedom, and that their allegations being unproved, they should be remanded to the workhouse. Afterwards James Douglas was sold, but the quadroon boy appears to have been set at liberty.

In Trelawney, "Frederick Campbell stated himself to be free, but had no document thereof, and *had every appearance of being a slave*. Sold at public sale for his fees on the 2d day of June, 1828."

In the same parish, George Smith stated himself to be free and a Barbadian by birth. "But he had no document whatever of his freedom, and *had every appearance of being a slave*. He was finally sold for his fees on the 17th of July, 1830."

In St. George we find two women and one man in 1828 and 1830 "sold as runaways," though claiming to be free, "not having the slightest proof of freedom."

Again, on the 6th November, 1829, Robert Johnston, "alleging himself to be free," and "no person having come forward to prove his freedom," "he was sold as a runaway to pay his fees, to Thomas Drummond, Esq." Are not such sales violations of the abolition act, and liable to prosecution as felonies?

During the same period in which fifteen persons were condemned to slavery after the above fashion, by the justices of Jamaica (though no one claimed a property in them, and they might have been as free in law as the justices themselves) about twenty more, after various periods of incarceration and suffering, and doubtless much intense anxiety, were able to establish their freedom by legal evidence, and were discharged. But what a fearful proof it was to which these persons were held on pain of interminable bondage!

At the *Cape of Good Hope* eleven slaves claimed their freedom whose claims were found groundless; but no part of the evidence on

which this harsh decision was founded is given. To show the hard measure dealt to such claimants in some instances, we will state the case of a twelfth claimant, named Hector, the only one given in detail. This person was committed as a runaway on the 15th of May, 1827, but no owner appearing to make good a title to him, he was discharged and placed among the district labourers of Graaf Reinet (meaning that he should labour on the public works). While in this state he was claimed as a slave by one Liebenberg, who could not, however, produce any proof of property. The magistrates therefore decided that Hector should continue to be employed on the public works until proof of property should be shown. In this state he remained for two whole years, till the 25th June, 1829, when the guardian of slaves interfered, and obtained an order from the Circuit Court that, unless in six months from that date Liebenberg should produce the requisite proof of property, Hector should be declared free. When that time should expire, if the party failed to establish his claim, the protector said he would take immediate steps to procure his release. So that this poor man is kept in a sort of suspended slavery for two years and a half, when a simple inspection of the registry ought to have decided the question at once. In what a state must the administration of the slave law be at the Cape, when such a transaction can occur, and be avowed, without any fear of responsibility for the outrage committed on this man's personal rights! Ought not the protector and the magistrates to be called to account for this gross violation of their plain and obvious duties?

III.—Slaves Escheated to the Crown.

In the island of *Barbadoes*, between the years 1822 and 1828, 23 slaves were escheated to the Crown, the fate of all of whom, except one, is still undecided by the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury. One of them has been given up to pay the funeral expenses of her deceased owner. The remaining 22 have been made the subject of petition to the Crown from either the children, or the creditors of the deceased master, praying that they may be given up into slavery for their benefit. Surely there ought to be no hesitation on the part of the Crown as to the course to be pursued. The principle that has been acted upon in so many other cases, in respect to slaves falling under the power of the Crown, either by forfeiture or by any other legal process, ought to extend to this case also, and orders should forthwith be given for their entire manumission. Their fate was still undecided on the 15th July, 1830. This cruel state of suspense ought not to have been allowed to exist.

In *Dominica* eleven slaves, and in *St. Lucia* four, escheated to the Crown, are earning their livelihood as free persons. Why is it not so in Barbadoes?

The return from *St. Vincent* made by Thomas Melville, the Escheater-General, is to this effect, and seems to call for some remedial interference:—

"*Kingstown*, 20 *Nov.* 1830.

"Sir, In answer to your Honour's requisition for a list of slaves

escheated to the Crown, I am in duty bound to say that the very heavy fees, arising from the necessary procedures to establish the right of the Crown, operate as a complete prohibition to any measures for the purpose; consequently there are no escheats. It is my intention to address your Honour more fully on this subject at an early period.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"His Honour the President. THOMAS MELVILLE."

It appears by the returns from *Tobago* that there are still in the hands of the Crown in that island, awaiting further orders, six male and twelve female slaves, whose value is estimated at £400, we suppose currency. They have been in the custody of the escheater, Henry Yeates, since 6th October, 1830.

At the *Cape of Good Hope* there appear to be five slaves forfeited to the Crown, and who are apprenticed out to different individuals, but who appear to be of an age to provide for themselves in a colony where labour is in demand.

There are several of the colonies from which there are no returns. This may be because there are now no escheated slaves to be found there. And yet we fear it is very improbable that in Jamaica there should be none of that description.

IV.— MARRIAGES, SCHOOLS, PUBLIC RELIGIOUS WORSHIP.

We come now to the *moral* statistics of the slave colonies, and we shall endeavour to give a fair representation of their actual state in the year 1830.

1. *Antigua.*

The number of marriages celebrated in the six parishes of Antigua, in six years, is stated by Archdeacon Parry to amount to 69 marriages of whites, 51 of free blacks and coloured persons, and 31 of slaves; the population being about 2000 whites, 5000 free blacks and coloured persons, and 30,000 slaves. This is certainly a number which falls far below the representations that have been made on this subject as respects Antigua; and it pointedly shows the danger of relying on vague and general statements unsupported by figures, even when they proceed from high individual authorities, or from Conversion or other religious Societies. The whole fruit of episcopal effort in Antigua, the most advanced in religious knowledge of all the slave colonies, among a population of 30,000 slaves, is only 31 marriages in six years, being not more than at the rate of five in each year.

There is appended to this return the following note of Archdeacon Parry, which is highly creditable to him, while it throws discredit on the evidence of others.

"The marriages between slaves stated in the return are those only which are solemnized according to the ritual of the church of England. *But it is questionable, whether even these may strictly be called* LEGAL *in the full sense of the term; as the local law seems rather to discourage the religious solemnization of the marriage con-*

tract when the parties are both slaves. Where one party is a slave and the other free, the law forbids such solemnization of marriage.

"THOMAS PARRY, Archdeacon of Antigua."

"*Antigua*, 17*th August*, 1830."

We wish all our colonial reporters were as faithful as the venerable archdeacon of Antigua.

Fortunately, however, the moral interests of the population of Antigua are not altogether confined to the care of the established clergy. A return is made by the *Moravian* missionaries, during the same period, of 27 marriages of free black and coloured persons, and 454 marriages of slaves; and by the *Wesleyan* missionaries of 310 marriages of slaves, being together almost 25 times the number solemnized in the same period by the clergy.

The return of *Schools* under the Archdeacon's charge is much more gratifying. The daily schools are attended by 309 free children, and about 250 slave children. The hours of attendance are from four to five hours, for five days in the week, and the instruction given consists of reading, writing, arithmetic, and religious instruction, according to the national system, some of the boys being also taught straw hat making, and the girls needle-work. Many of them can read well, and all are learning to read and write. This is a sensible and effective system, and cannot fail to produce important results.

Besides these *day* schools, there are connected with the establishment *Sunday* schools, consisting of slaves to the number of 638, mostly taught by gratuitous teachers, who occupy two or three hours of each Sunday in teaching to read, combined with oral instruction.

The Archdeacon further states that on plantations this instruction is carried on during the week, either at noon or late in the evening, chiefly by a Negro, when one can be found competent. There are twenty such teachers in St. John's parish alone, who receive from 1*s.* to 2*s.* a week, and whose success, he says, is encouraging. Teachers of the same kind are employed in most of the other parishes, who teach the children to read, as well as instruct them orally.

A daily school of about forty children, free and slave, is taught at the expense of the Duchess of Beaufort's society; and a Sunday school of 120 children, also free and slave, is established by the Hon. Lady Grey at English Harbour, where reading and writing are taught. The instructors of this last school are all gratuitous.

The Moravians have established a day school in St. John's, both for boys and girls, amounting to 200 (the slaves being 96), and the number generally attending being 150. About 50 can read well in the Bible; the others are learning to read, and 45 are learning to write, and 41 to cipher. The great object of the school, however, is to impart Christian instruction. The slaves are only taught writing when the owners permit them to be so taught. The females are instructed in needle-work: singing and chaunting are also taught. The salaries paid to the teachers are very small; not more than £20 currency.

The *Sunday* schools of the *Moravian* brethren in Antigua are also extensive, containing 21 free children and upwards of 1000 slave

children. These are chiefly taught during three hours of the Sunday, and at noon and night on certain week days. A *Sunday* school of 300 more had recently been opened in St. John's. Most of them are taught to read, but not to write. Some read well, and pains are taken with the religious instruction of all. Small gratuities are given to the teachers.

But the *Wesleyan Methodists* seem to surpass all the other denominations of Christians in their zeal for the education of the young slaves. The total number attending their *Sunday* schools is 1710, of whom 334 are free black or coloured persons, and 1376 slaves, besides a *day* school in St. John's, having 292 free and 113 slave children. They have besides *noon* and *night* schools, chiefly on estates, in which 1078 slaves are instructed; and infant schools, containing 224, making in all about 3000 pupils. The teachers of these schools are for the most part gratuitous, small gratuities being made only to the teachers of the *infant*, and *noon*, and *night* schools. The whole are superintended by a Mr. and Mrs. Thwaites, who are said to be remarkably well qualified for their office, and to whom a salary is allowed of £100 sterling a year, a salary which seems amply merited.

The necessity for the *noon* and *night* schools arises from the unwillingness of the planters to allow any time to their slaves but what is strictly and by law their own. Accordingly, the zealous missionary is forced to watch his opportunities. When the shell blows at noon announcing to the slave children a brief cessation of labour, the missionary or his assistant is on the spot, ready to fill up the passing hour with the lessons of Christian truth. And, when the night closes on the toils of the field, he is again on the alert, to redeem a brief space from weariness and sleep, in order to raise the degraded slave from his debasement, and to make him familiar with the great things of eternity, with God and Christ, with heaven and hell, with the value of the soul, and the unimportance of all worldly good or evil, when brought into competition with the favour of God and the hope of heaven. May God reward these self-denying labourers in the Lord's vineyard, and give to them, as the hire of their disinterested labours of love, the souls of multitudes of these wretched beings, for whom their Saviour shed his blood. On the whole, the eye of the Christian rests with satisfaction and gratitude on this bright spot in the midst of the surrounding gloom, this Oasis in the desert.

In *Antigua* there are six churches and four or five chapels, belonging to the *Establishment*. The attendance of whites on the Sunday morning service is about 550 to 600; of free coloured and black persons about 850; and of slaves about 1200; the white attendants in the afternoon being fewer, but those of the free class and the slaves being much the same. The white communicants are about 160, the free coloured and blacks about the same number, and the slaves about 200.

The *Moravian brethren* have five stations in the island. Their services occur twice or thrice on Sundays, besides on three or four evenings in the week. The number usually attending is 2250, but occasionally it is much greater. Their communicants amount to 412 coloured and black free persons, and 5036 slaves. Besides these

communicants, the United Brethren have under their spiritual care 6814 persons, catechumens or baptized adults, and 3030 baptized children, of whom 1370 attend schools.

The *Wesleyan Methodists* have also five chapels, with services twice or thrice on Sundays, and occasionally during the week, both in their chapels, and on estates, either at an early hour in the morning, or after dusk in the evening. The number attending on Sunday mornings appears to be upwards of 3000, of whom about 1000 are free, and the rest slaves. Their communicants amount to 37 whites, 546 free people, and 830 slaves.

In the whole island the number of children who receive more or less of instruction seems to amount to about 5800; but of these, by far the largest proportion, namely, the children on estates, are prevented from attending the noon and night schools, during the three, four, or five sugar-making months, as they are then occupied night and day. The attendants on public worship throughout the island appear to exceed 10,000 or 12,000, and, with the children, make nearly a half of the whole population.

In all the schools black and coloured teachers are much employed, with some few whites.

There are also several private schools in the island kept by clergymen and others, for instructing white or free coloured children, in which about 100 are taught.

2. *Montserrat.*

The slave population of this small island amounts to about 6200.

There is one *clergyman*, the Rev. Mr. Luckock, who serves two churches. The slave marriages in six years amount to 15, those of the other classes to 34. There is service twice on Sundays, and also on Wednesday evenings. The attendance consists of about 60 whites, 150 free persons, and 280 slaves. The communicants are 39 whites, 38 free, and 4 slaves. The *day* schools contain 11 whites, 65 free, and 18 slaves, who are taught to read and write. The *Sunday* schools contain 11 whites, 103 free children, and about 400 slaves, who are also taught to read, but not to write, and are further orally instructed.

The *Wesleyan Methodists* occupy several stations in Montserrat, and preach occasionally on different estates. Their society consists of 8 whites, 85 free, and 80 slaves, all of whom are communicants; and the number to whom they preach is about 20 whites, 150 free, and 1200 slaves. Their *Sunday* schools are attended by upwards of 500 children, of whom about 150 are free, and the rest slaves. These are instructed both orally and by letters, and the teaching is gratuitous. Besides this, there is an early morning school at Plymouth, the chief town, from six to eight, attended by 67 free children, and 28 slaves; and two *day* schools, one containing 75 boys and the other 75 girls, of whom only 8 boys and 24 girls are slaves, the rest being free. In these day schools writing and arithmetic are taught, and, to some, grammar and geography.

3. *Barbuda.*

This island contains about 500 souls, almost all slaves, the property

of Sir C. B. Codrington (see Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 103). One marriage has taken place. It is said, however, that they contract marriages among themselves, and are becoming more observant of the marriage tie. There is a daily school kept by Mr. Adams, the catechist, attended by 67 children, who are taught to read the Bible, and are religiously instructed: 14 read well. There are also a Sunday school and a night school, attended by some adults. The catechist uses a short prayer early every morning, and performs service on Sunday, when about 190 attend. The sacrament is only administered when a clergyman visits Barbuda. The communicants are 4 whites, 2 free persons, and 17 slaves.

4. *Barbadoes.*

In this island the *marriages* of slaves, from 1825 to 1830 inclusive, have amouuted only to 16, besides 4 solemnized between slaves and free persons. The marriages of whites were 536, and of free persons 90.

The schools belonging to the Established Church are as follows:—

The *day* schools in nine parishes contain 736 whites, 362 free, and 451 slaves, who are taught reading and writing, and some arithmetic, and the girls needle-work; and the *Sunday* schools in six parishes contain 438, chiefly slaves, about a moiety of whom are taught to read, the rest receiving only oral instruction.

This is, upon the whole, but a feeble exhibition of the effect produced in Barbadoes, the seat of the diocesan, among 15,000 whites, 5000 free persons, and 81,000 slaves.

The *parish churches* are eleven, but there is a return from the rectors of only nine of these. In these nine are also three public chapels, and two chapels for the use of particular estates. The attendance at all of these amounts to about 1700 whites, 680 free persons, and about 1300 slaves. The communicants are about 780 whites, 200 free persons, and 80 slaves.

The *Wesleyan Methodists* have two places of worship, and two missionaries, attended by 17 whites, 180 free persons, and 360 slaves; the communicants being 9 whites, 88 free, and 32 slaves.

The *Moravian Brethren* have also two places of worship, and two missionaries, who have under their religious instruction nearly 1000 slaves, and 8 free persons. The attendance on Sunday amounts to about 300, and the communicants to 228.

5. *Bahamas.*

The marriages in the Bahamas are—whites 183, free 81, slaves 45, in six years.

Of the schools, eleven in number, ten are *Sunday* schools, attended by 371 white children, 188 free children, and no slaves. There is also a *day* school, containing 53 whites, and 41 free black and coloured children. Reading is taught in all of them, except one Sunday school with 60 white children, who meet for religious instruction solely.

The places of worship belonging to the *established church* consist of two churches, under two clergymen, attended by from 500 to 700 hearers, and having 90 white, 50 free, and 22 slave communicants;

and a chapel, in which a black teacher of the name of Joseph G. Watkins officiates to a congregation of 250.

There are six *Wesleyan* chapels, attended by about 2200 hearers, and having 731 white communicants, 242 free, and 289 slaves. There is also a *Baptist* meeting, with 80 hearers.

6. *Berbice.*

The marriages of slaves in Berbice have been 97; of free coloured and blacks 23; and of whites 9.

The schools consist of a *day* school for boys, and one for girls, containing together 4 whites, and 75 free coloured and blacks, who are taught to read, and instructed in religion, by Mr. and Mrs. Fisher. Another *day* school, taught by Mrs. Wray, and her two daughters, containing about 30 to 36 free children, who are also instructed in reading, writing, accounts, and history. There are three other schools of the same description, containing 108 pupils, chiefly free black and coloured children; and a *Sunday* school, gratuitously taught to read and religiously instructed, by Mrs. Wray and her daughters and others, containing 180, chiefly slaves.

The places of worship are the Colonial church, at which about 300, mostly free coloured persons, attend, and where about 15 communicate; a Lutheran church, which is attended by very few, and where there are only two communicants; and the Rev. John Wray's Independent Mission chapel, attended by about 600 free and slaves; the communicants being 102. In the church and in the Mission chapel there is service twice on Sundays, and in the latter on several evenings or mornings in the week.

7. *Dominica.*

The marriages by *clergymen* have been 158; by *Wesleyans,* 138; by *Roman Catholics,* 326; in all 622. Of these 55 are whites, 283 free persons, and 284 slaves. But this number is said to be over-rated, as the marriages are often solemnized twice, by both clergymen and Catholic priests. The legal validity of Wesleyan and Catholic marriages is doubted. They are, nevertheless, considered binding by the parties.

The schools connected with the establishment are a boys' school, containing 4 whites, 88 free persons, and 15 slaves; and a girls' school, containing 2 whites, 30 free, and 3 slaves, in all 142; who are taught to read and religiously instructed.

The *Wesleyans* have six schools, containing 128 boys, and 166 girls; 148 being free, and 146 slaves—294 in all; who are taught to read, and instructed in religion.

There is one place of worship belonging to the *establishment,* varying in the number of hearers from 70 to 140, of whom six-tenths are white, three-tenths free, and one-tenth slaves; the communicants being 18 whites, and 6 free.

The *Catholic* chapels are nine in number, attended by from 1000 to 2000; the communicants being 177 whites, 498 free persons, and 116 slaves. The *Wesleyans* have three chapels, attended by about

750 free persons, and slaves; the communicants are 10 whites, 162 free, and 160 slaves.

8. *Grenada.*

The slave marriages in this island by *clergymen* have been 8, those of free persons 85, and of whites 39. The marriages by the *Wesleyans* have been of slaves 19.

The schools consist chiefly of *Sunday* schools, and contain about 450 slaves, most of whom have only oral instruction. One *day* school contains 103 pupils of both sexes, 55 boys, and 48 girls, who are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, and are instructed in religion, of whom only 7 are slaves, and the rest free. Two other *day* schools contain 98 boys, and 47 girls—145 in all; of whom 4 are white, and 141 free black and coloured. Another *day* school contains 75 boys, and 77 girls; all free, white, or coloured. Those three schools are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. A *day* school, of 60 or 70 children, are taught reading only, in addition to the religious instruction given to all the pupils.

The *established* places of worship are three in number, attended by from 500 to 700 hearers, chiefly of the free coloured and black class; the communicants being from 80 to 120, chiefly free persons, and 16 slaves. There are also one *Catholic* chapel, and three *Wesleyan* chapels. The attendance in the latter amounts to 25 whites, 180 free, and 400 slaves; the communicants being 8 whites, 178 free, and 122 slaves. The *Wesleyan Sunday* schools contain 144 free, and 122 slave children.

9. *Jamaica.*

In this island the marriages returned by the *clergy* in six years appear to amount, among the free, to 1273; and among the slaves, to 3012.

The number of places of worship in the whole island belonging to the *establishment*, including chapels and licensed houses, amounts to 37; and the officiating ministers to 43.

The highest attendance on the Sunday forenoon, in these places of worship, appears to be about 8000 of all classes, including slaves, who, as far as we can judge from the loose data before us, do not amount to half the number that attends, being one-eightieth part of the slave population.

The returns, with respect to schools, are extremely vague; but, as far as they furnish information, it would appear that the state of education is very low. It is true we have no returns of schools but from twelve of the parishes, viz.—St. Elizabeth, St. George, Portland, St. Thomas in the East, St. Ann, Westmoreland, Trelawney, St. James, Port Royal, Manchester, Vere, and St. Mary, which parishes contain, however, more than half the slave population. The returns are wanting for St. David, St. Andrew, Kingston, Hanover, St. Thomas in the Vale, Clarendon, St. John, St. Catherine, and St. Dorothy. In the parishes that have made returns the schools, for whites exclusively, appear to contain 314 pupils, and the schools for the free coloured and

black population 1262 pupils, who are taught, of course, all the common elementary parts of school learning. The whole number of slaves we can discover to be taught in these twelve parishes, containing at least 180,000 slaves, is about 660. Of these, however, 288 are taught reading on estates in schools established by the proprietors for their own slaves, that is to say, on four estates in St. Elizabeth, daily, 169 ; and on estates in Portland, from two to four hours in the week, 139. The remaining 372 are taught in *Sunday* schools, but of these not more than one-half seem to be instructed otherwise than orally. We trust there may be some mistake here, and yet the returns made come from the local authorities, and refer to the schools connected with the *establishment*. If this be so, the number of children in them who are taught letters cannot much exceed 200. We have supposed, however, that there must be here some mistake, although it corresponds with a statement recently made in the Christian Record of Jamaica, representing the whole number of slaves taught reading, under the patronage of the Bishop and his clergy, aided by the Conversion Society, to be 210. If this be true, it is most deplorable.

There are no returns from either the Moravians, or the Wesleyans, or the Baptists, though these sects are numerous and active in Jamaica.

10. *St. Christopher.*

The number of marriages by the *clergy* in six years consists of 67 whites, 108 free, and 79 slaves. The schools connected with the *establishment* contain 80 whites, 291 free, and 164 slaves ; and 164 more slaves are instructed on estates, making in all 328, of whom only a few, about 40, appear to be taught otherwise than orally. The free are instructed in the usual elementary branches of knowledge. The clergy are six in number, officiating in as many places of worship, attended on the Sunday forenoons by about 1274 hearers, of whom 230 whites, 68 free persons, and 51 slaves are communicants. The proportions of the different classes attending public worship are not given in most cases ; but, judging by the cases where they are given, they would stand thus :—whites 280, free 390, and slaves 604.

The *Moravian brethren* have celebrated twelve marriages of free persons, and 261 marriages of slaves. They have two places of worship and four ministers, the attendants on whose instructions amount to 200 free persons and 4650 slaves, the communicants being 106 free and 1097 slaves. Their schools contain 114 free pupils, and 598 slaves, who are taught to read, and instructed orally in the principles of religion by teachers chiefly gratuitous.

The *Wesleyan* missionaries, four in number, officiating in seven chapels, have solemnized 744 marriages of slaves ; and their places of worship are attended by 159 whites, 1120 free persons, and 4450 slaves, their communicants being 72 whites, 834 free, and 1302 slaves.

11. *Nevis.*

The *clergy* are three in number, officiating in two churches. They have solemnized 17 white, 44 free, and 47 slave marriages. Their

schools contain 5 white, 311 free, and 223 slave pupils. The attendants on public worship amount to from 50 to 70 whites, 250 free, and 310 slaves, the communicants being 60 whites, 74 free, and 124 slaves.

The *Wesleyan* missionaries have three chapels, served by three missionaries. They have celebrated 209 slave marriages, have schools in which they instruct 2 whites, 150 free, and 322 slave pupils. Their chapels are attended by 55 whites, 245 free, and 595 slaves; their communicants being 25 whites, 205 free, and 275 slaves.

12. *Anguilla.*

The marriages by the *clergymen* amount to 17 whites, 29 free persons, and 27 slaves. The schools contain 30 whites, 56 free, and 19 slaves; and the attendants on public worship are about 200, among whom are 35 white, 3 free, and 4 slave communicants.

The *Wesleyan* missionaries have solemnized 10 free, and 400 slave marriages. They instruct in schools 18 whites, 100 free persons, and 282 slaves; and their worship is attended by 63 whites, 353 free persons, and 364 slaves; of whom 63 whites, 155 free, and 200 slaves are communicants.

13. *Tortola.*

There is here one *clergyman*, who has celebrated 66 marriages, it is not said of what class. The schools contain 2 whites, 74 free, and 6 slaves; and the congregation attending public worship amounts to 70 persons of all classes, of whom 21 whites, 11 free, and one slave, are communicants.

14. *St. Lucia.*

The marriages in this island in six years amount to 61 of whites, 113 of free, and 9 of slaves.

There are no schools in St. Lucia.

The number attending *protestant* worship is 14 whites, 14 free, and 2 slaves, of whom 7 whites and 1 free person partake of the sacrament.

The attendance at the Roman Catholic places of worship amounts to 956 white, free, and slave, the communicants consisting of 95 whites, 170 free, and 13 slaves.

15. *St. Vincent.*

The marriages in this island have been 65 of whites, and 69 of slaves.

The school contains 9 whites, 158 free, and 15 slaves, all of whom are taught to read and write.

The *church* is attended by 40 to 100 whites, 30 to 300 free, and 50 to 200 slaves; the white communicants being from 34 to 50, and the free from 40 to 50.

The *clergyman*, the Rev. L. Guilding, complains that the colonial laws for terminating the Sunday market, and closing stores and shops on Sunday, are inefficient; so that the church is not attended as it ought to be.

The *Wesleyan* chapels, eight in number, are generally attended by 45 whites, 439 free persons, and 2940 slaves, in all about 3200; the number actually belonging to the society being 19 whites, 224 free persons, and 2376 slaves; to nearly 10,000 of which last class the missionaries preach at different times. Their communicants are 16 whites, 224 free, and 510 slaves.

The *Wesleyan Sunday* school, gratuitously taught, contains 161 free persons, and 109 slaves, who are taught to read, and are also catechised and taught psalmody.

16. *Tobago.*

In one church and one chapel, the Rev. J. H. Lawrence, the rector, is attended by 45 whites 110 free, and 70 slaves, of whom 16 whites, 22 free persons, and no slaves, partake of the communion. The only school reported in this island as connected with the *establishment* consists of 63 boys and 47 girls, of whom 2 are white, 101 free, and 7 slaves; in all 110. They are taught reading, writing, and arithmetic, and the girls needle-work; and are all religiously instructed.

The *Wesleyans* have two chapels, served by two missionaries, and are attended by 650 hearers, of whom about 35 are white, 184 free, and 431 slaves; the communicants amounting to 127.

The *Moravian* Brethren have only one chapel, served by one missionary. Service is performed also on three estates. The chapel is attended by 100 to 150 slaves, and on the estates from 50 to 100 attend. There are eight communicants. They have altogether under instruction 344 adults, and 204 children; in all 548.

17. *The Cape of Good Hope.*

Only one slave marriage has taken place, besides the marriages of two slaves to whites, and of three slaves to free persons of colour. The intermarriages of free persons are 122, and of free blacks with whites 11, and of white marriages 2461.

The number of schools in the colony is 29. These are attended by 1287 whites, 216 free persons, and 159 slaves; in all 1662. The usual branches of education are taught in these schools.

The places of worship, with the attendance upon them, are as follows, viz. 8 Episcopalian places of worship, served by 8 clergymen; 19 Dutch Calvinist places of worship, served by 20 ministers; one Scotch Presbyterian church, served by one minister; one Roman Catholic church, served by two ministers; and one Lutheran church, served by one minister.

The Episcopalian churches are attended by about 1600 hearers, the Dutch Calvinists by upwards of 6000, and the other sects by about 1000 more. The communicants are about 3200. The great majority of these are whites, the free black and coloured persons being about 550, and the slaves about 155.

II.—INTELLIGENCE FROM JAMAICA.

It is well known that Earl Mulgrave, the Governor of Jamaica, has been driven, by the contumacy of the Assembly, to dissolve it. We give a few extracts from his speech on this occasion.

"*Gentlemen of the Council,*

"*Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,*

"Those considerations of public convenience which might have induced me to postpone for a few days the conclusion of the session, have necessarily been superseded by that unfortunate collision between the two branches of the legislature, which renders it hopeless to expect that any further business can now be brought to a satisfactory termination."

"I could not but foresee, from the tendency of your very first proceedings, that I might at any time find myself obliged to take the disagreeable step which is this day forced upon me. When inflammatory topics were wantonly introduced in your first address to me, it was impossible to calculate how soon the most conciliatory intentions might be diverted from their original direction by an imperious sense of duty. In continuation of the same line of conduct, you thought proper afterwards to place certain resolutions on your journals on the subject of your address, and my reply. As those resolutions were not communicated to me by message, I thought that, acting upon the intention I expressed, under every provocation, steadily to pursue the course which I conceived to be for the benefit of the colony, I might avoid taking immediate notice of it, and allow the public business to proceed to its close: and to this determination I should have adhered, but for this difference between you and the other branch of the legislature, with which I have myself no direct concern. But I cannot dismiss you from your attendance here without noticing a resolution, in which you have stated that a doctrine advanced by me was subversive of your acknowledged rights, and dangerous to your lives and properties. The doctrine you have thought fit thus to stigmatize is not mine; it is one laid down by every constitutional lawyer. It is maintained by the practice of your own courts. It has been uniformly asserted in official communications with my predecessors, by all successive advisers of the Crown, under every different administration. When you speak, therefore, of your acknowledged rights, I am at a loss to conceive by whom and when those rights which you now assume were ever acknowledged. The right of the Imperial Parliament to legislate for all His Majesty's subjects, when it so thinks fit, is inherent in that body, and has never been abandoned, except as regards internal taxation. The 18th of George the Third, which makes that exception, proves the general right of legislating over the colonies.

"You must always recollect that I never originated this discussion. The question is of your own raising—the dispute is of your own seeking—the provocation was given entirely by you, and with you must its consequences rest.

"When you assert a perfect equality with your fellow-subjects in other parts of His Majesty's dominions, there is no doubt that, as individuals, you are all equal in the eye of the law. But this is not an independent kingdom; and, as a legislature, we, who are here assembled, are not equal to the Imperial Parliament, consisting of the three estates of the realm, King, Lords, and Commons. It is, indeed, most unfortunate for a fair consideration of your interests, that such a question should have been so inopportunely brought forward. It is not by the vehemence of your denial that you can negative the existence of the right, but by the moderation of your conduct, that you might for ever avert its exercise. Should such interference ever take place, it would not be for any vain display of selfish superiority, but in furtherance of measures, to the ultimate accomplishment of which the Parliament of Great Britain is pledged, and which experience should then have shown that the legislatures of colonies would not of themselves adopt.

"I must now thank you for those portions of the annual supplies which you have already voted. Your task has, in this respect, been much lightened by the liberality of the British Government, in taking upon itself the payment of His Majesty's troops during the present year. I am sure that the people of this colony will not be insensible to the double obligation which they owe to the paternal care of their Sovereign, in having at the same time increased the numbers of the garrison, and relieved you from the charge of its subsistence, showing equal solicitude for your safety, and sympathy for your distresses. At the same time I must say that on your side you might have considered that, in moments of difficulty and danger, the adequate protection of an armed force is hardly more important than the efficient administration of criminal justice: and I therefore peculiarly regret that, at such a moment, your next act should have been the refusal of any provision whatever to the Chief Justice of the island, who had been appointed by your sovereign."

"I have no intention of enumerating the other instances in which you have disappointed my expectations. So much of your conduct seems to have been calculated to court that crisis which is now arrived, that you cannot be surprised when I announce to you that it is not my intention again to call together the present House of Assembly. As soon as the circumstances of the present season render it expedient, I shall direct new writs to be issued; and it is a matter of satisfaction to me that, upon this occasion, I shall appeal to an enlarged constituency. The liberality of that enactment, in which you did away with all distinctions of colour, I duly appreciate. I have no doubt that the newly-enfranchised freeholders will show they deserve the trust reposed in them, and that, in its exercise, there will be no other emulation, on all sides, than a desire to prove the soundness and moderation of their principles—the extent and devotion of their loyalty."

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OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE WITH SLAVE COLONIES.

1. *Jamaica.* 2. *Bahamas.* 3. *Barbadoes.* 4. *Antigua.* 5. *St. Christopher, Nevis, and Tortola.* 6. *Dominica.* 7. *Grenada.* 8. *St. Vincent.* 9. *Tobago.* 10. *Trinidad.* 11. *British Guiana.* 12. *St. Lucia.* 13. *Mauritius.* 14. *Observations of West India agents.* 15. *Concluding remarks.*

The necessity we were under of bringing out, as early as possible, a complete abstract of the evidence taken before the Committees of both Houses on the Slavery question,* has compelled us reluctantly to postpone, till now, any account of a most important volume which was laid on the table of the House of Commons, and ordered to be printed so long ago as the 8th of August, 1832. It is numbered 733, and is entitled "Papers presented to Parliament by His Majesty's command, in explanation of the measures adopted by His Majesty's Government for the melioration of the condition of the slave population in His Majesty's possessions, in further continuation of the papers presented in July 1832, No. 649."

These papers are certainly highly interesting, and under other circumstances would merit an extensive analysis. Events, however, of a still more interesting character are so likely to be crowding upon us, ere long, that we shall endeavour to convey to our readers the substance of the volume before us in the briefest space which is compatible with perspicuity, and with preserving unbroken the history of this great controversy. We proceed without further preface to exhibit the communications of the Colonial Department with the different Slave Colonies, in the order in which they are there presented to us.

1. *Jamaica.*

Our readers will doubtless recollect the atrocious case of Eleanor

* We have to apologize to our readers for the typographical errors which our haste has caused us to overlook in the Nos. 104 and 105, containing that abstract. We trust that none of a more serious description will be found. There is one misconception however against which we are desirous of guarding our readers, and that is against their supposing that in referring to the oath, under the solemnity of which the evidence of the witnesses in the Committee of the House of Lords was given, we had an intention of imputing to any of them the crime of perjury; or of swearing what they believed to be false. In saying, therefore, that a witness, on his oath, had asserted to be true what was obviously false in fact, we did not mean to say that his own belief or persuasion may not have been consistent with his oath, but only that the statement to which he deposed was untrue. We know too well the force of prejudice not to know that a persuasion may be entertained, not only without evidence, but even in opposition to the strongest and clearest evidence; and that therefore a man's assertions, though untrue, do not necessarily involve a criminal, but may be an unintentional, violation of truth.

James, an elderly female slave belonging to Mr. Wildman, who was punished with the most revolting cruelty by a Mr. M'Donald, the owner of a neighbouring plantation, merely for the offence of having claimed from him the payment of a small debt which he owed her for a pig she had sold to him. For this offence she was flogged on her bared body, by two drivers in succession, to the extent, as was testified, of 200 lashes, her wounds being afterwards washed with brine. Every effort had been made to bring the offender to justice, but through the supineness of the magistrate, Mr. M'Leod, who was first applied to, and of the Clarendon Council of Protection, to which the matter was afterwards referred, those efforts were completely frustrated, and the crime has remained unpunished. The details, as far as they were then known to us, were inserted in our 4th volume, No. 83, p. 315—319.

Lord Goderich having referred the case to Lord Belmore, with some very severe strictures on the past proceedings, a lengthened correspondence followed, which, however, has issued in no satisfactory result. The only part of it which it appears to us to be now necessary to give, is an extract or two from the final despatch of Lord Goderich, dated the 31st Dec., 1831. The Council of Protection having now rested their defence on a legal objection, of which no mention had previously been made, his Lordship observes in reply,

"Had the Council of Protection come to the resolution of dismissing the case when they were first summoned to consider it, I should have gladly admitted that no censure could properly be passed upon them. But for the repeated and prolonged neglect of such a case, when its atrocious nature had been made known to them, I find little to be alleged that can be considered as affording even a plausible apology. Why the Council did not meet early in February the Custos says he is now unable to discover, because he had been until the 20th of that month attending in the House of Assembly; and the only reasons which are mentioned for the meeting not having taken place in March, are the non-attendance and indisposition of some of the vestrymen (which of them were indisposed is not said, nor does any one of them advance this plea for himself), and the badness of the weather. It is painful and mortifying to discover that such excuses as these are all that can be alleged in extenuation of a negligence and supineness through which the ends of justice appear to have been defeated, in a case of flagrant and revolting inhumanity. When the complainant was at last referred to an indictment before the courts for his remedy, measures had been taken for removing from the island the only witness whose evidence was available to support the prosecution."—p. 15.

As to the vindication attempted by Mr. M'Leod, the magistrate, Lord Goderich observes that he could give credit to it only "in defiance of all the ordinary rules by which evidence is estimated;" and adds,

"If I am to conform to those rules, I am compelled to come to the conclusion that a wanton and inhuman outrage had been committed upon a person of the weaker sex, and of advanced age; that the person so treated was brought to Mr. M'Leod to make her complaint to him as a magistrate; that he refused to investigate her case, or take any steps in it, and referred her to another magistrate residing at a distance of thirty miles; and that she was thus compelled to walk this distance in the state of suffering in which she was, in order to obtain another chance of attention to her case. If I am constrained to adopt these conclusions as to the facts which occurred, neither can I escape from the obligation of giving to these facts their real character and import. I must unavoidably attribute to

Mr. M'Leod conduct which is in itself a neglect of duty, and which indicates a deficiency of the active feelings and natural charities to be expected in a man whose dispositions are just and humane. If the statement of the circumstances of this case failed to excite in Mr. M'Leod a strong desire to be instrumental in affording redress, it is difficult to conceive what amount of injury inflicted upon the feeble and unoffending would be sufficient to animate his sense of justice or rouse his indignation. What was the nature of the urgent business which induced him to refuse his assistance he has not stated; but by a man of a humane and susceptible nature few claims upon his time and attention would have been felt more urgently than this.

"The magistrates and vestrymen of the parish of Clarendon have borne testimony in the strongest terms to the respectability of Mr. M'Leod, and I should have been happy, had it been in my power, conscientiously to place implicit reliance on the opinion which they have expressed of his general conduct and character. But most of these magistrates and vestrymen are themselves, unfortunately, involved in censure for supineness in the same case, though in a different degree; and as far as a majority of them are concerned, the value of their testimony to Mr. M'Leod's general respectability is utterly destroyed by the declaration which they have made, that they would have acted in the same way that he did in the case of Eleanor James. This declaration is greatly to be regretted, whether it be attributed to the zeal of party spirit, or to the partialities of personal friendship. That the majority of the magistrates of Clarendon parish, when acting singly and under the feeling of undivided responsibility, would be as indifferent as Mr. M'Leod to the appeal of an aged and unoffending woman, thus miserably abused, is what not even their own declaration shall induce me to believe. I can only lament that they should have needlessly made a declaration which assumes discredit to themselves, and reflects it upon the body to which they belong, but which can in no degree extenuate the misconduct of Mr. M'Leod. I have to perform the painful duty of conveying to your Lordship His Majesty's commands for the removal of Mr. M'Leod from the commission of the peace."—p. 17, 18.

The only further information we have from Jamaica is the fact that Earl Belmore, having communicated to the Assembly, on the 3d March, 1832, His Majesty's Order in Council of the 2nd Nov., 1831, with the accompanying despatch of Viscount Goderich, of the 10th Dec., 1831, received from them on the 7th March, 1832, the following laconic and peremptory reply:—

"May it please your Excellency,

"The House most respectfully acknowledge your Excellency's message of the 3rd instant, accompanied by an amended Order, &c. The House feel it an imperative duty they owe their constituents, and in candour to your Excellency, explicitly to acquaint you that any further amelioration of the condition of our slave population must emanate from ourselves."—p. 21.

The Government and Parliament of Great Britain, we trust, will be equally peremptory in saving this contumacious body from the trouble of any further deliberation on this subject.

2. *Bahamas.*

The next fifty pages are occupied with details of proceedings in this small colony, where its upright and spirited Governor, Sir James Carmichael Smyth, has had to endure a fierce and unceasing conflict with all the violence, perverseness, and obstinacy which a legislature of vulgar slave-holders, prizing the power of flogging men and women

as their best birth-right, can call into action for the annoyance of a man who seems cordially to detest their cruel system. Some indications of this kind may be seen in our fifth volume, No. 98, p. 219, and No. 99, p. 232. One of his great subjects of difference with them has been the flogging of women, a practice to which they seem to cling at every hazard.

In his despatch to Lord Goderich of the 3rd of May, 1831, he states the following fact, in connection with this degrading subject :—

"A female slave, of only 14 years of age, was punished last week in the workhouse with 39 lashes by order of her inhuman mistress, a kept woman, after having been two months in prison, and for some most trifling offence. A middle-aged female slave received, about ten days ago, 39 lashes by order of a white girl of 17 years of age, who, in the absence of her father, had charge of his house. A female slave at Exuma was so severely flogged that a justice of the peace (a planter on the island) wrote to me, and made an affidavit, that he could not tell what number of lashes she had received, but that he had never seen so cruel a punishment. On returning home she was flogged for having been to complain. I caused the owner in this last case to be prosecuted by the crown lawyer; but as the proof of the second flogging rested solely upon slave evidence, and of one free coloured man, the grand jury ignored the bill. In the two other cases I have mentioned I could not legally interfere. The attorney-general, to whom I referred the particulars of the case of a minor of 17 years of age having ordered such a cruel punishment, informed me that she had a right so to do. In the case of the young girl of 14 years of age punished by order of the kept woman to whom she belongs, I caused a letter to be written to the Spanish merchant with whom she lives, expressive of my sentiments of regret and astonishment that he should permit such proceedings in his house, and the more so as this is the second female slave flogged by the gaoler from this house within a month. Subsequently to my letter to the Spanish merchant, a man who keeps a retail spirit shop, and who is most unfortunately a member of the Assembly, has caused his female slave to receive 39 lashes, after having struck and otherwise ill-treated her. 'It has been repeated to me that this unfortunate woman was at the time very unwell, and that there were some particularly indelicate circumstances in this case. Of the latter part of the story, of the ill-health of the woman, and of her being previously struck, there is only slave-evidence, or I would endeavour to bring this man to punishment. I have entered into the foregoing details to show your lordship that, from an Assembly selected from a society where such horrors as I have described are allowed to take place without any animadversion, a change of the law, and voluntary surrender of the power of inflicting punishment, is not to be looked for in a hurry. There are, however, unquestionably some very good and very well-meaning men, and I am unwilling to give up the hope of ultimate success. It is an Augean stable, which may be cleansed, but only by unceasing efforts, seconded by your lordship's cordial support, and the weight of your authority."—p. 28, 29.

The reply of his Lordship of the 20th of June 1831, is to the following effect :—

"The shameful and degrading cruelties practised upon female slaves, which it has been your painful duty to recapitulate, have excited in my mind the same feelings which they have produced in your own. It is especially distressing to learn that, from the state of the law respecting the evidence of slaves, such crimes can be perpetrated with impunity. Your remark that, 'from an assembly selected from a society where such horrors are allowed to take place without any animadversion, a change of the law, and a voluntary surrender of the power of inflicting punishment, is not to be looked for in a hurry,' is but too well

founded. It is fit, however, that it should be distinctly understood that the government and people of Great Britain will not patiently acquiesce in the continuance of such a system in any part of His Majesty's dominions. It is not to be expected that a contumacious refusal to rescue these unfortunate females from such barbarous and disgusting punishments should be much longer tolerated; and you will have the goodness to impress in the strongest terms, on the Council and Assembly, the fixed determination of the ministers of the crown to omit no methods sanctioned by law and justice to arrest the progress of such cruelties. Nothing can be more unfounded than the opinion which you state to have prevailed, that the British Government was cool and indifferent upon the subject. I hear, with much concern, that your efforts have been paralyzed by the prevalence of such a notion; yet I cannot regret that those efforts were made. However irksome the necessary interference on such occasions must have been to your feelings, it is highly satisfactory to learn that you have exerted yourself with so much energy, though unhappily with so little effect, to bring the offenders to justice."—p. 29.

The member of Assembly named Wildgoose, mentioned above, as having punished in gaol his female slave, went soon after to the prison in which she was confined, and, the poor creature complaining that she had not deserved such treatment as she had received, he ordered a further punishment of thirty-nine lashes to be inflicted upon her in the gaol. This poor girl, who, the Governor states, was of a very slender figure, had thus to sustain, by the orders of this ruffian, seventy-eight lashes, inflicted in the usual way. The Governor directed the Attorney General to prosecute the offender, but thought it necessary to apprize the Assembly of his having done so, by the following message.

"I had prepared a message to you on the subject of the abolition of the flogging of female slaves, which it was my intention to send to you previously to the prorogation of the Assembly at the conclusion of the session.

"A circumstance has, however, just come to my knowledge, in which the conduct and character of a member of your Assembly is so deeply involved, that I have thought it right to communicate the same to you without delay, in order that you may take such steps as may appear to you to be fitting upon this occasion.

"Mr. John Wildgoose, member for the western district of New Providence, caused a female slave, called Phœbe, to be punished, in the gaol of this town, with thirty-nine lashes, on the 28th April last. The same person caused thirty-nine lashes to be inflicted on a female belonging to his mother, on the 31st ult., also in the gaol. The same person ordered, and has inflicted, on the unfortunate Phœbe (who has been confined in the gaol and workhouse ever since her punishment), yesterday morning, in the workhouse, a second punishment of thirty-nine lashes.

"Mr. Speaker, and gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

"I will offer no comments; you, I am confident, have the feelings of men and of gentlemen: you will do what is right."—p. 31, 32.

The reply of the Assembly was that, having already passed a law for protecting slaves and preventing abuses of the master's power, if Mr. Wildgoose had been guilty of cruelty, the law was open for his punishment, and they would take no further notice of the charge, especially as they regarded the Governor's interference "as unwarranted and wholly unprecedented."

The Assembly, not contented with this insolent reply, went on to resolve on petitioning the King to remove the Governor, declaring that, till another Governor should be appointed, it was their firm and de-

termined purpose not to co-operate in the measures of Government respecting the amelioration of the condition of the slaves. This petition was sent to the Governor, with a note from the Speaker, signifying that they had resolved to transact no farther business with him.

The Governor on this prorogued the Assembly.

One of the grievous charges against the Governor was his having interfered by a pardon to prevent three slaves being severely punished, by a sentence of the magistrates, for having quitted their plantations in order to bring complaints of cruelty and scanty sustenance against their masters.

The communication of these proceedings drew forth from Lord Goderich, in his despatch of the 22nd of September, 1831, the expression of his majesty's decided approbation of the Governor's conduct, and his disapprobation of that of the Assembly. About thirty of the principal white colonists, and the whole body of the free coloured and black inhabitants had transmitted addresses to His Majesty highly eulogizing the upright, humane, and liberal administration of Sir J. C. Smyth, and reprobating in strong terms the proceedings and language of the late Assembly.

It shows the dreadfully unprotected state of the slaves even in the Bahamas, that the Governor failed in his attempts to bring Mr. Wildgoose to justice for his atrocities. He had thought that "the circumstance of the poor girl having received a second flogging in gaol, without having been released for a single moment from confinement, would have enabled him to bring the offender to punishment." But no; "*The master's power*," says the Governor, "*to order her to be flogged as often as he thinks proper, and for offences of which he is the sole judge, is but too plainly and explicitly laid down in the colonial consolidated Slave Act.*" This opinion, as pronounced by Sir J. C. Smyth, is founded on an elaborate report of the Attorney and Solicitor General of the Bahamas, to whom he had referred the consideration of the case.

Now let it be remembered that the law of flogging is the same in the Bahamas as in Jamaica. What shall we say then of the studied attempt of Mr. Burge, in his evidence before the House of Lords, to persuade their lordships that a man might be punished for flogging his slaves, even if he limited the stripes to thirty-nine ?—See vol. v. No. 105, p. 530.

A bill of indictment, we ought to have stated, was filed against Wildgoose, but thrown out by the grand jury. On this event being made known to Lord Goderich, he thus instructs the Governor in his letter of the 3rd June, 1832 :—

"The refusal of the grand jury to find a true bill forbids me to anticipate the success of any other measures which could be taken for bringing Wildgoose to justice. Yet, in such a case, it is far better that every practicable effort should be made, however ineffectually, to vindicate the law, than that His Majesty's Government should be supposed to have acquiesced in the escape of the offender from any indifference on the subject. You will therefore call upon the Attorney and Solicitor-General to report to you whether the law of the Colony would prevent the filing an information against Wildgoose in the name of the

Attorney-General *ex officio;* and, if that course of proceeding shall not appear to be prohibited by any local statute, you will direct the Attorney-General to avail himself of the first opportunity of filing such an information. If that method shall prove impracticable, nothing will remain but to deplore the short-sighted policy which, by giving a momentary triumph to the perpetrators of these offences, may provoke resentments and distrusts amongst the slave population of which no man can calculate the disastrous results."—p. 58.

The next manifestation of contumacy on the part of the Bahama legislature was on the occasion of the Governor laying before them the Order in Council of 2nd Nov., 1831, for their adoption as the future slave code of the colony. To this communication the Assembly replied, on the 15th Feb. 1832, thus—

"Candour compelled them to declare that the concurring sentiments of the Bahama constituency with their own, as expressed in their humble address to your Excellency, in answer to your Excellency's speech at the opening of the present session, will completely prevent the House from considering any question wherein slave amelioration may be implied, during the period in which your Excellency may continue to hold the reins of government in this Colony." p. 63.

The Governor immediately dissolved the Assembly. A short time before this dissolution of the Assembly took place, the following occurrence had served to increase the dissatisfaction of that body.

On the 2nd of January, 1832, an American brig, loaded with 165 slaves from Virginia, bound to New Orleans, was wrecked on one of the Bahama islands. The slaves were saved and brought into Nassau, where their case was submitted to the adjudication of the Vice Admiralty Court. The Assembly took the alarm at the prospect of the liberation, and consequent colonization, of these 165 slaves, and presented a strong remonstrance to the Governor, urging him to have them sold for the benefit of their owners, and not manumitted. The Governor, however, was deaf to this remonstrance, and the slaves were set at liberty. On the 5th of February, 1832, the Governor thus writes to Lord Goderich:—

"Your Lordship will be glad to hear that the 165 American slaves, wrecked recently upon the Island of Abaco, and about whom such apprehensions were expressed by the House of Assembly of these islands, are a most quiet, industrious, and orderly race of people. It might have been reasonably anticipated that in such a number of labouring people some bad characters were to have been found. It is, however, a fact highly to their credit that not one of them has been brought before the police magistrates, or been committed to the gaol or workhouse. They are all gaining their own livelihood by honest industry, and upon all occasions appear contented and grateful."—p. 68.

The reply of his Lordship is to this effect:—

"*April* 18, 1832.

"I have perused with particular satisfaction your account of the 165 Americans who are settled upon the Island of Abaco. The success which has attended this measure is most creditable to your exertions in forming the settlement, and to the settlers whose subsequent conduct you have so highly extolled."—p. 68.

3. *Barbadoes.*

A law was passed in this island on the 1st of June, 1831, placing the evidence of slaves on the same footing in all courts with that of

free persons, except that all free persons charged with crime on the information of slaves, may be admitted to bail.

Another law, bearing date the 9th June, 1831, abolishes all taxes on the manumission of slaves, except the customary fees, which fees are not specified.

These are good acts, *pro tanto.*

In February, 1832, the Governor laid before the legislature of Barbadoes the Order in Council of the 2nd November, 1831, to which they returned, says the Governor, "not in language the most courteous, their refusal."

"This House," says the Assembly, "has attentively, and with every feeling to do justice to all parties, considered both the Despatch and the Order, and being left no alternative but either to adopt or reject the whole of the Order, and viewing with lively concern the evil tendency of it as a whole, which if unhesitatingly and indiscriminately adopted would be injurious, nay destructive, to the rights of their constituents, and tend to the total ruin of this Colony, and even to the dismemberment of all the Colonies from the parent state,—they feel themselves called on, having already passed a law embracing most of the subjects referred to in the Order, to declare that they will not entertain any Bill for the adoption of said Order, as required by His Majesty's Government."—p. 72.

4. *Antigua.*

An act, bearing date 14th July, 1831, has been passed, admitting slaves to give evidence, but in *criminal* courts only.

The remaining correspondence from this colony refers to the insubordination excited among the slaves by the abolition of Sunday markets, without giving them by law any other day for marketing. The Governor strongly recommended to the legislature to remedy this defect; but to this reasonable proposition, the propriety of which was assented to by the Council, the Governor saw no hope of inducing the Assembly to accede.

Lord Goderich, however, still expresses "an expectation that the Assembly, on being apprised of the sentiments of the Council and of His Majesty's Government, will not take upon themselves the very serious responsibility of refusing to amend a law which has already led to much discontent amongst the slaves, and under the operation of which it appears scarcely to be hoped that the state of that part of the population will not continue to give cause for alarm."—p. 80.

5. *St. Christopher, Nevis, and Tortola.*

These three islands are united in one government.

In our fourth volume, No. 83, p. 319—325, we gave a full account of the atrocities which had been perpetrated on a plantation of Lord Combermere's, called Stapylton, by the manager of that estate, a ruffian of the name of Walley, and of the entire impunity which that ruffian had experienced at the hands of a Nevis jury. We only recur to this transaction now in order to show that the combined efforts of His Majesty's Secretary of State, and of the local government, have proved perfectly unavailing to induce that body to visit, with a single penal infliction, any one of the various frightful murders submitted to their judgment.

Much of the official correspondence is occupied by an endeavour,

on the part of the Government, zealously pursued, to enforce the penalties attached to a violation even of the miserably-defective provisions, of the existing Leeward Island code, for protecting the slave from oppression, and particularly in the articles of food and labour; and to induce the legislature to amend that murderous code. Some faint idea may be formed of the appalling nature of the evils which called forth this discussion, from the following extracts of the despatches of Lord Goderich, addressed to the Governor, all of whose observations also are grounded on the admissions of the colonists themselves, admissions however, much below the truth of the case.

"*June* 28, 1831.

"From the Report of the Members of Council at Nevis, which you have enclosed, and which bears date on the 17th March last, I collect the following facts. During the whole year, six o'clock in the morning is the hour at which the labour of slaves commences. It terminates at 9 P. M. in crop, and at 6 P. M. out of crop time. After the regular labour of the day is over, the slaves are employed to pick grass; the length of time usually consumed in that operation is not stated. If it were taken at one hour, the labour of the slave out of crop time would end at 7 P. M., and in crop time at 10 P. M. If these tasks were uninterrupted, the entire time devoted to them would, out of crop, be therefore thirteen hours, and in crop sixteen hours daily; but the allowance of intervals of half an hour for breakfast, and two hours at noon for repose, is to be deducted. Those intervals, however, are not, as it appears, entirely enjoyed by the slaves; for the Council reports, that 'the grass is picked during the time allowed at noon;' how much of the noontide hours is so employed is not stated. As before, I shall assume the time devoted at noon to the picking of grass at one hour; it being an operation which requires the slave to range over a considerable tract of land. The entire repose of noon being thus reduced to one hour, the general result is as follows: out of crop time the slaves, male and female, young and old, are worked eleven hours and a half, and in crop time fourteen hours and a half per diem. The crop, as I understand, lasts from four to five months.

"To sustain such labour, the Council further report that each man and woman receives one pint of corn meal daily, with something less than half a herring, 'besides molasses, sugar-cane liquor, and occasionally other indulgences.' Of these indulgences, the occasional allowance of the rest of the day after twelve o'clock for the cultivation of provision grounds is mentioned as an illustration, and it is added that as much ground as the Negro thinks fit is universally allowed for the purpose.

"Upon these statements I must observe, that the allowance of food which the slave can claim of right is so singularly deficient for the reasonable sustentation of human life, that I should have considered the account as quite unworthy of credit, had I found it in any less authentic document. The weight of a pint of fine wheat flour is about half a pound. The quarter of a peck loaf which is usually bought and sold in this city was till lately required by the Stat. 59 Geo. III. c. 36, §. 10, to weigh four pounds five ounces and a half. The loaf which in general language now bears the name of a quartern loaf is, I understand, usually of about four pounds weight. Thus it would be a very favourable supposition to suppose that each working slave was supplied of right with food equal in quantity to one of those loaves weekly. The two herrings which complete his weekly stock of provisions can add little to his sustenance. It is certainly no exaggeration to say that a robust man, engaged in severe labour in the open air, would consume in two days the provisions thus allowed for seven, if the demands of nature were fairly supplied. But when it is considered that the labourer is for a larger part of the year working at the rate of fourteen hours and a half

daily under a tropical sun, and without the hope of wages to sustain his spirits, it is impossible to contemplate such a condition without the deepest pain and commiseration.

"The Report of the Council is silent as to the quality of the corn meal with which the slaves are provided, and as to the means afforded them for preparing it for human food. If no yeast or other leaven is provided, and if no fuel or apparatus for cooking be found, the daily pint of meal must be greatly inferior as nutriment to the eighth part of one of the loaves to which I have referred.

I find in the report of the committee of the Penitentiary at Millbank, printed by order of the House of Commons on the 17th March, 1823, that the regular dietary for males in that establishment was as follows: one pound and a half of bread, two pints of soup, and one pint of gruel daily, the soup being made with meat, vegetables, pease, or barley. Thus prisoners confined in a gaol in England, and subjected to no particular severity of labour, receive an allowance exceeding four or five-fold that which the law of Nevis appears to allow for the support of men performing the most unremitted toil.

"I have hitherto noticed merely what is represented as the legal allowance; it would of course be impossible that human life could be supported at all under such circumstances, unless some additional indulgences were granted. I have no means of estimating the amount or value of those which the slaves actually enjoy. They must vary according to the humanity, or the wealth, or even the caprice of different owners. It is, however, most unreasonable that a matter of such vital importance should depend upon any such casualties. In the case of the Stapleton estate, though the owner was a nobleman eminent for his humanity, yet during his unavoidable absence in the public service, it is proved beyond dispute that no such indulgences were allowed by the resident agent, Mr. Walley, as were sufficient to preserve the unfortunate people committed to his care from wasting away with frightful rapidity, under the combined pressure of the most severe and unrequited labour and the most inadequate sustenance. How far the condition of other slaves may be superior to theirs, must remain a matter of conjecture and painful uncertainty. But it is clear that very few can have the good fortune to belong to a proprietor equally solicitous for their welfare, or more competent to promote it.

"I should, therefore, feel myself wanting to a sacred duty, were I not to enjoin you, with the least possible delay, to press this subject on the attention of the legislatures of St. Christopher, Nevis, and Tortola. You will point out to them the indispensable necessity for making a much more liberal provision by law for the diet of the slaves, and of reducing within much narrower limits the extent of their daily tasks, and above all the importance of framing their laws in such a manner as may prevent a recurrence of so disreputable a fact as that which you have reported, that a law passed thirty-three years ago upon the same subject has never to this time been fully complied with.

"It would be difficult for me to express the regret with which I address you on such an occasion as the present. No office can be more irksome than that of writing remarks which seem to reflect injuriously on a whole society. The duty is the more unpleasant, in consequence of the tendency which such discussions may have to irritate feelings which I greatly desire to allay. But every other consideration must yield to the imperious obligation of leaving nothing unattempted by which a stop may be put to practices so utterly at variance with the immutable principles of humanity and justice."—pp. 85, 87.

Again, on the 20th September, 1831, he writes,—

"When I wrote my despatch of the 4th of December, I was perfectly aware of the existence of the law passed in the year 1798, in the General Assembly of the Leeward Islands. I thought then, as I much more decidedly think now, that it was ineffectual. In truth, it wants every essential requisite of a well-constructed penal statute. No individual is responsible for the faithful execu-

tion of it. No one is bound to report periodically the measures taken to enforce its provisions. The jurisdiction it creates is committed to persons who must frequently have interests and feelings in common with the offending party, and opposed to those of the parties injured. The language of the law is generally loose, and its penalties are enacted in a vague and indeterminate style. I think it very doubtful whether such legislation as this does not produce more evil than good, by giving a delusive appearance of protection without the reality. The very clause to which you refer sufficiently illustrates the remarks I have made. It does not determine at what hours of the day the prescribed intervals of repose should take place. It refers to a usage now thirty-three years old, in order to determine whether any particular case falls within the law or not. The completeness of the repose is enjoined with reference only to one of the two intervals of labour. It is left in doubt whether the penalties are to be as numerous as the slaves illegally employed, and no penalty at all is denounced which could affect the driver (himself a slave), who would be the immediate agent in the offence, and upon whom, of course, the blame would always be thrown."—p. 90.

"The enactments of the law of 1798, on the subject of the food of slaves, were commented on in my despatch of the 28th of June so fully as to supersede the necessity of any further observation on that subject."

"It would be superfluous to adduce arguments in proof of the fact, that the capacity of enduring any given quantity of fatigue must, in great measure, depend upon the amount and quality of the food with which the labourer is supplied.

"You will therefore execute without delay the instructions which you have already received, by representing to the councils and assemblies of St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Tortola, the indispensable necessity of making a more effective law for securing to the slaves adequate repose and sustenance. By the term 'effective' they will understand, not merely that the law on each of these topics should be more liberal, but also that greater care should be taken to obviate evasions of what may be so enacted, and to provide a real security for the punctual observance of the statute."—p. 91.

"The strong terms of reprobation in which General Maxwell depicts the police and the administration of justice in the Virgin Islands, do not surprise me. The intelligence which had previously reached me, no less than the obvious probabilities of the case, had led me to conclude that it is not to be expected that so small a society as that of Tortola, less indeed than that of many inconsiderable English villages, could permanently furnish legislators, judges, or other public functionaries, capable at all times of performing, even on that contracted scene, functions so various and so important."

"It appears that the judges of Tortola have habitually disregarded Sir George Murray's instructions respecting the taking notes of the evidence at all criminal trials for the assistance of the governor, before whom they are to be laid previously to the execution of the sentence. You will acquaint the President of Tortola that if, unhappily, any judge should hereafter decline to perform this indispensable duty of his office, he must be immediately suspended from his seat on the bench, and that His Majesty will hold the President himself responsible, if, with his knowledge, any person shall be either executed or transported from the island, until a complete transcript of the record, and a copy of the judges' notes of the evidence, have been first transmitted to yourself, and your directions on the case have been received. Until the receipt of such direction, it is His Majesty's pleasure and strict command, that the execution of all capital sentences and sentences of transportation be respited."—p. 96.

And yet it is from colonies thus constituted,—thus low in every requisite for legislation,—thus hardened in all the vices of slavery,—thus violating, in their habitual conduct towards their slaves, every moral and legal obligation, that we have the most vehement remonstrances against the Order in Council of the 2nd November, 1831,

The Council and Assembly of these petty settlements, with a whole white constituency not exceeding three or four hundred,—not to be compared in number or respectability to the majority of parish vestries in London,—meet to discuss and decide those great principles of legislation and policy which belong to the Parliament of the empire; and utter their loud and angry protests "against measures," they say in a strain of mock heroism that is truly ludicrous, "which *we* have not induced, and imitate the dignity of the noble Roman by endeavouring to conceal from the scorn and derision of our enemies the expiring energies of an injured and calumniated people!" And all this from the slave drivers, the Hugginses and Hodges, the Rawlinses, the Cardins and the Walleys of the Leeward Islands, which, one would suppose from their undaunted statements, were the Negroes' paradise, instead of their charnel house and their place of torment. The scene, we trust, will shortly close on these revolting exhibitions.

We must, however, before we conclude this head, transcribe the calm and cutting reproof of Lord Goderich which follows this remonstrance.

"Assuming," says his Lordship, "the state of slavery to be practically a condition of life such as is described in the Report of the Committee, there surely can be no solid objection to securing to the slaves, by an effectual law, the advantages they already possess. The adoption of such law would not be considered as conveying any reflection upon those whose natural feelings and disposition would prevent them from incurring its penalties; and it would operate in no other way than as a check upon that frailty and those infirmities which belong, in the words of the Report itself, to all human institutions. Having it, therefore, in their power, without any expense or deprivation to themselves, to rescue their code from so much obloquy, there can be neither harshness nor want of reason in urging upon them the adoption of a law which would silence all objections, and render impossible the imputations of which they complain; and I lay the more stress upon this view of the subject because the usual limits of labour, as stated in the Report, correspond precisely with those fixed by the recent Order in Council; while the provisions supplied to the slaves are represented as much more abundant than that Order requires. I perceive, however, that the statements of the Committee on those subjects are considerably at variance with your own. You observe that daily experience shows that the limits of labour which they mentioned are not generally observed;* that with respect to food, 'it is not to be expected that the feelings and regard for the comfort of the slaves,' which are said to exist, 'should universally prevail.' As to the deficiency of the law, the vagueness of its enactments, and the facility with which it may be evaded, you entirely corroborate my observations, and repeat my advice that the law should be amended. I regret that you were unable to report the adoption of this recommendation."—p. 116.

We trust that the days of fruitless recommendations on this subject are now at an end for ever.

6. *Dominica.*

We are favoured from this island with a new version of their slave

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* The statement moreover falsifies the law, which authorises field labour not from six to six, but from five to seven (see Act of 1798, § 10; Papers of 1816, No. 226, p. 155).

code, *consolidated* and *amended*, passed on the 28th June, 1831, intended, like all former consolidated and amended acts, to avert for a further period the only effectual source of amendment, the legislative interposition of the British Parliament. This act is accompanied by an elaborate exposition and remonstrance from its petty legislature, detailing the loveliness of slavery, and the deformities of the obnoxious Order in Council of the 2nd November, 1831. The time is past for bestowing our former labour in analyzing the miscalled ameliorating acts of colonial legislatures; otherwise the new act of Dominica would afford us abundant opportunity of exposing its multiplied evasions, the worthlessness of its most plausible provisions, and its utter contempt of the principles of just and liberal legislation. It does not even make the murder of a slave a capital crime. It vaguely provides that *good* and *sufficient* food, lodging, and clothing shall be given to the slave, under a penalty of £10 currency, about £4 10*s*. sterling; but without saying whether it be for a whole year or for one day's neglect, or for under feeding and under clothing one slave, or 500. And if we may judge of what the good and sufficient food and lodging is, by the only specification given, namely, that of the clothing, we shall be able to form some judgment of the humanity of Dominica planters. Each adult male is to receive, yearly, *one* pennistone, or kersey, or drugget, jacket, *one* hat or cap, *one* pair of osnaburg or pennistone trousers, and four yards of osnaburg. Each adult female is to receive *one* wrapper, one hat or cap, *one* petticoat, of the same materials with the men, and four yards of osnaburg; and children, some two, and some three, yards of osnaburg, without any other garment. Besides this, each slave is to have one blanket and one iron pot every three years. We wish we could furnish our readers with specimens of the flimsy qualities of the articles called kersey, osnaburg, &c. which go to compose this Negro clothing that is to last them a whole year, and especially of the blanket which is to form the three years' supply of bedding (§ 1—3).

Then as to continuance of labour, we have again the enactment of 14 hours, from five to seven, all the year round, with intervals out of crop of two hours and a half, and in crop of only two hours, with the power in crop of exacting two hours more of labour (§ 4).

The time allowed for feeding themselves by cultivating grounds, is 26 days in the year (§ 4).

If a slave complain to a magistrate, he may order the slave to be punished, if he find the complaint false and malevolent, with 39 lashes, but not otherwise (§ 5 and 38).

Planters are required to make oath annually that they have complied with ALL the provisions of this act, under a penalty of £50 for each failure (§ 6).

Dominica has long been famous for plausible enactments of this kind, accompanied by high sounding penalties. As early as 1788 it outdid all the other assemblies in this species of mystification. In 1804, sixteen years after, Lord Camden, then Secretary of State, called for a return of the returns that had been made, and the penalties that had been inflicted in compliance with this act; and General Prevost, then Governor, bluntly replied that the act had never been

carried into effect, and that the act itself "*appears to have been considered, from the day it was passed until this hour, as a political measure to avert the interference of the mother country in the management of slaves.*"—Papers H. C. 1805, No. 39, p. 34, 35.

But to proceed, Sunday markets are to continue till half-past ten o'clock, and no day but Sunday is allowed for markets (§ 9). Mutilation, &c. is to be punished with a fine not exceeding £200, but there is no minimum (§ 13). No right of property is given to the slave, but a person robbing him or refusing to pay his wages, may be made to give him compensation, and to pay a penalty not exceeding £10 (§ 15). The evidence of slaves is to be admitted on the same principle as that of free persons, but against their owners only in cases of personal injury (§ 17). Slaves that are *married* and belonging to the same owner shall not be separated, and children under twelve shall not be sold separate *from the mother* (§ 20). The dishonesty of this provision consists in this, that the marriage of slaves has never been legalized in Dominica till this very act was framed, which, moreover, is not yet law; so that there are no *married* slaves in Dominica; though in six years, from 1825 to 1830, 158 slave marriages have been nominally celebrated in a population of 15,000 slaves. But even the present act does not say by whom slave marriages may be solemnized (§ 8). Legacies to slaves may be paid to them by executors; and any free person may maintain an action on behalf of a slave (§ 16 and 21). Magistrates are empowered to condemn slaves to be worked in chains two-and-two; and masters, with the magistrate's leave, may put collars and chains, while at work, on slaves of notoriously bad character; and masters may have, on all their plantations, stocks and bilboes, and places of solitary confinement, in which to confine and punish them (§ 26 and 36). Slaves using defamatory words, or words of abuse, or menacing gestures, or communicating with runaways, or gambling, or quarreling, may be punished with 39 stripes (§ 28, 29, 33). A slave striking his owner or overseer, or practising witchcraft, may be punished, at the discretion of the court, (no limit being affixed to that discretion) (§ 27, 30). Slaves disobeying the owner, or the person in authority over him, or neglecting his duty, or being absent without leave, or being guilty of *any misconduct,* shall be punished, at the discretion of such owner or other person, with the stocks and 39 stripes; overseers being confined to 10, and drivers to 6, at one time; the instrument of punishment to be the cat; and women being punished by solitary confinement in the stocks (§ 34, 35).

The clauses 40 to 44 regulate compulsory manumission, which is legalized, under a variety, however, of needless and onerous restrictions, to which we need not advert particularly. This, with the clause on evidence, and that which *seems* to forbid female flogging, are the only real approximation to improvement, but they are framed with all the colonial vagueness and indefiniteness of enactment. The act closes with suspending its operation until it has obtained the royal assent, which has not yet been given to it.

From such legislation what can be hoped?

The Governor, Sir E. J. Murray M'Gregor, we are happy to per-

ceive, has advocated with zeal the adoption, by the Dominica legislature, of the order in council of 2nd Nov., 1831, but in vain. He says:—

"One of the arguments for resistance in the legislative colonies is, that their separate legislatures empower them to act independently of the Imperial Parliament. But the constitution of Dominica does not seem to me to resemble so closely, as the colonists are willing to imagine, that of Britain; for, instead of composing a permanent estate, like the House of Peers, the Upper Chamber here is formed of counsellors, removable at pleasure, whom it is not apparent that the Crown can be constrained to replace by a new appointment."—p. 128.

He further remarks that the Assembly of Dominica represents but an inconsiderable portion of the inhabitants at large. The greater proportion of them are not only persons said to be of no property, but fifteen, out of the nineteen members of which the assembly consists, are returned by sixty-four electors. This is worse than even the rotten borough system.

On the 28th of March, 1832, the Governor thus writes:—

"I cannot sufficiently depict my regret and astonishment at finding the proceedings of the House of Assembly wound up by the following resolutions:"—

"'Resolved, That as soon as His Majesty's Government shall have signified His Majesty's satisfaction with the improvement proposed in such Report' (viz. certain parts of the Order in Council they had proposed to ingraft on their own code) 'to be made in the Slave Code of this colony, and the willingness of His Majesty's government to extend to this colony that boon which has been in contemplation as to follow the adoption of the entire Order in Council, then this house will give effect by legislative enactment to the recommendations of the said Report.'

"This resolution apparently involves the inconsistency of inviting the king's government not merely to signify His Majesty's satisfaction with, but actually to pay a premium besides, for the better encouragement of the Dominica legislature in resisting measures recommended by the ministers of the Crown.

"In the concluding passages, too, of their Report adopted by the House of Assembly, the committee, with a solemnity for which it is difficult to account, draw the attention of 'the Board and House to that part of Lord Goderich's circular despatch to the governors of the crown colonies under date the 5th November last, wherein he states that the Order in Council must be regarded as a measured and cautious, but at the same time a decided advance towards the ultimate extinction of slavery;' as if these expressions served to unfold some design of an entirely novel nature, instead of being, on the contrary, intimately and naturally connected with a previous declaration that ought not to be unknown to the committee, and by which, in 1823, the House of Commons avowed that 'this House looks forward to a progressive improvement in the character of the slave population, such as may prepare them for a participation in those civil rights and privileges which are enjoyed by other classes of His Majesty's subjects.'

"The anxiety also evinced by the committee 'to press on the consideration of parliament a declaration of the inviolability of the rights of the West Indian proprietors,' even were their wishes realized, could scarcely be expected to produce a more favourable result than the decision already pronounced at that memorable period by the House of Commons, when it was added, by Resolution 3rd, 'That this House is anxious for the accomplishment of this purpose at the earliest period that shall be compatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, with the safety of the colonies, and with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property.'"

"It appears of such paramount importance that protectors of slaves should be established here, that notwithstanding the present awkward posture of affairs, I cannot refrain from risking the suggestion that their salaries should be de-

frayed from the Home Treasury, and the appointments confided, in the first instance at least, to the gentlemen of the island, on the condition that all the provisions of the Order in Council concerning this detail shall be accepted without reserve; as the influence of such gentlemen may tend more powerfully than any other means to the ultimate introduction of so valuable an institution."—pp.133,134.

In their animadversions on the Order in Council, the legislators of Dominica are much more reasonable and candid than any other we can at present call to mind. They are of course dissatisfied that Lord Goderich should not have confirmed their own act of June 1831, rather than have called upon them to adopt his order.

They chiefly object to a protector, an office, however, which they think wholly unnecessary, on the score of expense, and on account of the inquisitorial nature of the visits the protector is empowered to pay to the slaves' huts. They do not object to abolish Sunday markets entirely. They object however, and are obviously very averse to the abolition of the driving whip, and the limitation of punishment, as well as to the abolition of female flogging not only by the magistrate but by the master; to the prohibition also of confinement in the stocks on Sunday; to the forfeiture likewise of slaves cruelly treated, and to a record of punishments. They plead that their own marriage law is better than that of the Order; whereas, in fact, it is in comparison a nullity. They are equally wrong in regard to the law of property. We agree with them that the prohibition in the Order as to slaves possessing boats is bad and needless.

They say that slaves are not sold for their masters' debts in Dominica. We know of no such enactment. There is none such in their late law. They object to the non-separation of families *not married.* This is rather hard when they have taken care there shall be no marriages, but only concubinages in Dominica.

They assent to the adoption of the newly-modelled manumission clause, and to that for determining questions of free or slave, but not to the removal of their own restrictions on slave evidence.

They prefer some serious objections, as we also have done, though on somewhat different grounds, to the regulations respecting food, and still more unreasonably to those respecting the duration of labour.

We do not wonder they should object to the regulations as to clothing, when compared with their own scanty and wholly inadequate allowance. Their own clothing they think sufficient: no one else can think so. Shoes need not of course be worn by the slaves unless they like. But it is untrue to say they would not often like to do so even at work.

They assume to give more time to the slave by their law than the Order gives; but that is not true,—they giving only 26 days by law, while the Order gives 40: but even 40 is too little by one-half at least.

We agree with them in their objections to the clauses relative to public worship.

They have no minimum of punishment in their code.

We have been thus minute, because, though this discussion we trust is now unnecessary, yet every thing serving to illustrate the spirit of the colonists is important at the present moment.

7. *Grenada.*

We have little to notice with respect to this colony, but a violent set of resolutions against the Government and the Anti-Slavery party, and an unqualified rejection of the Order in Council. "Whatever may be the consequence," they say, "they cannot entertain the idea of giving the Order in Council the effect of a law of the colony, as required by Lord Goderich."

8. *St. Vincent.*

The St. Vincent legislature have drawn up an angry petition to Parliament against the agitators and theorists of the Anti-Slavery Society, who, instead of being indicted for a conspiracy against *their* lives and property, are upheld by the Government, and they therefore call for enquiry. They have surely had it (see No. 104 and No. 105). They wholly repudiate the Order in Council.

9. *Tobago.*

The resolution of the Assembly of this island with respect to the Order in Council, has been to the following effect:—"This house protests, in the most solemn manner, against this endeavour to enforce the Order in Council; and we are determined to oppose, by every legal and constitutional means, the attempt thus made to legislate for the colony, and therefore will take no further notice of the same."

10. *Trinidad.*

On the 30th April, 1830, General Grant, the Governor, issued a proclamation, intended to fulfil and enforce Sir George Murray's new Order of the 2nd February, 1830, which was disapproved in so many of its parts by Sir George, that a new proclamation was issued. We need not, however, enter into the detail of those changes, as the whole has since been, to a great degree, superseded by the farther new Order of the 2nd November, 1831, which has now become, with certain modifications, the law of Trinidad. The circumstance in this correspondence which we have contemplated with peculiar pleasure, is the very gratifying solicitude evinced both by Sir George Murray and Lord Goderich, to secure to the slave the uninterrupted repose of the Christian sabbath; while the indifference to the subject of the protector of slaves, led him to assume it as a point proved, that there could be no means devised for protecting the coffee berry, when exposed to the sun to dry, from a shower of rain on Sunday, without requiring the labour of the slaves to remove it under shelter and to lay it out again. The extension over it of a tarpaulin, which a single hand or two might extend or withdraw, would effectually obviate this necessity.

Many rumours had been propagated both in the West Indies and in this country, of disturbances excited among the slaves by the operation of the Order in Council of 2nd November, 1831; but Governor Grant, who himself took the pains to examine each case, was convinced that whatever turbulence had existed on two or three estates, quite unconnected with each other, arose from causes wholly distinct from that Order. This is so far satisfactory. But we could have wished that

General Grant had been more explicit in stating what were the causes that had excited the slaves. In one case, that of the estate Plein Palais, it was thought right by the protector and three magistrates, *severely* to punish the driver, who was said to have instigated the tumult, and also to punish other two men and one woman. From what is incidentally stated, however, it would appear that the fault lay with the manager, and not with the slaves, and that he, and not the slaves, ought to have been punished. The evidence is not given, nor are all the causes assigned for the insubordination of the slaves stated (though these ought not to have been withheld); yet one cause is mentioned, which, if true, and General Grant does not say that it was otherwise, sufficiently explains their discontent. "One of the causes," says the Governor, "of their *murmuring*" (he calls it *murmuring*, not *mutinying*), "was, that they had been compelled to work in gang on their provision ground, instead of each individual being allowed his portion. It had been divided after being a little advanced in cultivation; but this was not satisfactory, as they like to have their grounds separated, and each to be left to his own way of acting in this respect. I also understand there was some grumbling" (not tumult, but grumbling) "on the part of slaves about throwing grass to the mules; but the particulars have not reached me." Now we venture to say, that no two circumstances were more likely to excite, and, indeed, would more have justified discontent than these. That the people should have been debarred from exerting each his own industry on his own allotment, and made to toil in common, under coercion, to till their lands, instead of being left as usual to raise their own food and that of their families in their own way, planting such things as were most to their own taste, and best suited for obtaining from the neighbouring market, by the sale of the surplus produce of their exertion, the additional comforts they might require, appears a wide and unwarranted deviation, if not from law, at least from nearly universal custom, which cannot be vindicated, and which looks very like a pure act of wanton and gratuitous oppression,—an act, too, at variance with the rights of property now conferred on slaves in Trinidad. Yet for *murmuring*, for *grumbling* against this abuse of power, four slaves are punished, and the poor driver who had to watch over his own interests and that of his fellows, has his flesh torn from his limbs in order that the manager's abused authority may be supported.

Our suspicions that the complainants in this case have been most unfairly dealt with, are much strengthened by what we cannot but call the *colonial slang* of the following comment of the Governor on this transaction:—

> "The manager, *whom I understand to be a man of good character*, had only been lately come among them; and it often happens that on occasions of change the endeavours on both sides to find out how far they can go, the one in exacting labour, the other in endeavouring to avoid being overburthened with it, will, at the beginning, produce a difference of opinion, which, like the case in question, may go to too great a length, when a determined or turbulent character takes the lead."—p. 181.

Now we really think that the Governor's past experience, especially

during his long residence in the Bahamas, where he had been incautiously led to give a too ready credence to the high estimation in which the characters of Henry and Helen Moss were held by even respectable planters and magistrates, might have excited considerable and not very unreasonable apprehensions in the Governor's mind, and led to further and more minute enquiry, as to the real merits of the case.

We have often strongly and loudly protested against the injurious and oppressive practice of *grass throwing*, as it is called, which cruelly aggravates the toil, and abridges the comforts, and ruins the health of the slaves in Trinidad and other colonies. In Trinidad, by the last Order in Council, it was made decidedly illegal to exact *grass throwing* as an extra task in addition to the fixed hours of field labour; and if in this instance, as is most probable, it was so exacted, the law was violated. But what is done? The protector in person, and three magistrates punish those who *grumble* at this illegal exaction, and one of them *severely*, while the offender, the manager, goes unpunished.

But there is another case alluded to, which we look at with more apprehension than even this apparently flagrant one. It is contained in a letter of the Governor to Lord Goderich, dated January 20, 1832.

"In my despatch of 13th January, I acquainted your Lordship that considerable discontent had shown itself among the persons held in slavery on the Felicity Hall and Palmiste estates; since then a similar discontent has been manifested on the Cascade estate: on the three, there was a refusal to work: those on the Palmiste were persuaded to return to their duty; but I am informed this morning, by a letter from the commandant of the quarter, that they have again broken off.

"The estate is situated in the district of South Naparima, about thirty miles distant from Port d'Espagne, and can only be reached by water conveyance. I intend proceeding thither immediately; and having already succeeded in restoring to order the people on the Cascade and Felicity Hall estates by reasoning with them, I trust I shall have equal success with those on the Palmiste property.

"They are all persons who were imported from Tortola about ten years ago; and I have reason to think there is some understanding among them, although none of the three estates is nearer to any one of the others than twelve miles.

"I have to intimate to your Lordship, that the discontents are in no way connected with the Order in Council of 2nd November, 1831. The manager who was on the Cascade estate when I visited it has been sent away, and a better description of provision grounds has been promised the people. This, with an assurance of protection in their legal rights, so that they conducted themselves as they ought to do, appeared at the time to be satisfactory to them."—pp. 176, 177.

This despatch would have less excited our interest had we not seen in a preceding parliamentary paper, No. 279, of 1832, p. 27, another despatch from General Grant, dated a few days earlier, namely, on the 13th of January, 1832, to the following effect:—

"I have to acquaint your Lordship that on two estates in this Colony, Palmiste and Felicity Hall, the slaves have refused to go to work, giving it as their reason that at the time of their removal from Tortola they had been promised by Mr. Pickering, their holder, that they should have their freedom in seven years after their being in Trinidad. These, amounting to about 200, with many more

now in the Colony, had been removed from Tortola, and I must say that I do not think this removal could have been easily effected without some inducement held out to them, as in Tortola there is little means to compel them if they had chosen to object. I have commissioned the Protector to allow three men and three women to come to Port d'Espagne, to have the question of their pretension to freedom tried in court: whatever their impression may be, I have little doubt that no proof can be produced of their title to freedom." (But why should he doubt this? Had he examined the case? The 200 slaves are competent witnesses. What have they said in evidence?) "But it will be satisfactory to them to see that their claims are duly attended to."

Now we have not been able to discover in the correspondence any farther mention of this important and interesting claim, which we do not view with the same despair in respect to the title of these poor creatures to their freedom, which the Governor seems to entertain. Indeed we happen to know something more of the case than perhaps he knew; and we proceed therefore to submit to the consideration of Lord Goderich certain facts which have reached us regarding it, and the probable channels of farther information.

In the years 1823 and 1824, strenuous efforts were made by Mr. Pickering of Tortola, and by his agent, Mr. Philip Protheroe of Bristol, to procure a license to remove his slaves from Tortola to Demerara; and assurances were given by them to some gentlemen of the Anti-Slavery party that if they would favour the application, stipulations would be entered into for the humane treatment of the slaves, and for their ultimate liberation at no distant period. These gentlemen, however, refused to listen to the proposal. On its failure Mr. Pickering resolved to transport them to Trinidad; and although he had previously affirmed that the slaves themselves eagerly desired their removal, yet when he came to carry into effect his plan of transporting them to Trinidad, they one and all resisted. The transaction is detailed in the 1st volume of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, No. 24, p. 388 and 389; and we cannot do better now than to transcribe verbatim the whole of that detail for the information of his Majesty's Government. It is as follows:—

"In order to anticipate the passing of Dr. Lushington's bill, prohibiting the inter-colonial slave trade, a planter of Tortola, of the name of Pickering, determined to remove thence a gang of slaves amounting to 300 or 400 individuals. He first wished to obtain from Parliament a license to remove them to Demerara. Defeated in this object, and fearful that Dr. Lushington's bill would effectually bar the door against any similar transfer, he hurried them off to Trinidad, where it is known that, from the fertility of the soil, slaves yield about three times as much to the planter, while they die almost three times as fast, as in Tortola.

"There lies on the table of the House of Commons a paper giving some account of this transaction. It is of the year 1825, and is numbered 235. We there learn that the slaves of Mr. Pickering manifested the very strongest reluctance to this measure, though at first it was pretended to be merely for their benefit and entirely with their consent. This reluctance was not to be wondered at. They were all, like Miss Threlfall's Negroes, Creoles of the island. They had, like hers, near connexions in all the neighbouring estates; and they had acquired, as it may be presumed hers also have done, a considerable peculium. They were now to be torn from their country and relations; to be driven to sacrifice their gardens and their live stock; and to be transported to a new and untried situation, where they might have to open new lands, subjected to a variety of pri-

vations, and to treatment infinitely more severe than they had yet experienced. Such at least appears to have been their well-grounded impression of the fate that awaited them; and to avoid it, if possible, a number of them, in October, 1823, adopted the desperate expedient of abandoning the plantation and endeavouring to effect their escape. They, of course, did not succeed in this rash attempt; and a body of slave hunters being sent in pursuit of them, they were seized and confined in jail. On the 17th of November, 1823, six of them were brought to trial, for rebellion, before Mr. Porter (the gentleman who signs Miss Threlfall's certificate) and three other justices. They were found guilty, and three of them were sentenced to receive, and did receive, sixty-three lashes each on the bare back; and three others thirty-nine lashes each in like manner. It was moreover ordered 'that after the infliction of this punishment they should be remanded to jail, there to be kept in close confinement in irons until they could be transported from this colony; and that they should be banished from these islands for ever, as soon as possible, to such place as F. J. Pickering should think proper; and that if they or any of them should be ever found voluntarily at large again, within any part of these islands, they, or either of them, should suffer death.'

"Mr. Porter, the President and Judge, states that he expected to have been called to assist in forcing Mr. Pickering's slaves on board the vessels that were to convey them to Trinidad; but that, after this trial, he says, 'I found that happily there was no occasion to perplex myself; for the Negroes went voluntarily!' 'At least,' he adds, 'I heard nothing to the contrary!' Doubtless not.

"The account of this transaction is bad enough as it stands on the face of the Parliamentary record. But a private letter from Tortola, written shortly after the deportation took place, adds to it some fresh horrors. After giving the particulars of the trial as they appear in the above account, the writer observes,—'The last scene was to see the master going to the jail,' (where it seems twenty-four of the men who had absconded were confined) 'lashing them together, two and two, to be transported on board of a sloop for Trinidad; and I understand they were put in irons on board. The next morning it was shocking to hear the screams of their mothers, wives, (some of them pregnant) brothers, children, &c., who came to town on the Sunday morning to take their last farewell of the imprisoned party; when, to their surprise, they had all been transported the evening before.' 'The consternation among the Negroes is shocking to relate. All George's and Martin's slaves, it is expected, will be sold and sent to the same place.'"

"In another letter the same gentleman observes,—'I am told that it is said in the English papers that the Negroes are glad of the change, and even dancing for joy. I wish it was in the power of my pen to describe those painful separations which have been witnessed in this colony during the last twelve months. From first to last there have been ten or twelve vessels cleared for Trinidad with slaves. God only knows what would have been the result of these removals, if it had not been for the Methodist preachers, who preached submission and obedience to the slaves, and who attended and prayed with them to the last; and as the slaves were Methodists, they bowed to their pastors with gratitude.—An old Negro belonging to Todman's estate, parting from his wife and children on the beach, fell lifeless. He was taken up, and medical aid was called.'

"A variety of further details might be given of the miseries produced by these removals, and particularly of the large sacrifices of property and comfort incurred by these expatriated Negroes, thus subjected to exile without even the imputation of a crime. But the above extracts must suffice for the present."

Now the slaves of whom General Grant speaks are the very same who were thus barbarously forced into exile, and of whom it was understood at the time, that even the violence employed would have proved ineffective without a promise of eventual freedom. The matter, there-

fore, cannot rest here. The slaves themselves are almost all intelligent Christians, and as competent witnesses as any in Trinidad. They were well known to the Methodist Missionaries who were serving in Tortola at that time, and who must have been fully cognizant of all the means, whether of persuasion or violence, employed by Mr. Pickering and by the magistrates, to induce their submission to this hated exile. The secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, 77, Hatton Garden, can give the names of the missionaries who were then in Tortola, and who may now be in England, and may be also able to refer to their correspondence with their superiors at the time. Besides this there are various individuals in Tortola who can depose to the facts, having been eye-witnesses of them; and if a wish should be expressed by the Colonial Office on the subject, to the secretary of the Wesleyan Society, names could doubtless be given. On the whole, we have said enough to suggest farther enquiry, and we are quite sure that Lord Goderich will not suffer the matter to sleep, without probing it to the bottom; the happiness of 300 or 400 of the king's subjects being so directly in question.

The only other point in the official communications from Trinidad, is of a more gratifying description. It refers to the concurrent address of the numerous and respectable body of free black and coloured proprietors of Trinidad, declaring their determination to uphold His Majesty's Orders in Council, and protesting against being involved, even by implication, in the contumacy of the whites. This address will be found at length in our fifth volume, No. 99, p. 236.

11. *British Guiana, including Demerara and Berbice.*

The first part of this correspondence refers chiefly to the Orders in Council which preceded the last, and therefore need not occupy much space. We are struck, however, on this as on other occasions, with the extraordinary difficulties with which successive Secretaries of State have had to contend, from the resolute opposition of the colonists to the enforcement of the laws, and from their success in mystifying the minds and paralyzing the efforts of resident public functionaries. We omit the details which would illustrate this general remark.

On the 4th February, 1830, Sir George Murray addressed a despatch to the governors of the Crown Colonies, the substance of which is given in our fourth volume, No. 73, pp. 14—21; a despatch highly creditable to that minister. Among other things he required that the governors should direct the protectors of slaves to institute a careful enquiry into the facts respecting the amount of labour usually performed by plantation slaves; the hours they worked; the intervals of fixed labour, and whether those intervals were complete; also the labour required by night, and during how many hours and at what seasons of the year; together with the effect of such labour on health; and the regulations by which abuses might be prevented. He likewise required that they should minutely report on the food and clothing of the slaves, their quantity, quality, and sufficiency, and their bearing on the slaves' health, with other particulars.

The return to this requisition from Guiana is most meagre, vague,

and unsatisfactory; and yet it would have seemed that nothing could have been easier than for a diligent and zealous functionary, residing on the spot, to have made himself completely master of the facts of the case. We cannot, therefore, be surprised that Lord Goderich, in his despatch to Sir B. D'Urban, of 20th April, 1831, (p. 186) should have expressed his regret that the report transmitted, though sufficiently laudatory of the slaves' good condition, had not answered Sir George Murray's enquiries, who, in his despatch, had stated in considerable detail the points on which he required precise and distinct information; and he directed therefore that the protector should be desired to institute a fresh enquiry on the subject. Our readers will see the necessity of such an injunction on the part of his Lordship, when we have laid before them the general purport of the reports referred to, and which came from Mr. Young of Demerara, and Mr. Bird of Berbice. In the case of the last named gentleman, some considerable exertions are manifested to get at the facts of the case; but all that Mr. Young says on the subject, is comprised in the following sentence, bearing date 16th September, 1830:—

"With respect to the enquiry whether the quantum of labour exacted is unfriendly to health, and whether the food supplied is sufficient to sustain the health and strength of the labourer, I have the honour to submit the accompanying opinion of two skilful medical practitioners. The annual cost of clothing for a field Negro is about £1 18*s.* 7*d.* sterling."

This is laconic enough in reply to enquiries embracing so extensive a range, and on which his own judgment was also called for. But we may possibly find that the skilful and experienced physicians to whom he refers, have supplied his own lack of information. Theirs, however, is also miserably partial and defective.

One of them, Dr. Waddel, tells us that he had resided in the colony for 20 years, during the continuance of the slave trade. He must, therefore, have resided there for about 44 or 45 years in all. His statement is, that he "can safely bear testimony to the greatest humanity having been exercised towards the slaves with regard to the degree of labour required of them, and in furnishing them with the means of support. This the fertility of the colony enabled them to do with great facility, and at the same time allowed them to dispense with any degree of labour that would have been at all injurious to health, for which they (viz. the planters) always manifested the utmost solicitude, both in the prevention and the cure of diseases." Nay, he had often asked himself, "whether it would be possible for the planters to give their slaves less for their labour than the employers of Europe gave their free labourers, and leave them in a state for labour. The reply to which question could not be otherwise than in the negative."—p. 185.

Dr. M'Turk, the second witness, is no less explicit in his statement, though we must admit, somewhat less vague. We already know something of this learned physician and magistrate. Our readers may recollect him as one of the bitterest persecutors in 1823 of the missionary Smith. He is also, we believe, himself a slave-holder. His testimony is to this effect:—

"To state briefly the quantum of labour required of a healthy prime Negro per diem, I shall instance the labour required of him in shovel-work, such as ditching, draining and forming cane banks, which is considered, and it certainly is, the hardest labour on any plantation. The maximum of labour, therefore, exacted of a person of this description in ditching, is to excavate about 600 cubic feet of earth, and no more. The trenches or ditches on plantations, whether for navigation or drainage, are generally made 12 feet at top and 8 feet at bottom. Thus, a labourer such as I have mentioned gets a task to be performed in the course of the day of such a trench 12 feet long by 5 feet deep. This is the rule by which shovel work is exacted throughout the colony; for although the trenches may vary in their dimensions, still it makes no difference to the labourer, as the extent of trench (be it large or be it small), drain or cane bank, is always calculated by the number of cubic feet corresponding with the contents of a 12-foot trench, as already described, or 600 cubic feet per diem.

"Young and elderly people when employed at such work have a task proportionably less, and suited to their strength.

"The nature of the soil being purely alluvial, without the least trace of stone, gravel, or other hard substance, the facility with which such work is performed may easily be comprehended; and that it seldom occupies the labourer more than two-thirds of the day, taking the average of a gang on an estate, is certain.

"With regard to the second question, it may be answered more directly; as the physical strength and appearance of the black population amply prove that their food is not only abundant, but wholesome.

"After a residence in the colony of upwards of 20 years, during which period I have had constant opportunity of judging of the questions submitted to me, experience warrants me in coming to the conclusion, and enables me freely to declare, and to give it as my most unqualified opinion, that there is no reason to conclude that the labour usually exacted of plantation slaves is unfriendly to their health, but, on the contrary, the labour is moderate, is performed with ease, and without oppression; and moreover, that they are abundantly supplied with food, wholesome and nutritious, and well adapted to sustain the health and strength of the labourer."—p. 185.

Lord Goderich, it is true, though lamenting the absence of all the materials requisite for enabling him to form a sound judgment, acknowledges, with his usual courtesy, the satisfaction he had derived from the report of these gentlemen as to the general good condition of the slaves. Indeed we must take leave to express our extreme surprise that these two learned physicians should have omitted, in their categorical statements, the very slightest allusion to a fact which, for years past, has occupied so much of the public attention; we mean the frightful mortality of the slave population of Demerara, contrasted, as it has been, with the rapid increase of the free population in that colony. Did they deem this fact of no moment in their estimate of healthfulness; as one not worthy of one passing explanation to satisfy the mind of the Secretary of State? Dr. M'Turk speaks with confidence of the physical strength and appearance of the black population, but he makes not the most distant allusion to the rapidity with which that strength becomes unnerved, and how soon every trace of it sinks into the grave. He tells us of the facility with which the shovel penetrates the alluvial soil, and of the moderate extent of the task assigned them in trenching it; but he says nothing of the pernicious moistness of the trench in which they have to labour, nor of the muscular effort required

from women, as well as men, in shovelling up above their heads the earth from excavations five and six feet deep.

In Berbice, the protector says there was no law which defined the clothing to be given to the slave, but that the food was wholesome, nutritious, and abundant. He says that 540 cubic feet of trenching is there the measure of an able man's daily labour, while in Demerara it is said to be 600. The medical testimonies in this colony are of the same general nature we have already quoted. The labour is said to be light and not prejudicial to health, and the food abundant, and life prolonged beyond its average rate. And yet the slaves decrease! Is this possible? What is the worth of such testimony, whether it comes from Demerara or Berbice? It is utterly valueless. The slave trade was abolished in Guiana in 1805, several years before it was abolished in the United States, which was in 1808; yet in the United States, with all the same disadvantages arising from importations, the slaves have been as rapidly increasing as they have been decreasing in British Guiana.

The only point on which we have any tangible specification from Berbice is as to clothing. On one plantation the adult men have given to them for the year, one jacket, one hat, and thirteen ells which we believe is not quite ten yards, of osnaburg, check, or some such stuff; and the women a jacket, hat, and eleven ells of such stuff, and about half to boys and girls. On other two plantations, the men have only one hat, and two caps, and one jacket, and the women a hat, a wrapper, and two petticoats, and the children cloth for two shirts or shifts—and this is their whole animal supply of every thing; the men's allowance costing 15*s.* a year; the women's 20*s.*; and the children's 5*s.* 6*d.*

A list is subjoined of the prices of all articles of Negro clothing at the shops in the colony; and it is somewhat curious, after all the vituperation poured on the Order in Council for giving a razor to each male slave, that razors are enumerated among the articles of Negro necessaries.

In the course of the discussions which occurred between Lord Goderich and Sir B. D'Urban, we were much struck with the general soundness of his Lordship's views, and the force and firmness, and yet mildness, with which they are urged. We give a specimen or two.

"I have nothing to add to Sir George Murray's remarks on the impossibility of sanctioning by law a systematic invasion of the repose of Sunday by any kind of agricultural or manufacturing labour, exacted from the slave as a duty which he is bound to perform. If in the exercise of his own free will it is his pleasure so to work for wages, there may be sufficient reasons why the law should not, for the present at least, interfere to prevent such a practice. But there are certain fundamental rules, the obligation of which does not rest on any human authority, and which it is not within the scope of any human authority to supersede. Amongst these, no member of the established church of England will doubt that the law which demands abstinence from labour on Sunday is to be numbered; and though, as I have already admitted, exceptions are to be made for cases of necessity, yet the exception would swallow up the rule itself, if it were extended to transactions forming part of the general and permanent system of rural economy. In no country can this religious precept be observed without some sacrifice of immediate interest: and I can readily believe that the

suspension on Sunday of the manufacture of sugar may be attended with some present loss to the planter. But as the gathering in of the harvests in this kingdom, even in the most precarious seasons, is invariably suspended on the day of rest, no unreasonable demand is made on the West India proprietor, by requiring him to yield a similar obedience to the general rule; nor can I persuade myself that, upon an enlarged view of the subject, the planter will find that in this case there is any real opposition between the dictates of duty and his own permanent secular interest.

"For these reasons I must decline to consider this question as open to discussion on the ground of apparent expediency, but must adhere to my predecessor's opinion that no slave must be compelled, on any terms, to engage on Sunday in the ordinary labours of the field or of the mill."—p. 217.

He had previously condemned the practice of issuing to the slaves their allowances on the Sunday, and rejected every plea used to justify it; adding,—

"No human institutions can abrogate, either wholly or in part, a law of which the Divine authority must be recognised, alike in countries where slavery prevails and where it is unknown; nor are there wanting in this office proofs that the practice of assembling the slaves to receive their provisions on Sunday morning has practically led to much inconvenience, and to a serious encroachment on that repose which they so eminently need."—p. 215.

Again he says,—

"To Sir George Murray's objection to the rule which allows the confinement of women in the stocks during the night, or during the noontime hours of rest, nothing is opposed but the remark, that no cause of objection has arisen during some years of practical experience. I confess that I regard it as much too clear for argument, that a female who works all day at tasks which in other countries are usually confined to men, should be allowed to recruit her strength by uninterrupted repose during the hours set apart for rest and sleep. In this kingdom no person, male or female, who for the greatest offences is subjected to the most severe prison discipline, is ever denied this respite from fatigue."

p. 217.

The arrival of the Order in Council of the 2nd of Nov., 1831, produced an extraordinary sensation in Guiana. On the 7th of Feb., 1832, Sir B. D'Urban thus writes:—

"My last despatch will have prepared your Lordship for a most unwilling reception of that Order, but not perhaps for the extravagant feeling of discontent, ill humour, and despondency which it has created." "The general antipathy to it has been studiously aggravated by the instigations of the party I before alluded to, and it now reigns to an excess, which I apprehend will interpose very serious obstacles for some time to come to its fair operation; nor can I doubt that those who lead the public feeling in this matter have sufficient ingenuity to invent all sorts of impediments to its progress.

"For this end, in the first instance, several protests have been prepared, and are now industriously circulating through the different districts of Demerara and Essequibo, to receive the signatures of all descriptions of people, which will soon be numerous enough.

"I cannot yet anticipate in what precise way the due effects of the order may be met and parried; various means may be used to contribute to this end; and there is, I need not observe to your Lordship, an inert strength in a community (and especially one constituted and circumstanced like this) of sullen purpose to defeat an object, which, if it be resorted to with any degree of constancy and combination, is ever difficult to deal with.

"If I were to hazard a conjecture, however, upon this point, I should say

that two leading means which may be resorted to for giving efficiency to the above principle, will be,

1st. The avoiding, evading, or refusing to levy taxes for the necessary disbursements of the colonial administration.

2nd. "A combination among the colonial assessors in the criminal courts to defeat all prosecutions for the protection of the slaves, by finding the defendants 'not guilty,' which would be effectual, since, upon the facts of the case, the votes of the three assessors are equivalent to those of the three professional judges; the chief justice, unfortunately, not being vested with a casting vote."

p. 222.

The anticipations of the Governor have proved correct. These are the very measures that have been practically pursued by the colonists.

Their protest is of the strongest kind, and signed by 572 planters; by all we presume in the colony; against the Order as inflicting irreparable injury on the colony, and causing speedy ruin to the proprietors, and as directly infringing its fundamental laws; and they demand and claim full indemnity for all loss caused by it. The protest of the Berbice planters is still more violent and contumacious.

In noticing the protest Lord Goderich in his despatch of April 27, 1832, remarks, that any discussion of mere abstract principles, and the protest is confined to the assertion of such principles, in an official correspondence, is misplaced and inconvenient.

"I shall content myself therefore with observing, that His Majesty's Government have never attempted to deny, nor sought to bring into controversy, the proprietary title of the owner to his slaves. It has been asserted only, that between property in inanimate matter, and property in human beings, there are inherent distinctions which I had presumed to be universally admitted, and to which all legislation on the subject must necessarily bend, and that the object of all laws respecting slavery should be the ultimate substitution of hired service for compulsory labour. If these principles be denied, a further discussion of the subject would be attended with no hope of agreement, and with no prospect of any real advantage. If, on the other hand, they are admitted to be just, the controversy will shrink into a much narrower compass than the authors of this protest would seem to suppose."—p. 227.

The twelve assessors of the supreme criminal court were not content with joining in the general protest, but adopted resolutions which were pronounced, by the law officers of the Crown, to tend to injure and subvert the government of the colony, and to be in fact treasonable; and yet, observes the Governor, as the parties to be indicted form themselves the criminal court, there is no longer in the colony any criminal court to try them.

Before the criminal court of Demerara, the protector, Captain Elliott, proceeded to bring forward various cases of misdemeanours for breaches of the slave law. On the two first the verdict was "not guilty," the three judges pronouncing the parties "guilty," and the three colonial assessors pronouncing them "not guilty," and the president having no casting vote. On this the protector withdrew all the other cases for prosecution, the president or chief judge concurring in the propriety of his doing so. The cases thus withdrawn were eleven in all, besides the two in which the accused were acquitted.

In reporting this transaction to the Governor, the protector observe in his letter of the 7th March, 1832—

"In respectfully referring your Excellency to the precisely accurate notes of his honour the chief justice in the two prosecutions adverted to, and requesting your careful examination of the two indictments, I am led to believe it will appear not only that the cases were completely sustained, but that the testimony (particularly in the second trial) would have supported a charge of a much graver nature than was preferred. Indeed I will beg to observe, that the crown advocates, concurrently with myself, had fully anticipated the great difficulty of getting a conviction from the court under actual circumstances, and with that feeling, the expediency of framing all the indictments in the protector's cases with great caution and moderation had been studiously considered."—p. 241.

"The indictments were distinct, the testimony complete, and the law precise.

"Here were no vague matters of guilt or innocence submitted to the decision of the assessors, without any standard of reference to advert to; the simple questions to be determined were, whether they believed the evidence supported *certain distinctly alleged breaches* of the law, or not?

"Granting, however, that the *assessors* in those two trials returned a verdict of 'Not Guilty,' absolutely because their opinions of the evidence carried them conscientiously to such a conclusion, (and certainly this is an admission of a more extensive nature than I have it in my power to sustain by indisputable proof) then, at all events, it is impossible to resist the inference that their perceptions were so obscured, and their judgments so warped by their prejudices, that they could not contemplate those matters in a state of mind proper for their just disposal.

"The luminous charges of his honour the chief justice in both these cases, and the unanimous votes of the three *judges*, are unanswerable proofs of the *legal tendency* of the evidence to establish the guilt of the accused; and keeping in view all the considerations I have touched upon, and looking at the result of the two first trials, I will frankly declare to your Excellency, that to proceed seemed to me to be submitting to the judgment of a court, the moiety of which (it is using a measured form of expression to say) could not determine upon the indictment preferred by the application of the evidence adduced."—p. 242.

"It is a painful source of reflection, that since the Order in Council of 1830 has been promulgated in this colony, no case of offence against a slave has arrived at conviction before the Supreme Court of Criminal Justice.

"A reference to the notes of the first case tried, that of Mr. R. M. Jones, in the month of July last, and now to the notes in the cases against Mr. George Sanders, will not lead to the conclusion that these failures are attributable to any defect in the proof against the parties.

"It is not my province to search for the causes of these defects, but I certainly could not venture to continue to reply, on the vindication of the slave amelioration laws by the Supreme Court of Justice, in its present shape, without being honoured with your Excellency's instructions to that effect.

"It would have been infatuation to suppose that the slaves were careless observers of the proceedings of the court; and I humbly trust your Excellency will be of opinion, that the best and surest means of maintaining them in a state of peaceful obedience to the proprietary, is to impress them with the firm belief that the intentions of His Majesty's Government in promulgating laws for the amelioration of their condition are profoundly sincere, and that those laws are completely executed."—p. 244.

The assessors have put forth a long and laboured defence of their conduct, asserting that their verdict proceeded on conscientious grounds; which defence was preceded, however, by a protest in court by all the assessors against the validity of an Order in Council as law in Guiana. This is going to the root of the matter, and supersedes the necessity of examining here the particulars of their defence.

Lord Goderich is willing to give them credit for the conscientious-

ness they profess; and in his despatch of the 8th June, 1832, directs the protector to proceed to the trial of the remaining causes.

The whole affair, however, has now assumed a new aspect, and turns on the complete denial of the Crown's right to enact laws for the colony, except with the consent of a legislative body chosen by the colonists themselves; and in the mean time they refuse to act as assessors under the jurisdiction of the Orders in Council. It would be wholly out of our province to go into the details of this question; and we only hope that for the sake of the poor slaves Parliament will speedily intervene to terminate the present wretched system, and by a decree of emancipation to remove all future grounds of difference as to the relative rights of master and slave; for in these is involved the essence of all the difficulties that have arisen, or can arise, in the administration of substantial justice to all classes of the community.

In the mean time, the assessors who have refused to perform the functions to which they were bound under the solemn obligation of an oath, have been ordered by Lord Goderich to be prosecuted for the penalties incurred by them for this neglect of their duties, and which penalties amount already to a very considerable sum.

The state of misrule produced by this conduct, may be inferred from the following extracts from the observations of the Chief Justice, on the 30th April, 1832, after 19 causes had been called for trial, and were dismissed, in consequence of an adequate number of assessors not appearing to try them.

"I regret to say, that during my long experience in courts of law, both here and in the mother country, I have never witnessed so singular an exhibition as that presented to public view on this day. The criminal court has assembled under a proclamation of his Excellency the Governor, dated and published on the 14th of April, fifteen days ago, and ten of the assessors are absent, thereby preventing the powers of the criminal court from being carried into effect, so far as relates to the trial and punishment of offenders.

"These gentlemen were selected under the authority of an act of the Governor and court of policy of December 1831, and have each of them individually taken the oath prescribed by that Act faithfully and truly to discharge the duties of an assessor. If they have agreed together to adopt this line of conduct; if they are blind to or careless of its evil effects on the minds of the ill-disposed, and the consequent danger to the community; it is at any rate much to be lamented that they had not, by timely notice of their intentions to the judges of the court, attempted at least to avoid such an open display of their determination. The public prosecutor has been permitted to arrange his cases and summon his witnesses. The witnesses have obeyed his summons, at a great loss of time and at great expense, either to themselves or to the colony. The prisoners have, in like manner, been left to suppose they would be tried.

"The court of criminal justice has been allowed to assemble; and if, as I before stated, this arises from any preconcerted arrangement of these assessors, I cannot but deeply regret that they have adopted so ill-advised a course. Whether, however, it arises from arrangement or from fortuitous individual circumstances, the laws have placed the court in a situation which has relieved it from any difficulty as to its conduct by leaving it no option."—p. 285.

"This is a grievous and dangerous state of affairs in a community consisting, as this does, of such various classes of inhabitants; and the more so as it is liable to be misunderstood."—pp. 285, 286.

Thus stand matters in Guiana: they require no comment.

12. *St. Lucia.*

The greatest part of the correspondence with this colony is occupied with the subject of the undue exaction of slave labour. On the 1st of August, 1831, Lord Goderich addresses the Governor, and, referring to some examinations which had taken place with respect to the estate of Grand Ance, belonging to Mr. Donald Shaw, observes :—

"Mr. Shaw admits without reserve, that on three or four occasions he compelled the unhappy slaves on his plantation to labour during one crop time for twenty-four consecutive hours. Such is the voluntary admission of this person, made upon his oath, and unaccompanied with a solitary expression of remorse for such brutal inhumanity. It is with the utmost astonishment I find that such an acknowledgment was not followed by an instant order for the prosecution of the delinquent.

"I have no reason to suppose that to this hour any measure has been taken for the punishment of the criminal, or for the prevention of similar offences.

"In the next place, I observe that Mr. Shaw states, that in his opinion, one time with another, during the grinding time of 1830, the slaves were not required to perform more than fourteen or fifteen hours' labour. Although I know not how to reconcile this assertion with Shaw's former statements, yet, supposing it to be true, it is quite enough to justify the most severe reprobation. That any portion of the King's subjects should be compelled to perform such tasks as this, by the influence of no other motive than the dread of punishment, would scarcely have been credible on any lighter testimony than that which is before me. No distinction of sexes is alleged to have been made; and the helpless women who are said to belong to this gang seem to have partaken with the adult males in this destructive labour. If any proof of the fact were wanting, the elaborate reports made to this department by Major Moody, as commissioner of enquiry into the state of the apprenticed negroes, would sufficiently establish the conclusion, that, under a tropical sun, persons in a state of slavery, and unsupported by the hope of wages, have the most extreme indisposition to labour at all, with a craving for repose wholly unknown to the inhabitants of more temperate climates. To exact fifteen hours daily labour of such persons, in such a climate, must therefore be attended with a measure of suffering which it is painful even to contemplate at a distance.

"I am to enjoin you in the most earnest terms, that you do without delay instruct the public prosecutor to take the most effective measures for bringing Mr. Shaw to trial for the inhumanity which he has thus openly avowed, and that you report to me all the proceedings, including the evidence, on his prosecution.

"If Mr. Shaw holds any public office at the pleasure of the Crown, you will remove him from it."—p. 316.

After some further observations his Lordship thus proceeds :—

"You will immediately convene the council of Government, and cite before yourself and them, all persons capable of explaining, in the most satisfactory manner, what is the ordinary rate of labour exacted of the slaves throughout the colony, both in and out of crop-time. For this purpose you will not examine the planters or their agents merely, but you will call before you any persons who, having themselves been in a state of slavery, may be able to state the result of their own experience; and you will examine on the subject some of the most intelligent slaves themselves, taking care on the one hand to avoid whatever might occasion unnecessary excitement, and on the other hand to prevent the exercise of any undue influence on the minds of any such witnesses. The subject earnestly demands, and must receive, a thorough investigation. You will transmit a complete transcript of all the proceedings and evidence to me.

"If the slaves on a plantation are employed from six o'clock in the morning till six in the evening, with intervals of one hour for breakfast and two for dinner, totally unbroken by picking grass or any other compulsory labour whatever, the planter will have nine hours of daily labour: more than this the human constitution is unequal to bear, especially when the labourer is deprived of the moral supports by which the exertions of free men are sustained; and when his toil is to be performed between the tropics, even this reduced exertion is much more than can safely be exacted, except of persons in the full maturity of their strength. The sickly, the aged and the young, and women in a state of pregnancy, would be unequal to the habitual performance of such a daily task.

"I confidently hope to transmit to you in a short time an order of the King in Council, proceeding on these principles. In the meantime, if the law of the island be supposed to sanction a greater measure of labour, you will propose to the council the immediate enactment of a law founded on the principles which I have thus laid down. Practices such as are admitted by Mr. Shaw cannot be prolonged a single day, without involving in guilt the government by which they are tolerated, as well as the individual agents in them.

"I am not insensible to the present difficulties with which a diminution of the labour of the slaves would be attended; and I am well aware that the manufacturing and agricultural processes of a West Indian plantation cannot be conducted upon the present system, without demands on the strength of the slaves which far exceed those which a due regard for their health would prescribe. Still less am I a stranger to the unhappy distress in which the West Indian body is, and has long since been involved. But the first and paramount consideration of all, is that of justice and humanity; and the calculation of probable consequences, however formidable, cannot be placed in competition with the sacred duty of rescuing the slaves from such toils as Mr. Shaw exacted from them, by which human life must be abridged and rendered miserable as surely, though not so speedily, as by any more direct methods of destroying it."

p. 317.

The Governor in reply, on the 29th August, 1831, states:—

"I immediately commenced the investigation directed by your Lordship, which, as well as we have been able, has been carried on and brought to a conclusion. The result of this investigation ought to convince every feeling mind of the necessity of an immediate reformation in the law of this colony, respecting the working of slaves.

"In consequence of facts arising out of this investigation, which I have the honour to forward to your Lordship, I have directed the immediate prosecution of Mr. Martelli, planter and owner of La Ressource estate, and also the manager of Point estate, the former on his own confession and that of his overseer, that he worked the slaves from eighteen to twenty-four hours consecutively during crop time, in the year 1830; the latter on the evidence of the overseer and one slave of the estate, who deposed, that the slaves on that estate were worked during last crop time eighteen and twenty-four hours consecutively. These trials are directed to be immediately brought on, and the result, with the proceedings, shall be forwarded to your Lordship."—p. 323.

It is unnecessary to travel through the evidence of the thirty witnesses on this occasion. It will be sufficient to give the summing up by Lord Goderich of the whole, in his despatch of the 2d January, 1832, to the Governor. It is as follows:—

"I entirely concur with you in the view which you have taken of the results of the evidence adduced before yourself and the council upon this occasion. It is, however, unnecessary to consider what practical measures are necessary to prevent the recurrence of those abuses which this investigation has brought to light, since the hours of labour have been limited by His Majesty's Order in Council of

the 2nd November to nine hours daily. If a justification of the Order were wanting, it would be abundantly supplied by the facts substantiated on this enquiry. It is proved beyond contradiction, that for the first six or seven months of every year, the slaves work sixteen hours daily for the profit of their owners, even upon those estates which are best managed; and that on some plantations they are worked for twenty-four hours consecutively, with such intervals for rest as throughout the whole six days would scarcely average more than five hours per diem. Such a statement as this I should certainly have rejected as fabulous and wholly unworthy of credit, had it not been substantiated by the unhesitating confession of the persons by whom this excessive toil has been exacted. From June or July to December, the labours of the plantation on well-managed estates would seem to be performed by the gang in twelve hours, with two intervals of one hour and two hours for repose. To this extent His Majesty's Order in Council of the 2nd November will therefore merely give the force and sanction of law to that which is represented as the existing and general practice. The Order, however, in having peremptorily interdicted all exaction of labour before, between, or after, the prescribed hours, will have greatly outrun the practice even during the second half of the year.

"You acted with commendable decision in directing the immediate prosecution of the parties who acknowledged their having exacted eighteen and twenty-four hours' continuous labour; and I trust that the offenders will not escape the punishment so justly due to such an outrage on humanity."—p. 352.

The whole nearly of the remaining correspondence is occupied with objections to the new Order of the 2nd November, 1831, to which the planters are vehemently opposed, and with details either of their refractory resistence to its enforcement, or of disputes relative to the necessary measures subsidiary to it.

The correspondence thus closes on the part of the Secretary of State:—

"You will acquaint the persons with whom you have been in communication upon these subjects in St. Lucia, that His Majesty's Government are not only ready to listen to any representations which may be made against any measures which may be adopted by His Majesty on their advice, but that they are grateful for all suggestions tending to the improvement or correction of any such measures; that at the same time, remonstrances conveyed in terms entirely remote from the respect due to the royal authority, and connected with the avowal of illegal measures and threats of a forcible resistance to the law, can be met only by a resolute enforcement of the penalties consequent upon such conduct; that on the present occasion His Majesty has not been advised to issue any instructions of that nature, because he is willing to make the most ample allowance for the errors into which any of the inhabitants of St. Lucia may have been betrayed, by the prevailing excitement in the island; and that if the proprietary body shall acquiesce in the provisions of the law, and exert themselves to carry them into effect, you are authorised to remit the pecuniary and other penalties hitherto incurred by the violation of its enactments."—p. 381.

13. *Mauritius.*

The correspondence with this colony is all of an anterior date to any of the audacious proceedings connected with Mr. Jeremie's appointment as Procureur-General of that island, and for the denouement of which, we look with very lively interest. We postpone the whole until the official details are before us. The present communication refers almost exclusively to the subject of chains, and collars, and fetters; and were it not too serious for laughter it would be perfectly

ludicrous to contemplate the extreme difficulty which Sir George Murray and Lord Goderich, in succession, have had to induce them to put down this abomination. Sir Charles Colville, and Mr. Chief Justice Blackburn, and the other members of the council, show as much earnestness in pleading for these instruments of torture, and as much alarm at the idea of suppressing them, as if all the great interests of the community were linked with them, and depended upon them. Indeed, so interwoven with the entire system of colonial law and colonial economy had been these frightful chains, and rings, and collars, and fetters, (which Sir George Murray, when he saw them, declared, with all the indignation which deliberate cruelty could excite in a mind like his, were actually instruments of torture) that both the Governor and the Chief Justice seem to doubt whether, if chains were prohibited, the whole fabric of society would not be unhinged. The slave code must be revised *de novo*, and the colonial mind must be conciliated by degrees, and even by favours, to afford a hope that the proposal of a complete extinction of this cherished practice would be endured. We never were very ardent admirers of the gentry of the Mauritius, but we are more struck with the shrinking caution, nay, with the trepidation, shown by Sir Charles Colville and Mr. Justice Blackburn at the idea of rudely meddling with those hallowed symbols of the power of masters and mistresses, than even with any of the horrid atrocities we have heretofore recorded. These might have been proofs of individual depravity. Those indicate the moral degradation of a whole community. The gallant governor seems as if he would have preferred to encounter another Badajoz or St. Sebastian's, rather than to brave the rage, and clamour, and tumult of the ladies and gentlemen of Mauritius, if bereft of these their favourite toys. That we may not be supposed to deal unjustly with the functionaries or with the community of the Mauritius, we proceed to extract a few passages from this curious correspondence.

On the 6th July, 1831, Sir C. Colville laid before the Board of Council, consisting of himself, the Chief Justice, and the officer second in command, an Order of the King in Council of 22nd February, 1831, (see our fourth vol. No. 83, p. 331) *absolutely* prohibiting, on pain of fine or imprisonment, the use of chains, fetters, rings, and irons, as means of domestic punishment in Mauritius. The following minutes pass thereon :—

" His Excellency, in expressing his opinion that this Order should be made law in the colony *as early as circumstances will possibly admit of*, feels it at the same time to be necessary, *for the prevention of alarm*, that the promulgation of a measure contemplated with views of humanity, and correction alone of undue domestic discipline, should be preceded by a consideration of what will hereafter be the legality of the present practice, under the powers vested in the chief commissary of police by the marronage laws now in existence, of the punishment by slight flagellation, subsequent application of chains, (of weight only sufficient to prevent escape) and work in repairing and cleaning the streets, to which captured maroons or runaway slaves are now subjected, whose offences, most frequently attended by theft or robbery, cannot in many cases be met by any thing like adequate correction on their master's establishments, by their authority or any other, short of a court of justice, held in Port Louis.—p. 385.

He then suggests various expedients for obviating what he considers the formidable difficulties of the case, and appeals to the Chief Justice for advice.

"The Chief Judge, in answer to the appeal thus made to him, has expressed his opinion, 1st. That the words of the Order of Council are so general and comprehensive in their nature, that they must be construed to extend to the prohibition of the use of chains, in all cases but those which form the exceptions of the Order in Council itself, and consequently that it would be a violation of the spirit of His Majesty's Order to permit the further employment of chains, under the authority of any jurisdiction short of that of the courts of justice of the colony. 2ndly. That the transfer of jurisdiction from the police to the ordinary tribunals, in simple cases of marronage, would only be regarded as an evasion of the Order in Council, and an indirect encroachment upon its principle and spirit."—pp. 385, 386.

The Chief Justice then thinks it necessary to enter on his own defence for having been a party to the enactment on this subject which the present Order in Council was intended so peremptorily to supersede and annul; and the defence is very curious as illustrating the manners and habits of the Mauritius, and their sophisticating influence on the intelligent mind of such a man as Mr. Chief Judge Blackburn. He professes to concur with Lord Goderich in his principles; but then, he says:—

"If considerations of *policy* are to be viewed in the light of a departure from right feeling; if the temporary maintenance of existing laws, from motives which it is not always possible for those at a distance to appreciate justly, is to be construed into an approbation of their original abstract principle; if *the desire of conciliating the sometimes contradictory and opposing forces of interest and humanity* is to be looked upon as a wish to perpetuate a system of abuse, the task of the council *will become fearfully responsible.* The Chief Judge can, from his recollection, affirm that the sentiments of His Excellency and the council were far from being favourable to the use of chains as a *permanent* measure. Thinking, however, that the moment for their entire abolition was not *so convenient, in the then feverish state of the colony,* as it might have been, had the measure been accompanied by those *healing* amendments in the law, which the colony had been taught to look for from the report of His Majesty's commissioners, the council agreed with His Excellency in the expediency of retaining, as a mere temporary provision, the modified use of chains, until His Majesty's decision should be obtained upon the question, whether the ordinance should pass as an insulated enactment, or be placed alongside of other measures, from which the inhabitants of the colony might understand that *their interests* had not been overlooked? There is no reason for concealing, that it was the wish of the council to relieve the government from an appearance of *injustice,* and to avoid giving any semblance of truth to an imputation, which had been more than insinuated, that whilst, on the one hand, every law *by which the ancient prejudices of the colonists might be outraged,* and their means of subsistence rendered daily more precarious, was passed with considerable promptness; on the other hand, every measure which might have for its object the stability of their property, justice to their persons, and security to their families, was subjected to the danger and irritation of delay."—p. 386.

He subjoins to this some pointed remarks, on what he evidently deems the inconsideration and injustice of Lord Goderich.

And all this exertion of tortuous ingenuity is employed by Chief Justice Blackburn to explain why the passionate attachment of the

ladies and gentlemen of Mauritius to the chain, and the collar, and the ring, and the *bar de justice*, that lovely ornament of their *boudoirs* and *salons*, made it *expedient*, and *convenient*, and *politic* for him and the Governor to transgress a positive and peremptory injunction of the Secretary of State!!

The Governor gives, however, what he considers proof of the impossiblity of his promulgating the chain laws, though absolutely commanded to do so, that not only must the Maroon laws be first new modelled, but that great expense must be entailed on the government by the change: it would cost much more to clear out the drains and ditches of Port Louis, if there were not a body of chained blacks to clean them out. This is literally the gallant general's argument (see p. 387). Would any one believe it possible for a British officer thus to defend a breach of his orders? But this is not all. Sir C. Colville, under the perverse influence of his unreasonable prejudices, goes on to remark,

"Sensible as we may all be of the desirableness of such an eventual change gradually effected, I for one must candidly acknowledge that I see in that measure, if to be immediately and without modification introduced, much cause of alarm to the planters, if not of real danger to the colony, restricted as the former are in other modes of enforcing the good conduct of their slaves, without a militia, and with a most insufficient police."—p. 388.

Alarm to the planters too! and danger to the colony from ceasing to chain and torture men, women, and children at the pleasure of masters and mistresses! Not one word of alarm, or apprehension, or pity for the poor sufferers!

The degree in which familiarity with the abominations of slavery is apt to harden the heart, when not influenced by religious principle, or even right moral feeling, may be seen in the following sentence of the minute of Council:—

"The Right Honourable Secretary of State, in the same despatch says, 'It has been stated upon authority entitled to great respect, that, in the streets of Port Louis, the slaves who are employed as scavengers are yoked together to carts, and exhibit a very offensive and humiliating spectacle.' It undoubtedly is one, that of men employed in such dirty work, more than half naked and in chains (partial nudity being however preferable, in such a climate, to a continuance in clothes so filthied); but I have never observed them otherwise attached to the carts, than as the royal artillery are in the dragging of heavy ordnance or stores, or barge-towers, firemen, or others, employed in moving weights by manual labour. Ordinance, No. 56, of last month, will, however, show that the dragging of the scavengers' carts is now done by mules, as the filling of them would also be by others than men in chains, compelled to work, were they attainable."—p. 388.

Documents indeed are brought forward by Sir Charles, signed by John Finniss, Chief Commissioner of Police, to prove that Port Louis cannot be kept clean and sweet without gangs of men and women labouring in chains.

We cannot close this article better than by quoting a few passages of the despatch of Lord Goderich of 15th January, 1832, written after these various excuses and apologies had been submitted to him.

"I have received your despatch, dated the 17th of August last, acknowledging the receipt of His Majesty's Order in Council of the 23d February last, pro-

hibiting the use of chains and irons in the punishment of slaves under the domestic authority of the owner.

"On this subject I am bound to remark that the anxious admonitions of my predecessor in office were addressed to you in vain. Sir George Murray's despatch of the 8th May, 1829, specified to you, in terms the most emphatic, the desire of His Majesty's Government that the use of chains and irons in the domestic punishment of slaves should be prohibited by a local ordinance, the enactment of which you were directed to propose to the council of Government. A year and nine months elapsed from the date of these instructions; it still did not appear that they had ever been acted upon; His Majesty had therefore no alternative but to execute by his own authority the design which had been entrusted to your conduct. I readily acknowledge that in the government of distant dependencies, such exigencies may sometimes occur as to require and justify a considerable delay in carrying His Majesty's commands into effect; but in the present case there is no place for any such apology. You had received from Sir George Murray not a peremptory instruction, the grounds of which might be decorously assumed to have been mistaken, but a despatch containing a full exposition not only of the wishes of the Government, but of the principles upon which those wishes proceeded. It was your opinion that Sir George Murray was mistaken in his views of this question, and no man would have been more ready than himself to acknowledge and to respect your right of exercising an independent judgment upon this and every other topic; but, freedom of opinion does not necessarily imply a corresponding freedom of action. It being evident that your judgment was irreconcilably opposed to that of the ministers of the Crown, you must allow me to remark that, under such circumstances, it became your duty to yield, and theirs to assume, the undivided responsibility of the measures which they had directed you to take.

"You observe that the model proposed for your imitation was the Order of the King in Council, of 10th March, 1824, in which Order you could find no prohibition of chains and irons; the answer is, that it was neither the real nor the professed object of that Order to prevent every species of injury to which a slave might be subjected. It is silent not only respecting the use of chains and irons, but respecting the murder or the torture of slaves. Can it thence be seriously inferred that those crimes should pass with impunity? I must deliberately repeat Sir George Murray's declaration, that the rings, collars, and chains, transmitted to him by the Commissioners of Enquiry at Mauritius, cannot with truth be described as any thing short of instruments of torture. They remain in this office a visible and irrefragable argument in favour of that change in the law which my predecessor directed you to propose, but which you did not think it advisable to recommend to the council of Government."

"Divesting Mr. Blackburn's opinions of the circuitous terms in which his sense of what was due to his own station and to mine, has invested them, I understand him to complain, that in my despatch of the 27th of February, 1831, I was unjust to the council of Mauritius, and to himself as one of its most considerable members; that I was unapprised of the necessity, which their local knowledge detected, for resorting to 'temporising measures;' that to accuse them of intentionally opposing His Majesty's wishes for having yielded to this necessity, was an unmerited reproach; that I withheld from them the credit which they were entitled to demand for integrity of purpose; that the language I have adopted renders their responsibility fearful and irksome; that I have misunderstood, and therefore misrepresented their meaning, by attributing to them a wish to render the use of chains and irons, as instruments of punishment, permanent; that their real intention was merely to postpone the abolition of them until the introduction of those 'healing amendments' in the law which the inhabitants had been taught to expect; that it was a prevalent, and not an unfounded opinion in the colony, that measures outraging the feelings of the colonists and invading their property, were promptly adopted, and all beneficial

measures dangerously delayed; that to call on the council for opinions upon questions already decided, was at once to degrade them in the estimation of society, and to reduce their functions to an unmeaning ceremony, and to expose them to the risk of a reproach which it was impossible for them to obviate or foresee.

"In the spirit of frankness, of which Mr. Blackburn gives me the example, and with a plainness of language which his sense of propriety forbade him to employ, I have thus stated the accusation itself in unequivocal terms. It is no light charge, and ought not to pass without a distinct answer.

"If Mr. Blackburn will refer to the despatch on which he thus comments, he will find that I condemned the ordinance of the council, because it authorised the chaining together of women and boys at the age of fifteen, and the chaining of boys apart from each other, whatever might be their age; because it gave to the protector the power, not of mitigating, but of aggravating those punishments; because it permitted the use of two branches or iron spokes projecting from the iron neck collar, without attempting to regulate the form of the instruments which the slave was to wear; because it left the owner or manager to determine what offence would justify this punishment, and to decide in each case, how long it should be endured. It is not my wish to deny that I did regard these enactments as discreditable to those from whom they proceeded. I should rejoice to be supplied with sufficient grounds for retracting that opinion, but I regret to say that Mr. Blackburn's minute does not appear to me to furnish them. He rests the vindication of the law on the necessity which the local knowledge of the council discovered for 'temporising measures,' and refers to the irritated feelings of the white inhabitants as the ground of that necessity. Admitting that necessity may justify a temporary submission to injustice, I cannot admit that it can ever justify an active participation in it. Mr. Blackburn, I am sure, will not require me to prove that it is in the highest degree unjust that any man should have the power of placing in chains and irons of any form, and for any length of time, women and children, who upon any ground may happen to incur his displeasure. The silence which he observes on that part of the subject, may be accepted as a sufficient proof that his sagacity could discover no valid defence for such legislation; and Mr. Blackburn is not of a temper, in the absence of good arguments, to resort to the use of fallacies.

"I will not recriminate the imputation of ignorance of the state of colonial society, or of the necessity for 'temporising measures,' which the first president casts upon His Majesty's advisers on this occasion; but on that subject am content to refer to the despatch which I addressed to yourself on the 5th November last, on transmitting to you His Majesty's Order in Council of the 2nd November, 1831. In the present case, Mr. Blackburn has scarcely attempted to dispel the ignorance under which he supposes His Majesty's Government to be labouring. I understand him to mean that there existed discontents, which it would have been dangerous to enhance by a more direct prohibition of chains and irons. If so, it had been far better to have left the whole subject unnoticed, than to promulgate such an ordinance as that under consideration. If the times would not allow the enforcement of the claims of humanity and justice, it was at least unnecessary to pass a law in direct opposition to them. As to the reality of the danger, Mr. Blackburn must permit me to think that if he had been in possession of the knowledge which the records of this office supply, he would have greatly moderated his alarm. The like forebodings of mischief are the invariable precursors of every measure taken for the mitigation of slavery, and these predictions have never been uttered but to be falsified by the event.

"Mr. Blackburn is dissatisfied because credit was not given to the council for the intention which he says they entertained of abolishing the use of chains and irons, so soon as the 'healing measures' which the colony expected from His Majesty's Government should have been adopted. That I did not attribute to them any such purpose is true, for I was not aware of its existence. Had the

policy of the council been explained to me, I should in February last have expressed the opinion which I at present entertain, that it did not belong to them thus to stimulate the activity of His Majesty Government in favour of one class of the King's subjects, by the enactment of a law replete with injustice to another class; and that, leaving to those to whom it might belong, the responsibility for the delay of which complaint is made, the council should have acquitted themselves of their own duty towards the slave population."

"For the delay of which Mr. Blackburn complains, in the adoption of 'healing measures,' it belongs not to me, but to others, to account. The affairs of Mauritius engaged my most early and anxious attention, immediately on my receiving the seals of this department; and amidst a pressure of public business of unexampled urgency and importance, the affairs of that colony have been kept stedfastly in view; and such concessions have been made to the reasonable wishes of the proprietary body as will, I doubt not, at once gratify their wishes and exceed their expectations.

"I have thus given a direct answer to the remonstrance of the Chief Judge, at the expense of some time, and perhaps at the sacrifice of a privilege which, were I so disposed, I might assert, of reserving for His Majesty and the Parliament the defence of my official conduct; but I have judged it more conducive to the public welfare, and to a clear understanding with yourself of the principles by which His Majesty's Councils on this subject are guided, to waive all minor considerations of a personal kind, and thus explicitly to discuss the justice of the complaints, which, under the decorous veil of respectful language, Mr. Blackburn has preferred with feelings of dissatisfaction which it cannot have been his intention to disguise.

"You will transmit to him a copy of this despatch."—p. 395.

This despatch is, indeed, in the very highest degree honourable to the principles and feelings of the noble Secretary.

The only other point touched upon in this correspondence, is the inveterate attachment of the Governor and the community he governs, to the system of desecrating the Sabbath to secular uses, and which Lord Goderich finds it almost as difficult to shake as their unconquerable passion for chains and fetters, for the stocks and the cart-whip.

14. *Observations of West India Agents.*

The only other paper which it remains for us to notice in this most important and interesting correspondence, is the remonstrance with which it closes, addressed to Lord Goderich, on the 22nd of April, 1831, and directed against Mr. Buxton's motion of the 15th of that month, as proposed to be amended by Lord Althorp. It is signed by William Burge, agent for Jamaica; J. P. Mayers, agent for Barbadoes; A. Browne, agent for Antigua and Montserrat; W. Manning, agent for Grenada; and J. Colquhoun, agent for St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher, Nevis, and the Virgin Islands, forming an appropriate finale to the details of monstrous and unendurable oppression which fill this massy volume.

This remonstrance was intended to meet the adjourned debate on Mr. Buxton's motion. Some of its positions deserve to be recorded.

"As proofs," say these gentlemen, "of the favourable disposition of the Legislatures towards the slave population, the agents confidently refer to the melioration laws, passed as far back as in the year 1788, and up to the year 1823. Subsequently to that period, laws have been enacted, embodying the recommendations

contained in Lord Bathurst's circular letter dated 9th July, 1823, detailing the regulations of melioration contemplated by the resolutions passed on the 15th May, 1823, and in which regulations compulsory manumission was not included.

"If abstracts of these laws, under the heads specified in that letter, had been laid before Parliament, accompanied by such extracts from the correspondence of the Secretary of State, as conveyed His Majesty's approbation of them, as well as the explanations offered by the Colonial Legislatures, they would have established *the complete justification of those Legislatures*, and enabled the House of Commons to judge of the character of the melioration laws which they had enacted, and to ascertain how far they had complied with the recommendations of His Majesty.

"If the Legislatures have not in all cases adopted the suggestions proposed, they have in some gone beyond those suggestions. In those cases in which they have not complied, they have assigned their reasons. Their local experience has enabled them to ascertain in what cases the suggestions were unecessary, or inapplicable, or incompatible with the well-being of the slaves themselves, or with the safety of the colonies, or with a fair and equitable consideration of the interests of private property."—p. 396.

"No enquiry has been made, since the year 1789, into the character, disposition, and habits of the Negro population, nor any official report laid before Parliament, so as to enable the legislature or the country to form a competent judgment on the nature of the laws and regulations necessary to control and enforce labour in the slave colonies.

"Had this enquiry been instituted under the authority of the Crown, previously to the passing of the resolutions of 1823, the conduct and character of the Colonial Legislatures, and of the colonists, would have been duly appreciated by the Parliament and the people of this country, and they would have ceased to have been the objects of such unjust prejudices.

"In vain the planters in this country repeatedly petitioned parliament for enquiry, and pointed out the manner in which that enquiry might be fairly conducted. They have been condemned unheard."—p. 397.

"The agents contend, that it has been indisputably proved that the legislatures have ever shown themselves disposed to adopt in good faith every wise and prudent suggestion, from whatever source it may have originated, for promoting the civilization and meliorating the condition of the slaves in the colonies; and that they have succeeded, is abundantly proved by recorded evidence given by the bishops, clergy, naval and military officers, and other disinterested persons, who have been resident in or have visited the colonies before or since the year 1823; nor will the Legislatures yield to any persons in this country in the anxiety felt by them prudently and safely to promote the best interests of the slave population, and conscientiously to enact such laws as may tend to their good government.

"The measures adopted in this country have almost annihilated their credit, have produced a suspicious and unkind feeling from the slave towards his master, which must, at no remote period, lead to the destruction of the colonies, and perhaps to the murder or extermination of the white population.

"It has been shown how injurious such effects would be to the interests of Great Britain: the agents, therefore, most respectfully warn His Majesty's Government against the adoption of the resolutions proposed to be submitted to Parliament, and of the additional measures contemplated to be enforced in the colonies; and while they solemnly protest, on the part of the Colonial Legislatures, against their being entertained, as infringing the constitutional rights of such Colonial Legislatures, and as aggravating, if possible, the distress and difficulties experienced by the colonists, they most earnestly and anxiously entreat that His Majesty's Government will not submit these resolutions to Parliament, nor carry into effect the additional measures to which they have referred."—p. 399.

15. *Concluding Remarks.*

Here, then, we have exhibited, we trust for the last time, the mortifying result of those unceasing but unavailing efforts which, during ten long years, have been made by the Government, the Parliament, and the public, to bring the slave-holders to a sense of their obligations to God and man. Evidence, argument, recommendation, entreaty, remonstrance, reproach, and menace, have been used in turn and in vain. We are even left in painful uncertainty whether the unanswerable reasonings of successive secretaries of state, and the resistless eloquence of so many of our public men, have not been fruitless as respects the condition of the slave; nay, have not aggravated instead of mitigating his hapless lot; and whether all the mighty means which have been called into action may not have rather served to inflame the malignant passions which slavery never fails to nurture, and which the denunciations of its enemies, and the hopes and aspirations of its victims, only tend to render more obdurate and more reckless. Let Jamaica and Mauritius, to say nothing of other colonies, abundantly testify that while *we* pause and deliberate, the slave-holder, knowing that his time is short, is only more firmly grasping his scourge, and more fiercely wielding it, while he tries to rivet more securely the fetter and the chain. If he cannot avenge himself on the enemies of his lawless domination, he can at least satiate his rage on its subjects who are within his reach.—Three years ago the present Lord Chancellor of England, with the withering eloquence which is so peculiarly his own, warned the planters of their coming fate. "If, moved by no threats, scared by no auguries, deaf to all warning, and refusing every concession, they still went on contumacious, while the indignant voice of all England echoed, in accents of impatient resentment, across the Atlantic waves, the people of England would be trifled with no longer."—"Slavery, the most accursed and unnatural production of crime, and the most frightful source of human misery, which degrades the slave not more than it degrades the master;—slavery, that plant under which grows all that is noxious and detestable,—that plant under which (to use the language of the most eloquent of bards, as he was one of the wisest of men, and one of the fastest friends of freedom)

> 'All life dies, death lives, and nature breeds
> Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things;
> Abominable, unutterable, and worse
> Than fables yet have feigned or fear conceived.'

that plant under which all that grows tends to defile the earth, to pest the air, to desecrate the works of God,—my exulting hope is, that we shall succeed in tearing up and completely extirpating."—In that hope we most entirely concur, and in that hope the universal British nation concurs. Meanwhile, relying on the pledge of government for its fulfilment, we cannot but mourn over not only the months and the days, but even the hours and the minutes during which we linger to arrest the uplifted scourge, or to loosen the tightened chain.

"Let the slave then," as writes another zealous friend of our cause, "go forth, and that without delay, from the house of his bondage. For woe unto us if we wait for the plagues, and the signs, the wonders, and the war, the mighty hand, and the outstretched arm!"

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Proceedings of a Special General Meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society and its Friends, held at Exeter Hall, on Tuesday, April 2nd, 1833, the Right Honourable Lord Suffield in the Chair; containing the Substance of the Speeches delivered and the Resolutions adopted on that occasion.

This public meeting of the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause was the most imposing in its appearance, as well as the most important in its character, that has ever been assembled in England. Although the circumstances which led to its being held at this particular juncture admitted of only five days' previous announcement, yet on no former occasion has such an audience met to receive the statements of the Anti-Slavery Committee, and to declare, by their collective voice, their sentiments on this great question. The audience was not more numerous than at the two previous general meetings in the same place, simply because a larger number could not possibly find admittance. Hundreds were obliged to retire disappointed, among whom were several members of parliament, and other persons of public distinction; and, if we may judge from the extraordinary number of applications for tickets, a room of twice the capacious dimensions of Exeter Hall (which admits 3000) would scarcely have contained the multitude who eagerly pressed for admission on this occasion. But the largeness of this assembly was far from being its most remarkable characteristic. We were particularly struck by the unusually large proportion of *men*, and those almost exclusively of the more intelligent classes of society, who filled in one dense mass the principal body of the hall, and who seemed to be actuated as if by one soul, in their deep abhorrence of colonial slavery, and in their stern, yet generous determination, that that system of iniquity shall be now extinguished, whatever be the pecuniary or personal sacrifices which its extinction may involve. Nor was the appearance of the platform less remarkable. There were congregated upon it that day the most numerous assemblage of persons eminent for their political station, for their public character, or personal talent, that we recollect ever to have witnessed on any occasion of a similar character. The following, which is a list of such as we were enabled personally to recognise, may enable readers who were not present to form some idea of the character of this great meeting:—

Earls Fitzwilliam and Euston; Lords Suffield, Cavendish, Morpeth, and Milton; Hon. G. Keppel, M. P.; Hon. G. J. V. Vernon, M. P.; Hon. E. Harbord; Sir Thomas Lennard, M. P.; Sir John Byng, M. P.; T. F. Buxton, Esq., M. P.; Dr. Lushington, M. P.; W. Evans, Esq., M. P.; G. Strickland, Esq., M. P.; R. Wason, Esq., M. P.; Admiral Fleming, M. P.; W. Tooke, Esq., M. P.; Colonel Torrens, M. P.; W. Peter, Esq., M. P.; J. Wilks, Esq., M. P.; A. Sanford, Esq., M. P.; J. Parker, Esq., M. P.; J. W. Childers, Esq., M. P.; J. W. Buller, Esq., M. P.; R. Thicknesse, Esq., M. P.; J. Morrison, Esq., M. P.; J. S. Buckingham, Esq., M. P.; John Benett, Esq., M. P.; G. Williams, Esq., M. P.; R. Throckmorton, Esq., M. P.; Mr. Sheriff Humphrey, M. P.; J. Martin, Esq., M. P.; F. Palmer, Esq., M. P.; N. Lamont, Esq., M. P.; William Smith, Esq.; James Cropper, Esq., of Liverpool; Joseph John Gurney, Esq., of Norwich; Samuel Gurney, Esq.; Samuel Hoare, Esq.; E. N. Buxton, Esq.; George Stephen, Esq.; H. Pownall, Esq.; Rev. J. W. Cunningham; Rev. F. Cunningham; Rev. S. C. Wilks; Rev. Mr. Marsh; Rev. J. Burnet; Rev. J. Ivimey; Rev. J. Dyer; Rev. Dr. Cox; Rev. W. Ellis; Rev. J. Beecham; Rev. Mr. Hughes; Rev. Mr. M'Lean, of Sheffield; Josiah Conder, Esq.; Josiah Forster, Esq.; Robert Forster, Esq.; George Stacey, Esq.; Joseph Sturge, Esq., of Birmingham; H. Waymouth, Esq.; Mr. Sheriff Peek; Captain Moorsom, R. N., &c.

The following noblemen and gentlemen addressed letters to the committee, expressing in strong terms their regret for being prevented by indispensable engagements, or by absence in the country, from attending the meeting:—

Lords Dacre, Dover, Henley, and Lord William Lennox; Sir George Grey, M. P.; Sir George Philips, M. P.; Mark Philips, Esq., M. P.; W. Littleton, Esq., M. P.; W. C. Harland, Esq., M. P.; J. Pease, Esq., M. P.; W. Denison, Esq., M. P.; J. Marshall, Jun., Esq., M. P.; G. Byng, Esq., M. P.; C. Rippon, Esq., M. P.; J. D. Dundas, Esq., M. P.; C. S. W. Pelham, Esq., M. P.; J. Plumtre, Esq., M. P.; C. K. Tynte, Esq., M. P.; W. S. Trelawney, Esq., M. P.; R. Biddulph, Esq., M. P.; J. I. Briscoe, Esq., M. P.; J. L. Poulter, Esq., M. P.

On the proposition of T. F. Buxton, Esq., the Right Hon. Lord Suffield was unanimously called to the Chair, amid loud acclamations.

Lord Suffield said, that he must not omit to commence the few observations he had to make by returning his most heartfelt thanks to the audience for the very kind manner in which they had received the proposition of his friend, Mr. Buxton. Anxious as he was, at all times, to render any services by which the public good might be promoted, there was none in which he felt so happy to be employed as on the subject on which they were that day met to deliberate, and, he trusted, to resolve. The last public meeting he had attended was in that hall, and the last words which he had then uttered were a quotation from a most venerable man who then filled the chair, the late Mr. Stephen, viz.—that slavery was an evil which admitted but of one alleviation, namely, limit as to its duration, and but of one cure, namely, extinction. *(Loud applause.)* He would now begin where he had then left off, and pursue the train of reasoning which had then presented itself to his mind, but that he felt that all such reasoning would

now be out of place. The time was now gone by when it was necessary to argue upon the general question; and he should proceed to a cursory view of those events which had taken place since their last meeting, both in the colonies and at home, in reference to the subject of colonial slavery in the West Indies. He should not enter into the controversy between the Anti-Slavery Society and the West India planters: the time for arguing whether a man had a right to his own soul and body was gone by, and they were now met to act upon the principle that man had a right to both. The first thing which he would notice was the increased intelligence of the slaves. In spite of all the impediments which were opposed to their instruction by the planter, none could deny that a great improvement had taken place in the intellectual endowments of the slaves. It became necessary, therefore, to enquire whether a proportionate improvement had taken place in the intellects of their masters. Had the owners shown a corresponding advancement in civilization, by a more tender concern for the welfare of their slaves? If so, how were we to account for the vast effusion of human blood? for the want of sympathy with the feelings of Christian worshippers? for the destruction of so many chapels? for the persecution of Christian ministers? for the dislike manifested to governors who had ventured to deal even-handed justice between the slaves and their masters? Could it be said, then, that the masters had increased in civilization in proportion to their slaves? It seemed to him (Lord Suffield) that they had not; and in such proportion as they were behind their slaves they afforded provocatives to the system they were so anxious to uphold. But from this view of what had occurred in the colonies, he would turn to what had taken place at home. Two Committees of the two Houses of Parliament had been appointed; and what had been the result? Had the evidence produced diminished the desire of Englishmen for the emancipation of the slaves? On the contrary, had it not led to the choice of such representatives at the late general election as would unhesitatingly declare their determination to vote for immediate and total emancipation? *(Loud cheers.)* He would advert, also, to the declaration of His Majesty's Ministers. They had felt the force of public opinion, and had promised to produce a plan suited to the state of all parties concerned. In the House of Lords, the noble earl at the head of the administration had expressed his opinion that emancipation should take place "so soon as it could with safety be accomplished" *(cheers)*; and the noble earl (Grey) had last night repeated his words. He would ask the meeting, therefore, if they were not now on the very threshold of the accomplishment of their object? It was said that they were surrounded and beset with danger and difficulties; but he would submit whether all the danger was not on one side. The only danger was, in his opinion, in not granting the slaves immediate emancipation. The only difficulties in the way might all be removed by the people of England. But he would not trespass on their attention further: he had led them to the point on which resolutions would be moved, and he had only to entreat the assembly to listen, and to give to the various resolutions that support which they deserved. (*Applause.*)

Mr. Buxton on rising to move the first resolution, was received with loud and reiterated cheers. His noble friend who filled the chair would, he was sure, excuse him for saying not only that he had been gratified and instructed by his speech, but that he was somewhat amused by the noble lord's pertinacity—that pertinacity to which they owed so much. It appeared that the last time he (Lord Suffield) spoke at a public meeting, the last words which he uttered were, that slavery was an evil which admitted of no amelioration, except its extinction. So his lordship ended his observations in that room ten months ago, and so upon the present occasion he commenced his speech; and he (Mr. B.) doubted not that the same important truth had in the interval been urged by him in the Committee of the House of Lords, of which he formed a part, and that their present triumph arose from his lordship and other men holding forth and maintaining that just and true principle.

He would now proceed to state to that large and respectable meeting what had occurred within the last twelve months, and the exact position in which the question now stood. In order to do so he must recur to the events of last year. No doubt the meeting recollected that Government, to satisfy the planters, were compelled to submit to the appointment of a Committee of Enquiry in the House of Lords, and they no doubt recollected the dismay with which the friends of this Society received the intelligence of this appointment, as the mockery of all their hopes, as the defeat and downfal of all their high expectations; and yet, as if to prove how blind was man, as if to show, what a thousand things had already shown, that there was a special Providence which watched over, guarded, and guided their cause, and directed it by an abler hand than that of man—that same Committee, monstrous as it was—that same Committee of planters who were appointed to decide the question between the negro and the planter, and who were the parties whose cause was to be tried, and the judges to try that cause, and the witnesses to support that cause, and the advocates to plead for the continuance of the present system,—notwithstanding all those fearful odds,—yet that very Committee had, under Providence, been a most important instrument in dragging to light the horrors of colonial slavery. *(Hear.)* He knew, and he spoke it to their honour, that there were noble lords on that Committee who entered it with colonial property and with colonial prejudices, but who went out from the Committee, in the strictest sense of the term, abolitionists. *(Cheers.)*

That Committee, then, had rendered the Society a most important service; and, thanks to their noble friend in the chair, their cause never wanted a gallant defender in the Lords; and, thanks to their honourable and learned friend, Dr. Lushington (who being absent he could speak of him more freely), upon whom the chief burden in the Commons fell, notwithstanding his numerous engagements he (Mr. Buxton) could testify that they never wanted in the Commons a most able and efficient advocate. *(Cheers.)*

In reference to the late elections he might state that the people of England did most nobly bestir themselves. Where was there a contest, north, south, east, or west, in which the anti-slavery cause had not led the way, and in which it did not secure the victory or ensure the defeat of the candidate, according as he answered yes or no to the question, "Are you for the entire and immediate abolition of slavery?" An honourable friend of his mentioned to him an anecdote which placed the preponderance of the slavery question in a striking point of view. In the course of his canvass he had wandered to a village, far away from the rest of the world, cut off by surrounding hills from almost all communication with the rest of mankind; so innocent were the inhabitants of that hamlet, and so destitute of political knowledge, that in their simplicity they enquired of his friend, "Whether he was a candidate for a seat in the House of Commons or the House of Lords?" *(A laugh.)* He replied that his ambition did not extend beyond the Lower House. They then said that they were not conversant with political matters; but the plain matter of fact they all knew, and added, "We will vote for you, if you will vote for the poor suffering slaves, and we will not vote for you unless you do." *(Cheers.)*

The examinations before the Parliamentary Committees, the energy displayed by the people of England (and for which he was truly thankful), had tended greatly to advance this noble cause. But there was another set of men who had done infinitely more for its promotion than all put together: he alluded to the energy of the white inhabitants of Jamaica, who had thrown down the gauntlet, defied the power of Great Britain, and by their solemn oath had called God to witness that not a chapel should stand in the island, that no minister of religion should breathe the air, and that not one psalm-singing methodistical negro should live in that land of toleration. Thus, what with the persecution abroad, what with the energy and good spirit displayed at home, and what with the facts revealed upon oath before the Parliamentary Committee, the Anti-Slavery cause had been placed in the most prosperous condition.

He trusted the meeting would excuse him for giving a minute history of the proceedings; it was in lieu of a report, and he wished to state to the meeting the precise position in which the question now stood. *(Hear, hear.)* The first disappointment to which they were exposed was, that the subject of Colonial Slavery was not mentioned in His Majesty's speech at the opening of Parliament. He listened to that speech with close attention; but the topic which of all others he most desired to hear mentioned was not noticed. He hastened back to the House of Commons, taking counsel with no man, and gave notice of his motion; but conscious that it was their object that this great question should be, if possible, in the hands of Government and not in the hands of private individuals, he fixed a day which gave Ministers full time to deliberate and to decide on what measures they should adopt. On the following day, the question was asked of the Chancellor of the Exchequer what he intended to do upon this subject. He replied that it was already before Ministers, that the measure had made considerable progress, and that, when made known, it would be found to be both "safe and satisfactory." Gratified as they were with that intelligence, they warned the Government that no measure would be safe, so far as concerned the preservation of the Colonies from an atrocious and servile war, and that no measure would be satisfactory to the feelings of the British nation, which did not comprehend entire and immediate abolition. *(Cheers.)*

Since that time negotiations had been going on, and Government, he believed, (for he spoke not from official information,) had submitted to the West Indians a plan based upon entire and immediate emancipation. The representatives of the colonists rejected that plan *in toto*, requested Government to withdraw it and propose a better—one altogether new in principles and in details.

He would enter no farther into the subject of those negotiations; but that was the position in which the question then stood. The day was drawing nigh on which his motion was to come forward. He knew that it would not do to postpone it to an indefinite period; he knew that a multiplicity of great questions would necessarily and inevitably prevent theirs from coming forward, and he therefore insisted on a day being fixed: this was acceded to, and that day was the 23rd of April.

Rumours, however, had gone abroad which gave him great apprehension—rumours as to some half or quarter measure of emancipation being proposed. Let the meeting observe that he did not charge His Majesty's Government with having adopted, or with even having listened to those proposals, but they saw coming forth in a very questionable shape a proposal for emancipating all the children who should be born after a certain day, as if the people of England would consent to the parents remaining in perpetual bondage. *(Cheers.)* There was a proposal, he knew not on what authority it was made, but a bold proposal, that the negroes were in some shape to give a compensation for their freedom. That was language which he was sure would not be tolerated by the meeting. *(Cheers.)* He entered not into the question of compensation at that moment, but he knew full well that the negro at least owed none to any man; *(cheers;)* he knew full well that if a strict examination were to be instituted, and a debtor and creditor account drawn up between the negro and the planter, the balance would be enormously in favour of the former. But there was one rumour which had more especially given him considerable alarm. He understood that it had been whispered in the ears of His Majesty's Government that the people of England had lost much of their anxiety on this subject; *(Loud cries of "no! no!" from every part of the hall;)* that there was not the same zeal manifested as formerly; that the people of England, though they were anxious perhaps for the extinction of slavery, yet felt more anxiety about a hundred other objects, and that if the sacrifice of a shilling from their own pockets were sufficient to accomplish the object, they would not make it: such was the language that had been employed. Now he wished to know (and he had been one of the main instruments in convening the present assembly)—he wished to be assured, though he had

no doubts on the subject, what was the real fact of the case? whether the gentlemen connected with the West Indies had justly represented the feelings of the people of England, or whether he (Mr. B.) had given a more just as well as a more generous explanation of them? whether he was correct when he ventured to tell the Government, as he had done, that for the accomplishment of this object upon solid and unexceptionable principles they were ready to encounter burthens, and make sacrifices; only let them be fairly, justly, and honourably introduced. *(Immense cheering.)* He heartily thanked them for those cheers, not from any private feeling, *(reiterated cheers,)* but because it told him that he had not miscalculated nor misrepresented their feelings; but that, let the time come when, with clean hands and upon unexceptionable principles, they were called upon to decide whether they would make a sacrifice or not, it was not a tenacious grasp of dirty pelf that would prevent them from discharging their duty and paying the debt which they owed to the negro.

But let them for a moment examine whether they had not all been in error—whether slavery was in reality that kind of evil which justified and demanded any sacrifice at all—whether it was an evil of that caste, character, and order, that as men and as Christians they must abolish it at whatsoever cost, or at whatsoever danger. What was slavery? He had been told, he thought he might honestly say a thousand times, at the very lowest computation, "You do not know what slavery is." He had met gentlemen in the House of Commons who had said, "You really do not know anything at all about this matter; and the good people who meet occasionally at Exeter Hall know almost as little as yourself. if it be possible." Now it was his firm belief that these persons were right, and that neither himself nor the meeting knew almost anything about the matter. *(Hear! hear!)* There was, however, one individual present to whom he would presently advert, (for aught he knew there might be others,) who was intimately acquainted with the horrid details; but the best informed had but a very inadequate conception of what slavery was. He first brought forward his resolutions about ten years ago, and he then hated slavery most honestly; but he was willing to confess that he knew comparatively nothing about it; he had no idea that the horrors were so great as they had subsequently been proved to be; his conceptions fell far short of the reality of the case;—it had proved far worse than the worst opinion he entertained of it.

What was slavery? It was a system of lashing, scourging, torture, and cruelty. He would not enter into particulars, but let them look to the testimony of the planters themselves before the committees both of the Lords and Commons,—of Mr. Wildman, for example,—and then would any man say that it was not a system of unmitigated cruelty? But let them look to facts, one of which would place the whole subject in a clear point of view. Look to Demerara, which was only one colony out of twenty; and there, not in a length of time, but in one year, by the unexceptionable testimony of a public officer, it appeared that hundreds of thousands of lashes had been inflicted with a cruel cart whip in that single year! Was not slavery a system of murder also? He had a fact to refer to on that subject, which had always carried to his mind the strongest conviction; viz. the mortality amongst the slaves, the decrease of the population. The order of nature was inverted in the colonies; where naturally there was every thing favourable to the multiplication of human life, human life was melting away. He knew perfectly well, no man could be more conscious of it than he was, that that argument sounded weak and feeble as compared with the real nature of the case. It was an arithmetical table, it was a long dry calculation of figures, which told no tale of horror, which touched no feeling, which excited no sympathy, and presented no picture to the imagination. But if out of the 52,000 of their fellow creatures who had perished the victims of slavery during the last ten years they could trace the history of any one individual,—could see what forerun his dissolution,—could see the imploring look, the feeble and emaciated frame, the lacerated flesh, the mind prostrated, and see, what none but the eye of God could behold, the heart drenched with despair; if they could then hear the sound of

the lash urging him forward to his daily and hated toil; if they could see the consummation of the whole in the lifeless frame, which had sunk beneath such a load of complicated misery, until at last it was liberated from all its woes by the merciful hand of death; they might then perhaps understand those tables which had made so deep an impression on him—they might see what an appeal to their feelings, what a demonstration to their reason, was contained in the simple fact that in these countries the population had decreased 52,000 in the last ten years. *(Cheers.)*

Slavery was a system also rancorous against religion. *(Hear, hear.)* The meeting were well aware of the spirit of persecution which had reigned in the West India Islands. He could not, however, avoid saying that he felt heartily grateful to it, for it had been the means of placing the subject fairly before the public. *(Applause.)* They were all aware that those brave and devoted men who had been sent out to communicate the blessings of Christianity to those who of all people in the world needed them the most, had been compelled to expose themselves to the very fire of persecution. The Missionaries were ready to risk their lives in the cause in which they were engaged; but let the meeting think of the fact that their children had been torn from the mother's arms, that they had been tarred and feathered, and that the rancorous enmity cherished against the ministers of God was wreaked upon poor innocent childhood.

He had frequently said, and he had always felt, that a good Providence watched over their cause; and though it was their duty to use all proper means, yet its guidance and control was in abler hands. Now, just at the moment that it was most required, a little publication had issued from the press, which he held in his hand, and which had conveyed more information to his mind than a thousand volumes written on the subject. He adverted to a pamphlet entitled "Three Months in Jamaica, in 1832; comprising a residence of Seven Weeks on a Sugar Plantation." The author of the pamphlet was a Mr. Whiteley, who had come to London last year for the purpose of giving evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons on the Factory Bill. Mr. Whiteley then went out to the West Indies as book-keeper, with a prejudice in favour of the present system. Let it be distinctly borne in mind, that Mr. Whiteley had not gone out as an agent of the Anti-Slavery Society; so far from that being the case, he believed that there was no gentleman connected with the society, who, three weeks ago, knew that there was such a person as the author of this pamphlet in existence. Had Mr. Whiteley any personal object to gain by the publication? On the contrary, it was probably the ruin of his temporal interests. He believed Mr. Whiteley to be a highly respectable man. Mr. Sadler, chairman of the Factory Committee, gave him an excellent character.

Mr. Buxton then read some extracts from the above-mentioned pamphlet, which we consider it unnecessary to insert, on account of the very extensive circulation it has now obtained throughout the country; but we earnestly refer our readers to the work itself. After reading a few passages, Mr. Buxton declared that he was unable to proceed, in consequence of the very distressing nature of the details. A compliment paid to himself, however, he could not omit. A gang of slave convicts were in view—some of them guilty of robbery, some of rebellion, and some of a still more detestable crime, *praying* to their God! The superintendent of this convict gang (the wretchedness of which was so strikingly described by Mr. Whiteley) extending his arm, and pointing to them, said, "O, if I had but Buxton and Lushington chained in yonder gang, I would soon cure them, that would I! All would be well enough if those devils would but let us alone!" But "those devils" did not mean to let them alone!

This, continued Mr. Buxton, was a horrible picture of slavery in the West Indies; but yet it was not so bad as one which had been presented to the public of the Mauritius. But he would say one word for the planters themselves. Whose fault was it? He blamed the planters; he could not read a detail of such horrors without blaming them; but he blamed still more the parent nation which

authorised and sanctioned such a system. He thought if he were a planter that would be his defence. He should say, "The horrors of slavery are but the consequences; you are the cause; these are the natural fruits which grow upon the tree that you have planted and watered. If you will have slavery you cannot have justice; if you will have slavery you cannot have religion." It was, in point of fact, vile hypocrisy to pretend to feel for the negro if they did not determine that the system, the source of all the evil, should be abolished. He believed that the planters, and gentlemen connected with the West Indies, abhorred the system as much as he did. Did any man believe that the West Indians loved the lash for its own sake—that it was music in their ears? He (Mr. B.) believed no such thing. He believed they would be glad to get rid of the whip, and all the accompanying cruelty. If, however, they would insist upon having the work of those men to the extent they had done, they must resort to coercive measures. There were but two motives that could stimulate men to such extraordinary labour—the one was hope, the other fear—the one was wages, the other was the whip. If they permitted the continuance of a system in which no wages were paid, they had no other alternative than to employ the whip. The same observation applied to religion. He did not believe that the planters hated religion for its own sake; but they were wise enough in their generation to see that religion and their system, education and their system, could not go on together. He could wish with all his heart that the friends of this Society had exaggerated the horrors of slavery, but he did not believe that they had. He believed it was a system rancorous, necessarily rancorous, against religion,—that it was necessarily and inevitably a system streaming with human gore,—that it was a system in the nature of things destructive to human life. Such was the system six months ago; but he contemplated with feelings of deep apprehension the probable state the colonies would be in six months hence. He could not suppress the apprehensions that pervaded his mind on that subject. Justice might save them, but nothing else would. A servile war was coming on, the horrors of which no imagination could paint to the mind. He believed, as truly as he believed he was standing on that platform, that if the question were not speedily settled here, it would be settled elsewhere in a manner they would all most deeply lament.

He would now come to the more immediate business of the day. Supposing they could accomplish the first object, which was the extinction of slavery; supposing they could accomplish the second object, which was its positive extinction, without the horrors of war;—but supposing some expense was incurred in sending out a police force and so on; were they to refuse because of that insignificant outlay? Why it was ridiculous to talk about it. But supposing it were necessary to make some advances—he did not mean in the way of grant—in the way of compensation,—no man should hear him plead for compensation. (*Cheers.*) He thought that if a man had persecuted him he should not consider him entitled to compensation for it. (*Hear, hear.*) No; no compensation was due. But he would state fairly that he felt for the West Indian proprietors. He could assert it as a solemn truth, that they had bought and sold their fellow-men in defiance of the laws of God; but he was sorry to be compelled to add, that they had done so in conformity with the laws of England. He was ashamed to say it, but the planters had the sanction of the British legislature. He felt for the planters; and it would afford him the greatest pleasure, if the same event which brought freedom and happiness to the negro, also brought prosperity and happiness to the planter. He would not say that compensation was due to the planter; but they owed a compensation which gold could not pay, which all the wealth in the world could not cancel, to the negro. He would therefore press the meeting to exert themselves, and not to be scrupulous about sustaining trifling burdens, if they clearly saw that those burdens were to be borne for the sake of the negro. He was sure that if the public would come forward, and state that, upon right principles, they were ready to encounter not only slight but any

burdens, they could not render a greater service to the negro himself. (*Loud Cheers.*) He was sure they were conscious that they owed a debt to the negro which mountains of gold and silver could not pay; and unless he mistook their feelings most grievously, it was not a little dross that would prevent them from doing their duty, and discharging the debt they had incurred to that injured race. He believed the public would come forward and bear any reasonable burden as the payment of such a debt; or, to use the words of a most distinguished British classic which fully expressed his meaning, "not as the payment of a debt, not as the discharge of an obligation, but as an expression of their willingness to pay some portion of the vast debt which they owed, regretting that it was so little and that it came so late." He believed that those were the feelings of the British public; and he was desirous that the planters should see distinctly the position in which they stood.

If the present session of parliament passed over without the settlement of this question, the whole system would perish perhaps in ruinous disaster to the slaves as well as to the planters. But the whole question he trusted would be now settled; it would be put down by the cry of British indignation. Let the planters avail themselves of the present opportunity. He wished the people to speak plainly, and to say to the government, "Strike the bargain upon sound principles, doing justice to the negro, and it is not an inconsiderable expense that shall deter us from supporting you."

He would only add that there perhaps never was a time, nor a moment, at which the people of England had such an opportunity of rendering essential services to the negro as at the present. Let them inform the government that it was not money they regarded, but principle; that if their principles were preserved inviolate, they were ready to embark in the cause. He thought that if some few years hence they saw that they had averted the dreadful horrors of a servile war—if they saw slavery abolished, for which they had so long wished—if they saw fair freedom reigning in the colonies—if Christianity should spread there, and spreading should bear a compensation to the negro for all his wrongs, making an atonement, if it were possible, for all our crimes perpetrated against the negro—if, in point of fact, they should see, a few years hence, the negroes a contented, a free, a civilized, an enlightened, an industrious, a Christian people,—he did not think there was an individual who would regret that they had plainly told the government that it was not upon the score of expense that they were to be deterred from granting freedom to the slave. (*Loud and reiterated cheers.*) The motion with which he wished to conclude was this—

"That this meeting is deliberately and decidedly of opinion that the slaves of the British Colonies have an undoubted and indefeasible right to their freedom, without delay and without condition. At the same time, this meeting will cheerfully consent, when this debt of justice has been fully paid, to promote such fair measures of relief to the West Indian planters as may be deemed needful by parliament."

Mr. Joseph John Gurney said he was happy, as an humble advocate of one of the most interesting of all causes, to second the resolution which had been proposed. He believed that so far from there being a diminution of interest in the cause of negro emancipation, that if they had had a room large enough to contain 10,000 people it would have been amply filled on the present most critical occasion. He rejoiced in the diffusion of right principles on the subject of Colonial Slavery throughout the British empire. He agreed with his worthy relative in the description he had given of slavery. He was quite sure, from some attentive examination of the subject, that it was one of the most prodigious and dangerous evils which ever insinuated itself into the political condition of any country in the world. He was sure it was their duty in the first place and their interest in the second, without delay and without condition, to abolish and extinguish Colonial Slavery. (*Cheers.*) Independently of that argument which might so especially be pleaded by the mere politician in

favour of that measure, there was one grand motive to it, overpowering in its nature, irresistible in its strength, unanswerable in its features; viz. that the true prosperity of every nation depended on the conformity of its counsels to the will of God *(Cheers)*, and British Colonial Slavery stood directly and unalterably opposed to the revealed will of God. *(Hear, hear.)* The whole question was settled in two sentences. Away with their notions of expediency, away with their arguments about what might possibly be the pecuniary injury inflicted on any given set of people whatsoever. The whole question, as it related to the first grand point of the resolution, was for ever settled in the sight of the universe by the plain precept, "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you. *(Cheers.)* He rejoiced that there was now recognised by the public, and especially by the Christian community, a feeling to this effect, "That this meeting is deliberately and decidedly of opinion that the slaves of the British colonies have an undoubted and indefeasible right to their freedom, without delay and without condition." *(Cheers.)* He hoped there was not one heart so insensible, one understanding so blind, so lost in the mist of error and confusion, as to withhold a firm and immediate consent to that proposition.

He begged to say in regard to total abolition, without any condition whatsoever, that this was the right of the negro beyond all question or doubt. There was but one point upon which they could for a moment hesitate, and that related to the time when the measure should be carried into effect. It must be done as speedily as it could be effected consistently with the personal safety of the negro himself. That was a consideration obviously very fair; and, did he believe that it would be more safe for the negro and less dangerous to his real welfare, natural, moral, and spiritual, to defer the measure of emancipation, say for two years, he would at once consent to it for the negro's sake. But the more he examined the subject the more firmly was he convinced that the only measure which could save the negro from perils and woes unutterable was total and immediate abolition. *(Loud cheers.)* That was a matter not for declamation, not for violent and stormy passion?; but they were to look to the point as Christians, with a firm, cool, deliberate view of all sides of the question. He knew that there were difficulties; and when men had gone on to a great extent in a monstrous course of corruption and iniquity, it was in the very nature of things that the way back again should be beset with difficulties. *(Hear, hear.)* They never would, however, get rid of those difficulties by tampering with what might be called the branches and twigs of the system. There was but one cure, one remedy, that of cutting down the tree at its root, that it might perish for ever. *(Loud applause.)* He would ask any careful reasoner who had examined the reports of the two Committees, one of the Lords, the other of the Commons, whether there was not moral demonstration in the evidence produced before them, that there was more danger to the life and welfare of the negro in delayed than in immediate emancipation. As a proof of the truth of this assertion he would appeal to the evidence of Admiral Fleming, who had been a worthy advocate of this noble cause. He (Mr. G.) would defy any man of good sense to read the evidence of that officer and not be convinced that the only path of safety was total and immediate abolition. There was one specimen, one example, which always appeared to him to be a case fully in point. The negroes in the island of Hayti, formerly called St. Domingo, amounting to between 300,000 and 400,000 in number, in the year 1793 were emancipated by one stroke of the pen of the French Government, and no evil ensued from it; and it was his firm belief that if the debt of immutable justice was paid in full to the slave population, he would not say that there might not be some danger—he would not say that if the course of iniquity which had been so long trodden were abandoned, some evil consequences might not result; but he would say, taking it as a matter of comparison, that the danger would be found to be on the side of delay, and not on the side of total and immediate abolition.

It was plainly settled, then, that the interests of the negro himself did not de-

mand delay. He thought the mere principles of necessity brought them to that conclusion, and that it was their bounden duty as men, as Englishmen, and above all as worshippers of one God, to promote by every means they could employ, and with the greatest possible strength of their intellectual powers to insist on, the total and immediate extinction of British Colonial Slavery. *(Cheers.)* For his own part he delighted in the mighty force of mind of the British public. He confessed that he was no politician; but he was liberal enough to be delighted almost beyond measure when he saw the British public rising up by millions to proclaim their determined adherence to the cause of justice, humanity, and religion. *(Continued cheers.)*

There was another point in the resolution deeply interesting to him. He spoke the genuine feelings of his heart when he said that he deeply sympathised with the West India planters and the white inhabitants of the British Colonies. He thought they were in a most fearful and desperate condition; he thought they were slaves of a system; he thought many of them had been introduced to it, and now maintained it, not by their own choice, not by any determination of their own, not from any thirst for filthy lucre, but by birth, by education, by habit, by circumstances which they could not possibly avoid. It was therefore the bounden duty of the friends of emancipation, in any measure which might be introduced to effect that object, to guard both the persons and the property of the West India planters. *(Cheers.)* He, for one, had so little hesitation in paying his share of the expense necessarily attendant on such a measure that he was ready to subscribe his £500 for that purpose. *(Loud and reiterated cheers, and cries of "bravo.")*

It was quite clear, however, that the safety of the white inhabitants of the colonies mainly depended upon themselves. If they would act in conjunction with the friends of emancipation; if they would adopt their principles; if they would render common justice to a persecuted race, they need not fear that a hair of their heads would be touched. He should like to know if they would all rebel against him and shoot him dead on the spot if he offered them a guinea each?—and he should like to know whether a man's freedom was not more valuable to him than a guinea? If the planters would come forward and freely offer their negroes freedom, he could assure them, as he had just said, that not one hair of their heads would be touched.

But he was no enthusiast. With all his deep feelings on the subject, he was decidedly in favour of strong, ample, precautionary measures being adopted; and he hoped they would all unite heart and hand to effect this object in such a way as would secure the personal safety and the permanent peace and prosperity of all the parties concerned. No man living more abhorred what he understood to be the principle of compensation than he did, because he was quite sure that where there was a principle of radical and immutable justice, that could not in the nature of things be weighed against even mountains of gold or oceans of silver. But he besought the meeting to look at the several parts of this question with a calm and Christian eye, and he would ask them whether the Christian principle to which he had adverted, "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you," had not its fair and proper bearing on the West India planters as well as on the slaves? *(Cheers.)* He thought the planters had no claim, conceivable or imaginable, against their slaves; but he thought that the slaves had a claim on the planters, and likewise on the British public, for an amount of compensation which no man could calculate. Were he a planter, however, he should feel that he had a fair claim to a certain extent, on the condescension he would call it rather than justice, on the liberality and the kind and charitable feelings, of the British nation; because the system, odious and abominable as it was, had grown up under the sanction of British law, and had flourished with all its malignity by the understood and implied authority of the British Parliament. The Resolutions passed in the House of Commons in 1823, which recognised the horrors of slavery and the importance of doing it away, did at the same time

recognise that the nation gave its authority for the continuance of the system; and during the ten succeeding years (O worst of horrors! O deepest national guilt!) the nation had been accessory to 50,000 murders perpetrated in her colonies!

That decrease of the population was occasioned by the British nation aiding, abetting, and authorising that which was tantamount in its operation to the crime of murder. Such being the case, he thought it quite clear that the nation, as well as the slaves, had a deep interest in the abolition of slavery. Let them, then, as a nation get rid of their criminality—let them throw the burden off their shoulders—let them conform themselves to what they knew was the will of God, and to the principles of eternal justice; and then they might expect more of the favour of God and the smiles of his providence.

If the West Indians, through the government, said that the principle of the society was unanswerable; that they knew the slave had a right to his freedom; that they could not, therefore, ask for grants of money as a compensation for an act of immutable justice, but asked only that their cause might be considered favourably:—if they said that they had no claim on their slaves, but that they had a claim on the British nation, on the British Government; and asked for some financial assistance, asked that they might have a liberal loan, he would with all his heart contribute £500 towards it. *(Immense cheers.)* Under such circumstances would the meeting make no sacrifice for the abolition of slavery? Would they prefer the continuance of the most monstrous of all evils to a little reduction of the weight of the property which might belong to some of them, but which, while the country was involved in guilt, was necessarily most uncertain in its nature? He feared he should not have the courage—he was almost afraid that he should prove a coward—but he would try to submit to a West Indian flogging to get rid of slavery; and from what he had heard of that, he would not submit to it for ten thousand pounds. Let them therefore, act on Christian principles throughout. Let them, in the first place, insist on that performance of radical justice to the slave, which every one knows to be demanded by the *eternal rule of right*. Let that be stated clear as noon-day. Let the slave have his liberty, "without delay and without condition;" and when this act of justice, humanity, and religion was performed, let them deal kindly, liberally, and generously, with the West Indian planters, and their cause would be accomplished *(immense cheers)* to their own satisfaction, to the infinite advantage of the slave, to the prosperity and peace of the planter, and to the unutterable benefit of this guilty and degraded nation,—degraded, because it has so deeply involved itself in the sin of slavery! *(Loud applause.)*

The resolution was then put and unanimously adopted.

Earl Fitzwilliam, in rising to move the second resolution, was received with enthusiastic cheering. It was, said the noble earl, with the greatest satisfaction that he received the resolution with which it would be his duty to conclude, and which would express the confident hope of the meeting, that the noble and honourable persons who now filled the situation of His Majesty's ministers, would not disappoint their long entertained and well founded expectations. *(Loud cheers.)* He said long entertained and well founded expectations, because, when he looked around him, and saw the more youthful countenances of those who had succeeded him in another house of parliament, it was possible that there might not be among them those who recollected the period when his noble friend, who now filled the situation of prime minister of this country, (*Loud applause*,) moved that great act of national justice, the abolition of the trade in slaves. That noble earl had since given the most irrefragable proof that his sentiments had not changed, and that he would crown that act by a still more glorious one—by giving freedom to the slave population in the Colonial possessions of Great Britain. *(Loud cheering.)*

But while he (Earl Fitzwilliam) expressed that confident hope, his belief was, that with the firmness and with the prudence which had marked all his (Earl

Grey's) actions, he would be guided in the mode of doing it by the consideration of all those circumstances which must guide a statesman. The respected gentleman who seconded the last resolution had expressed an earnest wish that this act should be carried into effect without danger to the white inhabitants of the colonies. He agreed with him in that wish; but he went beyond him, and he would say it was necessary to do it without danger to the negro. To speak somewhat metaphysically, he might state that slavery was not a simple idea,—it was compounded of a vast number of component parts, the aggregate of which composed the hideous and deformed mass which they called colonial slavery. The idea was not a simple one, and it sometimes occurred to him that they adopted an unphilosophical mode of expressing themselves when they talked of immediate emancipation. It was obvious that when a state of society consisted of a great variety of improper elements, it might be necessary to pull them down one by one until the whole were destroyed. Whether that might now be necessary he would not pretend to say; he merely mentioned it for the purpose of calling to the mind of the meeting that this was not a simple case, and that an act of Parliament which should state that on the 1st of June next, for example, every slave in the colonies should be free, would not state accurately the relation in which those slaves should stand to those who had been their masters. These were questions complex to a degree which it would be impossible for him then to discuss.

But the respected gentleman who preceded him (Mr. Gurney) stated that he was no politician. He (Earl Fitzwilliam) did not at all agree with him in that description of himself. He must be permitted to say, that the man who employed the energies of his mind, and that a powerful and well-instructed mind, in comparing the various relations between man and man did proclaim that he was a politician. (*Applause.*) Indeed that was the only correct definition that he knew of the term politician, and the respected gentleman had proved to him that an excellent politician he was. There was one point however on which he would venture to differ a little from him, and even there perhaps the difference consisted more in words than in reality. That gentleman stated that national prosperity was inconsistent with national guilt. He was afraid that if they read the history of the world, and employed the term prosperity in its ordinary sense, the proposition could not be satisfactorily made out. If, indeed, by prosperity was meant the consciousness that each individual had, and the well-founded hope that he entertained, that he was acting in a manner agreeable to the will of his Maker, and that, therefore, in that consciousness, he should enjoy greater prosperity than those upon whom Providence had showered the external blessings of this world,—then he agreed with the sentiment, and, therefore, he would infer with him that national guilt could not produce national prosperity. But if the term were used in the ordinary sense, he was afraid that the proposition could not be perfectly sustained, and the only consolation would be that, in comparison with the other species of prosperity which he (Earl Fitzwilliam) had endeavoured to describe, external and worldly prosperity was not worth possessing. (*Hear, hear.*)

With respect to compensation, his own belief was that the hostility of the West India planters to the change in the condition of their slaves, did not arise principally from the desire for compensation, at least that was not the great moving power; and if the country were to determine against compensation, he did not think that in that sense the West Indian planter had any claim. (*Cheers.*) He believed that the planter had no claim for compensation, because he firmly believed that if the estates were cultivated by free labour they would be more valuable than they were at present. (*Cheers.*) He believed the hostility to which he had referred did not arise so much from a fear of pecuniary loss as from the fear of a change in the relation between themselves and the slaves. There was no passion in the human mind which so corrupted it as the love and the possession of power. The planters had held power in their hands till they considered themselves as scarcely belonging to the same grade in creation as those

whom they looked upon as their slaves. It was not, therefore, the loss of property, but the loss of power that they dreaded; and the meeting might depend upon it that if they were to go with a mountain of gold in one hand and an ocean of silver in the other, as it had been expressed by Mr. Gurney, they would still find hostility to their plans (*applause*): and therefore it was that he laid very little stress upon compensation. The views of the friends of emancipation were consistent with the laws of eternal justice, and they must prevail. When he looked back to the abolition of the slave trade, he had a well-founded expectation that the abolition of slavery must follow, and that at no distant period of time. (*Long continued applause.*) The noble earl concluded by moving the second resolution:

"That this meeting, in common with the public at large, looks forward with intense anxiety, though with confident hope, to the developement of the 'safe and satisfactory' plan for the abolition of slavery, which His Majesty's Ministers have declared their intention of disclosing to Parliament on the 23rd of April."

The Rev. J. W. Cunningham, in seconding the motion, said there was but one circumstance which could have tempted him to comply with the wish of the committee to address the assembly; but that request was founded on the principle that there ought to be some minister of the Church of England to stand forward in that place and attest that many of the ministers of the Church went hand and heart with the advocates of this society. This cause did not merely form a part of his notions of justice and humanity, but it was one of the great principles of that religion by which he hoped to be saved. He could not, in his own estimation, be a Christian without being an emancipator of the West Indian slaves. (*Hear, hear, and applause.*)

The noble earl, to whom they were so much indebted, had put it hypothetically rather than positively, when he said that he entertained some sort of doubt whether the emancipation of the slaves ought to be dealt out at once or gradually. He (the Rev. Mr. C.) must say that he was no enthusiast, but he thought he should be a great enthusiast if he entered that assembly, and required the immediate abolition of slavery, unless he united that proposition with another, namely, to give the West India islands such a police, such an administration of justice, such a government, and such rules of good order, as would secure the public peace, and confirm the objects of benevolence that they had in view. When his friend and relative, Mr. Buxton, talked of immediate abolition, he did not mean that they should at once set all the slaves free, and allow them to do what they pleased; but what he meant to say was, that they should be free citizens of the state, good subjects, and honest men, and diligent labourers; and if they were disposed to neglect their duties, to the best of their power they would compel them to discharge them. With regard to the question of immediate abolition, he begged to put that point in the shape of a figure. If he had inflicted upon a man accidentally or intentionally some bodily calamity, and the man were taken to an hospital, if he went there with a cure what would he do? First cure his leg, then his arm, doctor his back, and then administer to his shoulder? Nothing of the kind; in such a case he would apply the remedy generally and effectually: he would raise him from his bed and take care to give him good clothing and good food. That was his notion of immediate and total abolition. He would put the point in another way. Suppose he looked upon a poor creature innocently imprisoned in Newgate. Would he go to the man and let out one arm or one leg? Would he say to the man, "Just come half way out to-day, and half way out to-morrow?" No; feeling the man to be unjustly imprisoned, he would open the doors and let the oppressed go free; but he would take care that there should be no indulgence of resentment. He was sure that was a just picture of the case of the slaves; but when they were liberated care should be taken that they did no mischief. There was a plain and palpable duty with regard to immediate emancipation. Set the slaves free; let not an instant pass without breaking the chain off every neck, arm, shoulder, and leg, and set them free as the ocean that rolled around them, and the winds that blew over their

heads: set them as free as God meant them to be. (*Cheers.*) But while they were set free, let us take care that society did not suffer from the degradation and corruption of mind which we ourselves had inflicted upon them. (*Cheers.*)

In reference to the resolution, he would ask, ought they not to look forward with intense anxiety? When he considered, as they had been told by Mr. Gurney, that the favour of God was at stake upon the question, how could he (the Rev. Mr. C.) help looking to the point without anxiety? Then they had been told by Mr. Buxton, that if they went to the facts of the case, it was impossible not to be anxious, especially when they reflected upon the perilous situation of the white population of the country. He had that morning conversed with an individual who knew more of the West Indies than any person perhaps in this country; and he was informed by that gentleman that it was his conviction that, if the question were not settled within six months, the West India islands would be drenched with blood. It was enough to make a man's blood run cold, to think of the cruelty practised in those islands. He had read a few pages of the pamphlet to which Mr. Buxton had referred, and he confessed that it completely unnerved him. [The rev. gentleman then read an extract from Mr. Whiteley's pamphlet relative to the punishment of a driver, which was received with a general exclamation of indignant feeling by the meeting.] He would put it to their common sense, whether it was conceivable that such a state of things could continue!

The motion, however, also adverted to a confident hope entertained. He remembered Mr. Whitbread saying in the House of Commons some years ago, that there were certain men in the world who might be called good hopers (*a laugh*); and he (the Rev. Mr. C.) was heartily glad that the Committee of this Society were able to entertain so many good hopes. He was, however, himself far from being without hope, and he founded that in part upon the conduct and character of His Majesty's ministers. (*Cheers.*) He placed his hopes where Earl Fitzwilliam had done—in the manly integrity, consistent firmness, and enlarged benevolence of Lord Grey, and of those persons with whom his lordship was associated. (*Immense cheers.*) They had given proof to the country that they were just, true, and honest men. He would not enter upon the question whether they were right or wrong, but they had at least given evidence that they were not afraid to carry into effect the principles they had adopted. (*Loud and continued cheering.*) While he calculated a little upon their talents and a little upon their principles, he also calculated a good deal upon their fears; because he was persuaded that unless they remembered what they owed to God and to their country,—unless they remembered how essential it was that the ministers of a free country should have the voice of public opinion with them, which next to the blessing of God was the great buttress upon which their popularity rested, they might depend upon it, down they would go. (*Cheers.*) It was not bills for church reform, or parliamentary reform, or any other species of reform, that would save them, if they forfeited the blessing of God, and disregarded the prayers, the sympathies, and the best wishes of the true-hearted people of England. (*Cheers.*)

The resolution spoke of a "safe and satisfactory plan." With regard to safety, he concurred with what had been advanced by Lord Suffield, viz.—that the danger was all on one side; because if the present system were adhered to, they would act in direct opposition to the revealed will of God; and where was a country safe that dared oppose its puny arm to the power and will of Omnipotence? Safety consisted in doing right, and ruin in this country as in every other would follow doing wrong. (*Loud applause.*) That was not only the principle of Scripture, where all good principles were to be sought, but it was the principle of the immortal poet—

> "What thou dost, do well,
> And leave the rest to heaven."

Let the meeting do their duty, and leave the consequences to the care of the Almighty. The rev. gentleman concluded by an energetic appeal to the meet-

ing for subscriptions to meet any expenses that might be incurred in the attainment of the grand object in view.

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

Lord Morpeth rose and said, that although he must assume to himself the credit of having long felt warmly in the cause which had brought together that great assembly, and of having, at the proper time and place, acted accordingly; he had never before, except in his own county, where he felt there might be a specific claim upon his services, allowed himself the enjoyment of being present at any of the general meetings of the Anti-Slavery Society. That did not arise from any want of sympathy in the grand and righteous object they had in view, nor from any want of deference or respect for the many eminent and exalted persons who were in the practice of coming forward on such occasions; but still he felt that where he might be called upon to pronounce and to decide as a legislator, and, therefore, in some degree as a judge, it was well to avoid even the appearance of acting as a partizan. Such a consideration, however, yielded to the urgency of a crisis, *(loud cheering,)* and he believed he was not wrong in using that term. *(Hear, hear.)* It was generally acknowledged that they touched upon at least an attempt to settle this momentous question. Well, then, while the adjustment was thus trembling on its balance,—while exertions correspondent to the occasion were necessarily being made on the other side,—while communications inevitable perhaps from the position of the parties, but to which the friends of emancipation had no access, were being carried on,—if he wished to be true to the great principle that he had at heart, to the mighty interests that were at stake,—if he wished especially to discharge what was due to that great body of electors in this kingdom who had placed him in a seat once held by Mr. Wilberforce, *(loud applause,)* (their reception of that name bespoke the homage due to it) *(cheers)*—a seat since conferred upon Lord Brougham *(cheers)*; aye and in strong dependence upon this coming hour, he thought he could not shrink from joining in the clear and emphatic declaration which England was now ready to send forth, that within the range of her dominions slavery must henceforth cease. *(Applause.)* It was hardly necessary to guard against a surmise which it was just possible might arise. However, he would in one word allude to it. He was bound to His Majesty's government, not only by his sympathy with them upon questions of general policy, and by his attachments to their persons and character,—and by his hope that on this question especially they would realize the fond expectations of their adherents,—but also by the closest and nearest ties of blood. *(Applause.)* But it must be understood that he stood here and spoke thus without either their sanction or their privity. He spoke merely for himself and for those he represented in the council of the nation.

It would be found that, as in every case which affected the great primitive laws of truth and right, extended enquiry and enlarged knowledge only stamped with more vivid force the original impulses of nature and inspirations of conscience. Slavery in itself was a hateful and a deadly system: this was the cry of nature. Slavery was to its victims a state of bodily suffering and mental darkness, to its administrators a state of impaired morality and temporal loss. This was the testimony of fact. *(Hear, hear, and applause.)* Let them not, however, be suspected of a want of due tenderness to the circumstances of embarrassment and distress which have recently involved a large proportion of West Indian proprietors. That and other kindred topics might form a proper subject for the subsequent and separate consideration of the government. All that the friends of the Society would say to the colonists was this,—You shall not, either in the tenacious hold of your property, as may be natural, or in the convulsive grasp of your distress, as may be inevitable, you shall not be permitted to clench the chain, or to gag the gospel. *(Loud applause.)* The Word of God was bequeathed to all nations; religious liberty is the boast, the practice, and the law of England, *(loud applause,)* but the boast was reversed, the practice was inverted, and the law was trampled on, by the Colonial Assemblies and political

Church Unions. *(Cheers.)* Let not, however, the contest be carried on with an exhibition of unnecessary acrimony; let not the triumph be marked by vindictive exultation; let the work of heaven be done in the spirit of heaven. Even when they had laid the foul monster low, let them remember at whose altar they bound the sacrifice; and even in the first thrill of pride and joy, let them be careful to preserve that frame and tone of mind which must be most acceptable to Him, whose service, after all they had done or could do, alone was perfect freedom. *(Loud and reiterated applause.)*

Far, however, be it from him to wish to check any adequate effort, or to damp the consequent delight. He felt the prospect to be most exciting and most invigorating; and he might ask them, was the day indeed not distant when the note which rang through that assembly, comprising in the centre of their vast metropolis so much of the station, the intelligence, the softness, and the virtue of England, should be echoed beyond the wide Atlantic in shouts of gratitude and songs of praise? *(Cheers.)* Was the day indeed not distant, when those beauteous isles and summer seas, which the God of nature seemed to have decked out with richer and rarer beauties than almost all the rest of this world's workmanship—and to have fitted for the abodes of innocence, peace, and mirth, but which for upwards of two centuries Englishmen had stained with tears, and guilt, and misery, and blood,—should resound to the cheerful hum of free and honourable labour, to the busy interchange of independent industry, to the unchecked shout of rational gladness, and to the lowly hymn of calm thanksgiving? *(Immense applause.)* He begged to use words more worthy of such a prospect than his own; the words of a living poet, who felt as warmly on that subject as he wrote powerfully—Mr. Montgomery:—

> "Muse, take the harp of prophecy: Behold!
> The glories of a brighter age unfold:
> Friends of the outcast! view the accomplished plan,
> The Negro towering to the height of man:
> While Justice, leagued with Mercy, from above,
> Shall reign in all the liberty of love;
> And the sweet shores beneath the balmy west
> Again shall be the Islands of the Blest."—*(Loud cheers.)*

Well, then, if they would put themselves in the way of realizing (for such results unhappily could not be expected to arrive in a day) that prospect; and if they would avoid all that the other side of the canvass presented to them—not only the actual, inherent deformity of slavery, but the impending and increasing perils which every hour's continuance in its unblest path seemed to portend; now was the time to come forward, now was the time to speak, now was the time to show what those feelings were which beat and burned at the core of England's bosom. *(Loud applause.)* He knew that upon such a question it was wrong even to feel patriotic selfishness; but he confessed that he did feel somewhat of a jealousy for his own country, that she should have the priority in the glorious office of expunging the name of slavery from her code, and the hated presence of slavery from all the places under her sway. *(Immense applause.)* They would all feel a deeper dread if the settlement of this question were to be transferred from their own high, and calm, and sovereign mediation, to the wild retribution of those who had been its victims, to be worked out by them amid every form and shape of horror. He had only further to say that, common as he felt assured all their sympathies were for the Negro, common as their aspirations were for the honour and glory of their country, so common be their prayers to the Almighty, that he would allow, direct, and hallow their weak but sincere endeavours to break off the chains and to wipe away the tears of mankind. *(Immense cheering.)* The noble lord concluded by moving—

"That, being deliberately convinced that immediate and complete emancipation (as explained in a paper already issued by the Society) is not only clearly

demanded by the solemn obligations of religion and justice, but is also most consistent with sound policy, and will best promote the prosperity of the slave colonies and the safety of all parties, this meeting strongly deprecates any partial, or imperfect, or protracted plan, as likely to fail in its object, and to prove highly mischievous in its results."

Mr. G. Strickland, M. P., said that it had been remarked, and it excited great astonishment in his mind, that His Majesty's present government were under a most extraordinary delusion, namely, that the people of England had ceased to take that interest which they formerly did in this great and vitally important question—that there was a re-action and an apathy among the people of England. So far from that being the case, he believed that when engaged in his canvass for the West Riding of Yorkshire, if it had not been known that he had long been a strenuous and uncompromising friend to this cause, he should not have procured a single vote. (*Cheers.*) The topic which took precedence of all others at the last election was the immediate abolition of slavery. It was in vain any longer to think of gradual emancipation; that had been spoken of for the last thirty years, and he could not find that one step had been taken, so gradual had it been; (*cheers and laughter;*) he could not find that the slaves were put upon a par with Englishmen in one single instance; that they were more mercifully treated; or that more pains were taken than formerly to teach them their duty towards God. That being the case, how could they talk any longer about gradual emancipation? The English government had for years been exerting itself to induce the colonial legislature to aid them in ameliorating the situation of that part of their poor fellow-creatures, but not one step had been taken; and he believed that at the present time the slaves were even in a worse situation than they ever were before. Unless the people of England united their energies and insisted on emancipation, the friends of this noble cause would be trifled with for thirty years more. He had presented many petitions on the subject to the House of Commons, and he had been much struck with many he had presented of late, in which the petitioners demanded that the House would be pleased to enact that man should hold no property in man. It appeared to him that that question was settled six and twenty years ago, when it was declared by act of parliament that no British subject should buy his fellow-creatures on the shores of Africa and convey them away. It was a matter of disappointment to him that a principle so strictly laid down had not produced better fruits than it had yielded. The British public then must tell the British legislature that the slaves must no longer be left to the Colonial Assembly, but they must legislate for them themselves. (*Cheers.*)

He was firmly persuaded, however, that the time was near at hand when the chains would be broken off the arms of the slave. Pledged as ministers were to carry that measure, they could not retain their seats many months longer if they did not take up the question, and show that they were determined immediately to commence the great work of emancipation. His chief confidence, however, after all, was in the union of the people of England.

The resolution was then put and carried.

The Rev. John Burnet rose to move,

"That petitions, founded on the foregoing resolutions, be presented to both Houses of Parliament."

Much as the meeting had been delighted with the principles that had been submitted to them by the noblemen and gentlemen who had preceded him, it would be in vain unless these principles were followed up by petitions. The resolution, therefore, which he held in his hand, was the business part of that meeting, the means by which the cheering they had heard, by which the principles of liberty announced, might be carried to the bar of the legislature; and unless those sentiments were thus embodied in petitions, and carried to the bar of the legislature of the country, the statements that had been made would be altogether foreign from the grand object which they all had in view. After all, it was to the people

of England that they must look for the successful issue of their labours. Many of the counties, towns, cities, and boroughs of England, had acted nobly on a late occasion; and, as they had heard from the noble mover, and the gentleman who seconded the last resolution, the people of Yorkshire had given an example which it was the duty of every Englishman to follow. (*Cheers.*) But let it be remembered, that if noblemen and gentlemen were elected and returned by the spirit of an enlightened, and liberal, and generous constituency, they now required the aid of those who returned them to support them at the bar of parliament. After all that had been done, would they now leave them to grapple with the subject without aiding them by their voice? (*Applause.*) It was dishonest thus to treat them, and they were not called upon to act unless they were supported. It was not in human nature that they would act unless they were so supported, and therefore it was that he would press upon the meeting the resolution he held in his hand.

It was pleasing to reflect that they were not now met together for the purpose of discussing whether slavery was to be eternal. That was once the question, but every man now allowed that that point was decided, and that slavery must be abolished. The only enquiry now was, as to the mode in which that work should be accomplished. If they asked what slavery was, he would adopt the sentiment of the noble earl who had preceded him (Earl Fitzwilliam), and say that slavery was a compound idea. On analyzing the component parts he would say, it consisted not merely in cruelty inflicted by the planter—not merely in the chains worn by the slave—not merely in the connexion between the individuals who had been carried from their homes and the man who carried them—but it consisted in the tardiness with which the question of freedom had been handled, in the temper of past parliaments, and the tampering of past administrations. (*Cheers.*) It was in these things that slavery consisted, and these were essential component parts of the nefarious system. Let the people of England now retrieve themselves from the ruin that was coming upon the colonies, as the consequence of such a degrading system, and come forward with all the confidence belonging to a people free themselves, and give to others the boon which they so richly enjoyed. (*Cheers.*)

He not only pressed the duty of petitioning, in consequence of the tardiness with which they had hitherto treated this question, and in consequence of the important aid that might be furnished to the representatives by petitions, but because the slaves were dying. They had been told, year after year, that tens of thousands of the negro population were expiring under the influence of the murderous machinery; and would they refuse to come forward and petition that the career of blood and desolation might be arrested? But they must not only petition because the slaves were dying, they must petition because it was dangerous any longer to delay. (*Hear, hear.*) It was true the West Indian proprietors would say, let them alone, and the danger would die away. In the report they presented to the Assembly of Jamaica after the rebellion (as it was always designated, but he would rather say after the warning that had been given of coming danger), it was stated that the interference of the British government, and amongst other things the meetings and proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Society, were the primary cause of that revolution. He agreed with them; he had no hesitation in holding out the hand of acquiescence; but it was in vain for the West Indians to look for safety to the suppression of that interference. The moment that a public man should make the proposition that the machinery which had been put in action for the annihilation of slavery should be destroyed, he would fall never to rise again. (*Loud cheers.*) It had sometimes occurred to him as a doubt, whether they should seek for the emancipation of the slaves; whether, in fact, the chains were not so worn, that before they could get even the measure they were seeking, they would snap of themselves. (*Loud and continued cheers.*)

The rev. gentleman then referred to the occurrences which took place at St. Domingo, and the ineffectual efforts which Napoleon made to reduce the negro

population, after six years' liberty, to their former bondage. St. Domingo was not far from Jamaica, and the beacon burned with sufficient brilliancy to illumine the waters that divided the one place from the other, and to tell the men of Jamaica what could be done, when the spirit that goaded them to desperation had to struggle with freedom or with death. Great and mighty France was compelled to declare the independency of St. Domingo; and, therefore, let it not be said that the slaves in the British colonies were to be treated as individuals incapable of a high assertion of their rights. He would petition in order to prevent such a catastrophe as that, and because they owed a debt to the negro of long standing, which it was their duty now, in the most summary form, to discharge. (*Cheers.*)

He had heard a great deal that day about money and so forth, more than he liked, connected with the support of the West Indian body. They never would be conciliated; they never were; there was no feeling of conciliation about them. No; they would struggle to the last; (*Cheers*;) no money would silence their loud complaints, or soften their feelings, or subdue their murmurings; and therefore there was no hope of conciliating them. But why did he make those remarks? that the opinion of that meeting might be distinctly understood by the country, for the country was looking to it as its model, and its prompter, in order to follow up the example which should here be set. There was a fearful responsibility resting upon this meeting, and there should be nothing about it of an ambiguous or vague character, or any acknowledgment of compensation, or that they would yield for one single moment to the idea that they would purchase the slaves instead of securing their freedom. (*Cheers.*) That was not the spirit of the country, and he wished it to be known that such was not the spirit of this meeting. (*Cheers.*) The interests of the West India body were, of course, as worthy of their attention as any other, and if any commercial interest was sinking, of course, as friends to their country, they were bound to come forward and extend their help, not merely out of pity to the parties afflicted, but for the general weal. Let it be distinctly understood, however, that it was the opinion of the meeting, that beyond that, they did not owe the West Indians any thing. (*Loud cheers.*) He felt that the slaves were entitled to compensation, but certainly not the West Indians: there was no wish whatever to injure the latter, but we owed them nothing in the way of remuneration, except indeed it might be remuneration in kind, which doubtless they would not be disposed to accept. (*Laughter and applause.*) There was no danger to be apprehended by the West Indians; they would get what justice they required, though they would not give it, and justice ought to be the only principle upon which this question should be settled. But if the West Indians were really to be overthrown, he thought for their own interest they should rather choose to be overthrown by this Society than by the slaves.

Upon these grounds he urged the adoption of the petition, which would be ready for signature after the meeting. It was an echo of the resolutions which they had now unanimously adopted, and, therefore, they would not object to it. He trusted it would be numerously signed by them; and he should like to see their example followed by all the country. He should further like to see every member of Parliament informed by his constituents of their views and feelings; and he should like every member to be told he must be in his place at the great contest. (*Cheers.*) He should like every member to be told not to be sick at the great contest. (*Cheers.*) He should like every member to be told not to profess ignorance of the views of his constituents at the great contest; and that he must not say, really it was a new thing to him, and that he did not understand the question. He should like every member to be told not to come back again if he did not behave himself well at the great contest. (*Loud and continued cheering.*) He should like every member to be present at this meeting, to see how deeply it was imbued with the feeling that it was not only his duty but his interest to take the part of freedom

and justice, and that upon this occasion they should not have a division upon the question. (*Hear, and cheers.*) He did not mean that members should be drilled into the sentiments of their constituents, but if they differed upon this grand question, let them announce their sentiments, and afterwards let them take the fruit of their labours, which he thought he could anticipate. (*Hear.*) But let it not be supposed that this measure could go on as it had gone on—just touched, its corners looked at—its phases, circles, and angles, and lines, learned, copied, and carried away, but nothing done after so many accurate surveys. (*Applause.*) The time was come when they had an enlightened administration, as it had been designated, and he hoped it would ever deserve that designation (*Hear, hear,*)—the time was come when an enlightened administration stepped into the closet of the King, and the time was come when we had got a King disposed to listen to such an administration. (*Loud cheers.*) The time was come when we had got a new constituency, and a new parliament,—and, if they did not sweep away the nuisance of this abominable system, we must get another. (*Loud cheers.*)

He called upon them to watch this cause with all the anxiety that patriotism, and benevolence, and religion, could dictate. Let them look after it; watch it when it passed the threshold of the legislature, and listen to the fate it would receive from the nation's council. If it should be found unsatisfactory, and that it was only like casting a brand into the system, making the flame but burn fiercer, let them come here again, and with a voice louder than any they had now uttered, with sentiments stronger than any they had now heard, and with complaints more emphatic than any they had ever made—let them tell the men who had betrayed their confidence that they would trust them no more for ever. (*Cheers.*)

Mr. Pownall seconded the motion and read the petition. He felt impressed with the momentous importance of the present moment. They had, indeed, often held assemblies in that hall for great and unspeakably important objects: they had had their missionary meetings, their Bible meetings, and meetings of various kinds, for the bodily wants and the spiritual benefit of men, but at no period under such deeply interesting circumstances as the present. It had often been said, there was no moment in a campaign so awful as the suspended moment between the meeting of two contending parties and the first sound that told the battle had begun. Such was the character of this meeting; for here he beheld delegates from almost every community in the land; here were Christian ministers of every denomination, and individuals who felt an interest in the welfare of the state; and now was the awful preparatory pause. They came as the advocates of the negro's claims; not asking pity, but demanding justice for the negro—justice between man and man. They came to ask the restoration of the degraded negro to his rank as a human being; to protest against man holding any right in the person, property, and faculties of man, and that the negro should be recognised as a British subject, entitled to all the immunities of a subject. (*Cheers.*)

It was important to discriminate between the principles of relief and compensation. He was quite prepared to go any lengths, as far as Mr. Gurney or any other friend, when justice had been done to the negro; but he could not allow the rights of the negro to be suspended in the balance while they were discussing the amount of compensation. (*Hear.*) Let the negro first be declared free; let Parliament take up the question, not as a question between the West Indians and the slaves, but between the slaves and the mother country. She had participated in the guilty transaction, but the negro had been no party to it, and he should not be a party to compensation. (*Hear, hear.*) He had a right in his own person as a man, a father, a husband, and above all as an accountable being before his God; and no man should dare to step in and intercept the suppliant before the throne of grace. Englishmen had indeed been guilty as a nation, and wofully negligent of their duties, but let them not entail

any portion of the consequences upon their fellow-creatures, while they were discussing the question of compensation with the West India planters. He begged it might be distinctly understood, and he hoped it would go to every association throughout the land, that indemnification was not proposed as the purchase of man, or that they recognised the principle that a man could have a property in his fellow-creature. Such a principle had never been contemplated by any individual belonging to this Society, and never could be entertained. (*Cheers.*) He felt persuaded that the country would sustain the position taken by the Society,—convinced that it was much better to go on as they had done than to recognise a wrong principle; for if they once admitted that man was property, and could be bought, what would be the course of other nations who held men in bondage? Would they not point in scorn to England? He therefore besought this assembly, he called upon the ministers of religion, upon the legislators of the nation, to stand forward, and to uphold the principles of justice. He called upon every man to take his standing in society and to demand the extinction of slavery; and he called upon the West Indian body, saying to them, "If we injure you by the accomplishment of a great act of justice to our long-injured fellow men, and you can make out a good case, we are ready to give you also a righteous judgment, as well as to give liberty to the slave." (*Cheers.*)

Mr. George Stephen came forward at the request of his hon. friend, Mr. Buxton, to offer a few words on the proposed petition. When he recollected one painful event that had occurred since he last appeared on that platform, and by whom the chair was then filled, he should have consulted his own feelings better by remaining silent on this occasion; but he felt that if those around him desired that the influence of his opinion, such as it was, should be added to that of those which had been already given, no personal considerations ought to keep him silent. If it was inferred by any expression that might have been that day used, that compensation was conceded, it was unquestionably an error. To satisfy those who honoured him by their confidence, he would undertake to say, that compensation had never once entered the head of any of those gentlemen around him by whom these resolutions had been concocted; not a penny of compensation would they give. The very idea was scouted by every true Anti-Slavery man. Compensation? no, they would not become the buyers of human flesh—nor the mortgagees of cart-whips! but, while he thus declared his own opinion, and those of the Society, to be opposed to all compensation, (*Hear, hear,*) and had thus, he hoped, satisfied the reverend gentleman who attended there from Sheffield, he, who had been stigmatized as an ultra-abolitionist, as a wild enthusiast in the cause, would declare his hope that this measure, which would, which *shall* be carried, (*Loud cheers,*) would not in its operation work injury to the West India body. If it should have that effect, he would cheerfully be one among the first to advocate their case, when injury was proved to have resulted; but then they must come forward, as we had done, as petitioners for relief; they must follow the example which the abolitionists had set them—they must petition and petition, and, if their cause was just, doubtless their petitions would meet with the same reception as our own; they would, as we shall do, triumphantly succeed. (*Long cheers.*) One observation had fallen from the noble lord upon his left (Lord Morpeth); it was the only one in his impressive speech that had given him regret. He had disclaimed being the organ of expressing the sentiments of his political friends. Would that he had been their mouth-piece on this occasion! would that they had spoken to them in a voice so eloquent and just! But, although the noble lord did not address the meeting in that character, no doubt the object of that meeting was directly or indirectly to give to His Majesty's Government an answer to the important question, "What is that measure which the country will consider to be safe and satisfactory? to what have we pledged ourselves, by our adoption of those terms?"—and to that question they must give an answer on behalf of the country, and such as the country would echo back. That meeting must set an example to the country. It was undoubtedly a matter of

paramount importance to prevent any misconstruction, and that the feeling at head-quarters might not be mistaken. He confessed that he was surprised that such a question should be addressed to them, directly or indirectly, by that administration, to whom they indeed owed a heavy debt of gratitude for having passed a measure of reform, ample, unqualified, and complete. (*Loud cheering.*) Did they doubt whether that measure was satisfactory and safe? and why should they on this occasion hesitate to act with equal liberality and firmness? (*Cheering continued.*) Why should they, when the reform of the most horrible of all abuses was the question, feel it necessary to put the question, "What is safe and satisfactory?" But if a doubt remained on the point of safety, he would refer them to the evidence taken before that Committee where their noble chairman had taken so active a part; one passage in that evidence set the question at rest for ever. Let it be remembered that the poor unhappy negroes were flogged and executed without mercy, during the late insurrection in Jamaica; that they were subjected to all the severities of martial law and military tribunals; and yet, defenceless, and almost unarmed, they maintained the unequal conflict for three months, steadily resisting their valiant persecutors—and then, when led out to ignominious execution, they died, to use the very words of the witness, "glorying in their death!" (*Loud cheering.*) Yes, they gloried in their death! (*Cheering continued.*) Is there no scion of the illustrious house of Russell present to tell us the peril of persecuting to the death those who become cheerful martyrs to the cause of liberty? (*Cheering.*) But he would quote one more passage from that evidence which confirmed his views. Another witness emphatically declared, "You attach too much importance to the proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Society, or of the West India body. These parties may do what they will: your lordships may do what you will" (and I wish they all had discharged their solemn duty with the energy of your lordship;) (*Loud cheering;*) "but the cause of liberty will advance—nothing can retard it." (*Cheers continued.*) He would offer but one remark on the word "satisfactory." If Government really desired to know what was satisfactory, he could tell them that that measure would only give satisfaction which should wash every stain of blood from the poor negro's skirt, (*cheers,*) which should sever the last link of that chain which manacled his limbs, (*loud cheers,*) and which, above all, should leave him the full, unqualified enjoyment of that dearest of all rights possessed by Englishmen—the right of worshipping at the altars of his God, when, and where, and as his own conscience should prescribe. (*Cheering continued.*)

The motion was then put and carried.

Lord Milton having, in brief but appropriate terms, proposed the thanks of the meeting to the noble chairman,

Mr. Wm. Smith seconded the motion, and eulogized the zeal and laborious exertion of the noble lord, and the manner in which he had followed up the arduous and somewhat disagreeable employment to which he had dedicated his time and health, and from which so much good had been elicited. He congratulated the assembly upon their numbers,—it was the most numerous meeting that he had yet seen in this hall; and he hoped that from this day they might regard the question as virtually settled.

Dr. Lushington stepped forward, and was received with repeated cheers. He said he was not sorry it had fallen to his lot to address a few words to the meeting, on the particular question of thanks to the noble chairman, because perhaps there were few present, or elsewhere, who had had the honour of so long an acquaintance with his lordship, or a better opportunity of duly estimating the value of his services in the great cause which they were met to advocate. His lordship's task in the House of Lords was not to deliver his sentiments to a willing audience; he was not carried on over the difficulties which crossed his path, and the torrents which opposed his progress, by force of popular opinion, and the sentiments of the nation sounding loud in unison with his own; but he had long stood utterly unsupported, to encounter not merely the opposition of those noble

lords who had an interest in the question of the manumission of the slaves and the abolition of slavery; he had not merely to contend against their opposition; (*hear;*) he had not merely to hoist the standard of truth against the fallacies and sophistry of his opponents, but also against that which the boldest heart and the greatest mind had frequently quailed under—ridicule and scorn. (*Cheers.*) Under this most fearful of all ordeals, the noble lord had firmly discharged his duty and produced that evidence which had opened the public eye. (*Cheers.*)

He (Dr. L.) took the liberty of saying, that if he had appeared backward in coming forward to address them on this occasion, it was assuredly not from any lukewarmness in this cause. (*Cheers.*) He was proud to hear those that day, who could not have come forward in earlier days; he alluded more particularly to his noble friend on the right (Lord Morpeth) and the noble Lord Milton; and he could not but think with those friends of noble birth, with the justice of the cause, and with the people to back them, that success—which they had so long looked for and expected in vain, almost with doubting minds, but with deep and silent anxiety—that success must be near at hand. He had said to himself, how can that administration, composed of men of liberal principles, men to whom he was politically attached, hesitate to bring this question to a happy issue? Dared Lord Althorp state to the House of Commons that he would bring forward a safe and satisfactory measure unless that measure were emancipation itself? (*Cheers.*) He believed that that declaration could not and would not be retracted; he could not think so meanly of Ministers, nor talk so despairingly of the cause, and he would say, if the people would stand by them, they would be able to mow down every difficulty, and crown them with laurel at the termination of their career. (*Cheers.*) Who then should say that the petty avarice of the West Indian body, and the outcry of certain persons, should be able to withstand the universal voice of the people, or prevent the accomplishment of that which they had so long desired? (*Cheers.*) Let them now part like men determined never to lose sight of the object, and let them place confidence, implicit confidence he meant, no where. (*Hear, hear.*) Trust, if they pleased, to men, that they would be honest and keep their words when their own interests were at stake, and not when the happiness, and comfort, and freedom of others were concerned. Let them go to their homes, and send petitions from every part, and say to the legislature, we leave to you the particular mode of effecting the object, but that object we *will* have; and if you will honestly and fairly perform your duty we will stand by you until it is done. (*Cheers.*)

The motion was then carried by acclamation.

Lord Suffield in acknowledging the vote of thanks which had been passed, and the compliments which had been paid to him, observed that the recompense which he most valued was the success of the cause to which he now looked with so much confidence. (*Cheers.*) He congratulated the meeting on its numbers and unanimity, and on the presence of so many members of parliament on the platform; and especially upon the truly liberal and Christian feeling which had been displayed in all the addresses of the speakers, and which had been so heartily responded to by the meeting. The proceedings and declarations of this day afforded the most substantial grounds for confidence and hope of success. (*Cheers.*)

The Hon. Major Keppel announced to the meeting a donation of £100 from a lady, who desiring to do good secretly concealed her name; but he could not resist the vanity of saying he was related to her. (*Cheers.*)

J. S. Buckingham, Esq., M.P., addressed a few observations to the meeting, stating that he had been a witness to the horrors of slavery, and called upon them as men and Christians to lose no opportunity of carrying this great object forward to its full accomplishment.

The meeting then dissolved, about five o'clock.

London: S. Bagster, Jun., Printer, 14, Bartholomew Close.

Anti-slavery society, London.

SUGGESTIONS

OCCASIONED BY THE

CLAUSE OF THE ACT OF 3 & 4 WILLIAM IV. Chap. LXIII.

RESPECTING THE

APPRENTICESHIP OF NEGRO CHILDREN.

In the act which has abolished slavery in all the British dominions, there is a clause (the thirteenth) to the following effect:—

—And whereas it may happen that children, who have not attained the age of six years on the 1st day of August, 1834; or that children, who, after that day, may be born to any female apprenticed labourers, may not be properly supported by their parents, and that no other persons may be disposed voluntarily to undertake the support of such children; and it is necessary that provisions should be made for the maintenance of such children in any such contingency: Be it therefore enacted, that if any child, who, on the said 1st day of August, 1834, had not completed the age of six years; or if any child to whom any female apprenticed labourer may give birth on or after the said 1st day of August, 1834, shall be brought before any justice of the peace, holding a special commission,* and if it shall be made to appear to his satisfaction that any such child is unprovided with an adequate maintenance, and that such hath not completed twelve years, it shall be lawful for such justice, and he is required, on behalf of such child,

* The justices of the peace holding special commissions, are to have the sole and exclusive jurisdiction in all matters connected with this Act; and are to be appointed and salaried by the Crown.

to execute an indenture of apprenticeship, binding such child either as a predial or non-predial apprenticed labourer, as the case may be, to the person entitled to the services of the mother of such child, or last entitled to such services; or if it should be made to appear to such justice that such person is unable or unfit to perform the conditions of such indenture, such justice is required to bind such child to any other person willing and able properly to perform such conditions; and the term of every such apprenticeship shall be limited and made to continue in force until such child shall have completed the age of twenty-one years,* and no longer; and every child so apprenticed shall, during such apprenticeship, be subject to all the rules affecting other apprenticed labourers. Provided always that the said indenture of apprenticeship shall contain sufficient words of obligation on the employer to allow reasonable time and opportunity for the education and religious instruction of such child.—

By this clause, all children of slaves who shall be under six years of age on the 1st of August, 1834, and all children of apprentices who shall thereafter be born, are exempted from all necessity of becoming apprentices, provided only their parents, relations, or other persons, fulfil the duty of maintaining them till they are able to maintain themselves. They become in such case entirely free, to all intents and purposes. But if parents or relations shall neglect or refuse to maintain the

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* All children who have reached their sixth year on the 1st of August, 1834, so as to be included among the apprenticed labourers, will have reached their twelfth year in 1840, when the apprenticeships of all ought to cease, and all the parties then apprenticed ought to be free. But it would seem, from the construction of the clause, *that it will depend on parents' supporting their children till their twelfth year*, whether the apprenticeships of such children, as well as of younger children, may not be prolonged to twenty-one years. Such a construction would, indeed, be most harsh and revolting. At present it seems doubtful whether a child, who has been supported by his parent for eleven years, if he shall be unprovided for on the twelfth, may not, in consideration of that one year's maintenance, be bound to *a nine years' farther apprenticeship.* This very possibility of such a construction ought to be most anxiously guarded against, either by a royal instruction to the special magistrates, or by a supplementary enactment

children who are under six years of age on the 1st of August, 1834, or who shall be born to female apprentices after that period, then this consequence will follow, that they must be bound apprentices to the mother's employer, or some other person, until they shall attain twenty-one years.

The government, in the plan which was first put forth on this subject, gave the public ground to expect that all negro children of six years of age and under would at once become free. If, however, the plan of apprenticing them authorized by this Act should be allowed to prevail to any extent, the result could not fail to be very disastrous. It would virtually introduce a new slavery of from fifteen to twenty-one years' duration, and would especially affect that part of the population which it is of the utmost importance to preserve from the degrading influence of such a system.

It is impossible indeed to contemplate, without apprehension, any plan which may subject, till the age of twenty-one, the whole, or even any large portion, of the male and female youth to the control of planters. On the noxious results of such a training it is unnecessary to enlarge. No condition can be conceived less fitted to prepare the young, whether male or female, for the duties and enjoyments of freedom, than an apprenticeship of such duration, and under such control. With every wish to abstain from all harsh or irritating expressions, it is clear that no one, who duly appreciates the moral interests of the rising race, and is acquainted with the state of society among the masters and managers in our colonies, can avoid feeling the indispensable obligation which attaches to every friend of his kind to do his utmost to avert the evil of such an apprenticeship. And happily there will be no real difficulty in doing so. All that is necessary is, that the parents or relations should undertake the maintenance of all children during the short period that shall elapse until the children are able to maintain themselves; and surely no parent or near relation, of either sex, will be found so devoid of natural affection as to shrink from this undertaking, if at all capable of fulfilling it. If parents perform their duty in this respect only for *four years* in one case, or for *six years* in another, their children will be saved from this curse.

It is true that much pains has been taken by those who have

hitherto profited by slavery, to persuade the government and people of this country, that such a provision was required for the sake of the safety and well-being of the children themselves. The fatal ignorance which still prevails on colonial subjects, has given weight to this sinister suggestion. But its authors well know that the real facts of the case are utterly at variance with such allegations. They know, that from an early age, (the age of five or six,) the labour of children in tropical climates may be made available, in a great degree, to their own sustentation. They know also that, even in the days of their bitterest bondage, when nearly the undivided labour, not only of the parents, but of the children from five years old and upwards, was exacted by their masters for their own profit, the slave population even then contrived to raise the needful sustenance for themselves and their offspring. In all the colonies where the slaves have been fed by the product of the grounds they cultivate, including Jamaica, Trinidad, Grenada, St. Vincent's, Dominica, St. Lucia, and Mauritius, comprising a very large majority of the slave population, nearly the whole provision of food for the old and young, of which the planters boasted as being far more ample than that of the English peasantry, was supplied by the slaves themselves from their labour during the five hours, or the half day, in each week, which alone, in addition to Sunday, was the rate of time allowed them by law for cultivating their food. Yet the planters would seem to have succeeded in persuading the public that *now*, when the time allowed to them by law amounts at least to more than three times that number of hours in the week, their means of supporting themselves and their families will be insufficient. Be it also remembered, that during the four or six years of apprenticeship, which commences for all above six on the 1st of August, 1834, the utmost labour which any apprentice can be required to yield to his employer is 45 hours in the week. And even out of this number, in the colonies where slaves grow their own provisions, at least at the rate of five of those hours in each week must be assigned, as heretofore, to the labourer for his own purposes, thus making the employer's legal share of his time, in fact, only 40 hours in the week.

But, besides this, all the children who have not yet, on the 1st August, 1834, reached their sixth year, are freed by the Act from the necessity of any labour in the service of the employer of the parent, or of any other

person, provided only their parents or relations shall have the wisdom and forethought at once to agree to provide for them. In that event, the child's whole time will become available for his own and his family's support, and after the age of five or six will be most useful, if not fully adequate to that purpose, and every day as it passes will make it more so. It would, therefore, be an act of extreme cruelty to the children, as well as of folly and improvidence on the part of parents or relations, if they should be induced by any persuasions of interested parties, or by any apprehensions of want, to forego the immense advantage which the law happily gives them in this respect. It is an advantage of which none but the most unnatural of parents or relations could ever consent to divest themselves or their offspring. If the negro population, then, *are but duly apprised of the circumstances of the case*, surely no child in the colonies will ever be allowed to incur the hazard of being subjected to the misery of such an apprenticeship.

But it may be alleged, that, though this reasoning be just, as it applies to the colonies in which the slave population have been fed from their own grounds, it will not apply to the colonies where they are fed by weekly allowances from the planter's storehouse. But even there, the utmost labour which can be exacted from any labourers who shall be above six years of age on the 1st of August, 1834, during the continuance of their four or six years' apprenticeship, is forty-five hours in each week; while all of the growing population under six, if they escape the apprenticeship, will thenceforward have their whole time for their own and their family's exclusive benefit. All who shall then be above six, will still also, during their apprenticeship, retain their former allowances, which will go a certain way towards the sustentation of the whole, and they will moreover have what they never had before—a complete day in the week, besides Sunday, for themselves; while all *under* six years of age, as they grow up, will have a full right to the whole six days of the week as their own, a possession which will increase in value every year. The difficulty, therefore, which alone can have given occasion for this clause, vanishes even in the colonies that are the least favourably situated; and therefore it may be hoped, that if the negro population can be made to understand their true in-

terests, there will not occur in any one of the colonies a single instance of apprenticeship but what the law absolutely prescribes; and that all the others, during the four or six years which shall follow 1834, may be easily saved from the possibility of undergoing that second bondage of from 15 to 21 years, which would be an infliction equal to that of the worst felons.

But there is, if possible, a still more weighty consideration involved in this question, and which cannot too strongly be pressed on the attention of every Christian, and especially of all Christian ministers and missionaries. One of the most potent instruments of success, in civilizing and christianizing the negro population, will be the free and unfettered access of the rising race to the means of education and religious instruction—the only means indeed of training them to knowledge and virtue. But if, until they arrive at 21 years of age they are to remain under the dominion of masters and managers, as before; if their time, instead of being their own or their parents', is to be given from day to day to field labour, and their facilities of instruction are to depend on the concurrence of the planters—then it is to be feared that but little progress will be made in their improvement. But if they shall be emancipated from all such control, and during their infant years a certain portion of each day shall be given to Christian discipline and to the acquisition of useful knowledge, we may look forward with the utmost confidence to highly gratifying results. In that case we may indeed hope to see the moral wilderness of our slave colonies rejoice and blossom as the rose.

There is no occasion to add to these remarks: they will be sufficiently intelligible to those for whose use they are intended. But it would be wrong to close them without expressing the earnest hope and prayer of every friend of the negro race in Great Britain, that all of them will be so deeply impressed with a sense of the benefits which in no long time must result from the operation of the recent enactments in their favour, that they will patiently await the hour of their full emancipation, and during the four or six intervening years of their apprenticeship maintain an undeviating submission to the laws; and, by their zeal and assiduity in the fulfilment of their prescribed duties, and by their respectful bearing towards their superiors,

and especially towards their employers, justify the confidence that has been reposed in their loyalty and industry, and the exertions that have been made to effect their deliverance.

These sentiments will be found to be in perfect accordance with the annexed speech of Mr. Buxton, their able and strenuous advocate, in the House of Commons, who, after many a painful, and self-denying, and untiring effort, has at length conducted their cause to its present joyful and cheering consummation.

Such, also, was the dying hope of that great and good man Mr. Wilberforce, who having commenced in early life, and maintained, for nearly half a century, the mighty struggle for their liberty, was happily spared to witness its final triumph. He has ceased from his labours, and has entered into his eternal rest. But Mr. Buxton and many others still survive to watch over their interests, and to unite in unwearied efforts to secure to them the undisturbed enjoyment of the freedom they have obtained.

Mr. Buxton's speech just referred to, was to this effect:—

"The right hon. gentleman," (Mr. Stanley,) "has done me the honour to say that the language that I hold towards the negroes may have some influence upon them. If I thought that that were the case,—if, indeed, the faintest echo of my voice can ever reach them,—most earnestly, most emphatically would I implore them, by every motive of duty, gratitude, and self-interest, to do their part towards the peaceful termination of their bondage. I would say to them—The time of your deliverance is at hand; let that period be sacred,—let it be defiled by no outrage,—let it be stained by no blood; let not the hair of the head of a single planter be touched. Make any sacrifice,—bear any indignity,—submit to any privation,—rather than raise your hand against any white man. Continue to wait and to work patiently; trust implicitly to that great nation and to that paternal government who are labouring for your release. Preserve peace and order to the utmost of your power; obey the laws, both before and at the time of your entire liberation; and when that period shall arrive, fulfil the expectations of your friends in England, and the promises they have made in

your name, by the most orderly, diligent, and dutiful conduct. If you will do all this,—if you will assist us in the anxious task of a peaceful emancipation,—if you will resist every temptation to impatience, disturbance, or idleness,—if you will realize the predictions of your friends, and confute the forebodings of those who have been opposed to your emancipation,—if you will show by your conduct that you are not the brutes which you have been supposed to be, but human beings, capable of being influenced by the same motives as the rest of mankind,—you then will have fulfilled our most ardent wishes; you will have made a full return for all our labours; you will have secured your own and your children's welfare; and you will be the greatest benefactors to the myriads of your race who remain in bondage under other nations. The fate of 5,000,000 of slaves will mainly depend on the issue of this great experiment. This adds double force to the earnestness with which I would plead with the slaves, the planters, England, and her Government, each and all, to lay aside their feelings of excitement, to bury former dissensions in oblivion, and to bend all their strength to effect this mighty reformation peaceably and safely, and if so, with unspeakable benefit to the slave, to the master, and to the nation at large."

By order of the Anti-Slavery Committee,

THOMAS PRINGLE, *Secretary.*

Anti-Slavery Office, 18, *Aldermanbury*,
November 1, 1833.

London: S. Bagster, Jun., Printer, 14, Bartholomew Close.

EXTRACTS

FROM A

WEST INDIA PLANTATION JOURNAL,

KEPT BY THE MANAGER:

SHOWING THE TREATMENT OF THE SLAVES AND ITS FATAL CONSEQUENCES.

(Reprinted from the Second Volume of Mr. Stephen's Work, entitled, "The Slavery of the British West India Colonies delineated, as it exists both in Law and Practice.")

Some singular coincidences have put it in my power now to make public, without danger to any individual, another instance, in which I have suppressed, for several years, information on these subjects of no ordinary importance, and which might alone suffice to satisfy every impartial mind that cruelties, in the government of plantation slaves, are as abundant as ever; or at least that their impunity, and non-publication in greater numbers in this country, furnish not the slightest presumption to the contrary.

It will, at the same time, furnish a graphic illustration of the general system, more impressive perhaps than any general account of it, or any particular examples that have been hitherto submitted to the British public. I will, therefore, though at no small additional expense of the reader's patience, give it at full length, and request for it particular attention.

Case No. 4 —*Account of the Treatment of the Slaves on two united Estates, called Fahie's and Orton's, in the island of St. Christopher, and the fatal effects that followed.*

Mr. Wells, the owner of the beautiful estate of Piercefield, is proprietor of several plantations in the island of St. Christopher. In the year 1812 he granted a lease of two of them, called Fahie's and Orton's, for the term of 14 years, to a Mr. C————, and a co-lessee, whom the former survived; and who, about the year 1816, became the sole tenant, as he had before been the sole manager, of those estates. They are contiguous, and were demised together with their gangs of slaves, consisting of 140 Negroes, whereof 59 had belonged to Fahie's and 81 to Orton's. These estates were considered as more than commonly healthy. The sexes and ages of the slaves were well proportioned for maintaining their numbers; for there were 41 men, 47 women, 10 boys, 14 girls, 12 infant males, and 16 infant females.

These poor human subjects of the demise did not long escape the ordinary consequences of such a transfer.* Their numbers soon began to decrease, and continued to do so in a truly frightful progress, the amount of which I am able to ascertain from 1815 to 1819, both inclusive, by an original document now before me, in the hand-writing of Mr. C———— himself, containing an account of his annual returns for parochial purposes.

In April, 1815, the number remaining of the two gangs collectively was 108, showing a loss, in three years, of no less than 32. In April, 1816, they were reduced to 102; in April 1817 to 98; in April 1818 to 91; in 1819 to 86; showing a loss altogether, in seven years, of 54 lives out of 140, or above 39 per cent. To this is to be added a number equal to all the intermediate births, of which I find no account. Having regard to the number and ages of the women and girls, we cannot well suppose, unless from extreme severity of treatment, less than 30 births in seven years, which would raise the loss by mortality to 84.

Nor is this all; for the lessees were bound by covenant, as usual, to keep up, and leave at the end of the term, the original number and value of the slaves; and, though this covenant was not performed, it appears that a considerable number of slaves had been purchased by Mr. C———— and placed on these

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* See my first vol. p. 86, 87.

estates, to recruit their declining gangs. The number of these is not specified; but I find it stated by that gentleman's manager, in September, 1815, that he had placed on the estate Negroes and stock to the amount of 3100*l.*

The deathful progress went on from 1819, by what annual proportion does not appear, until 1824; or at least till the death of Mr. C——— in the preceding year, when an execution, for arrears of rent, obtained by Mr. Wells against him in his life-time, was levied on his interests in the consolidated estates and slaves, and on his goods and effects on the estate. An inventory of all the slaves was consequently taken on the 10th of April, 1824, and they were found to amount to 60 only of the two original gangs; comprising all such as had been born since the commencement of the lease, and were still surviving; showing a further loss since 1819, of 26, over and above all that had been born, or purchased, and died from that period. There were found also 17 slaves of those purchased by Mr. C———, being the remains of 20, which he had put on the estate during the latter part of the tenancy, or of them and their subsequent issue.

During a period of less than 12 years, therefore, there had been a loss of 80 out of 140 human beings, chiefly, when they were demised, in the prime of life; besides all the unknown, but unquestionably large, further amount of their intermediate issue; and of all the purchased recruits, except seventeen.

These facts must be sufficiently startling, even to those who know, in some measure, the ordinary waste of life by which we are supplied with West India sugar; but I am enabled, by singular means, to establish their truth, to the conviction of the most incredulous; and at the same time to account for them from causes by no means extraordinary, except in their degree, though too little known and regarded on this side of the Atlantic.

Among the books of the deceased, found in an open chest on the premises, was the document to which I have referred; being a kind of journal or plantation day-book, kept partly by Mr. C——— himself, and partly by a manager, or overseer, who presided over the estate during the lessee's absence from the island;* and as it was of no value to be sold, and was unclaimed by any representative of the deceased, it came to, and was left in the hands of a professional gentleman, who acted as one of Mr. Wells's attorneys at the sale. It was from this gentleman that I received it; and I will deposit it with my booksellers for the inspection and perusal of any gentleman, giving his name, who may wish to satisfy himself that it is genuine, and that my extracts from it are correct. The donor of it is now in a remote part of the world, and has finally quitted the West Indies; or I durst not, for his sake, make this use of his present; but must otherwise have lost the benefit of it, as of other information, illustrative of the true nature of slavery, that has, at different periods, fallen into my possession or power. The only alteration I have made in it is to mark its pages numerically, for the purposes of reference.

On the inner side of the cover will be found memoranda in Mr. C———'s hand-writing of the annual returns already cited, showing the progressive decrease of the slaves from 1815 to 1819, both inclusively.

The book abounds in a variety of entries, containing matters of account, copies of correspondence, and other matters, in general of little use, except to show its authenticity; but the most material parts for my purpose are contained in a journal of occurrences on the estate, kept by Mr. C———'s manager for his employer's information during his absence on a voyage to Europe, beginning on the 17th of May, 1815, and ending on the 22d day of January, in the following

* I withhold the name of this person, as I have done that of the lessee, though the latter is dead, for a reason before intimated, viz. because I hold it wrong to expose either the living, or the memory of the dead, to a disreputable publicity, however deserved; except when it is necessary for good and important purposes to do so. The necessity often arises from the impossibility of otherwise giving sufficient precision, and means of authentication, to the facts stated, or the evidence referred to; but, in the present instance, the case is different, as the names of the estates, and of the proprietor, to whom no discredit attaches, are quite sufficient for these purposes.

year. They extend from 69 to 44,* and in very many places furnish matter curious and instructive to those who are strangers to the interior economy and discipline of a sugar plantation.

Desertion, petty thefts, and other offences,—above all, neglects of grass picking,—painful imprisonments, cruel floggings, and other punishments, for those offences—sickness and deaths, intermingled with feuds between the manager's and his employer's kept mistresses; disputes with the creditors, &c., are the constantly recurring topics. But I will confine myself to a few extracts that relate directly to the treatment of the unfortunate slaves.

P. 67. "May 29th. *Dick Orton came and complained that Mary Daniel had yesterday (Sunday) stolen two large bunches of bananas, out of the Banana Walk. He also said that she declared she would rob every thing of her master's property, as he was gone. At two o'clock the gang was called over, and she was severely punished.*"

Note.—There is no mention made of the woman's having confessed the charge; which, as to the declaration alleged, seems very improbable; though the stealing bananas to appease her hunger is probable enough. The reader will presently learn to estimate this man's standard of *severity;* and though the indecent exposure of females, when cart-whipped, is, by many of the colonial champions, denied, we find here a roll-calling of the whole gang to witness it.

The same daily entry adds as follows:—

"*Priscilla was also punished, for quitting the magoss watch last night, and not returning until noon this day.*"

Note.—The magoss is the bruised substance of the cane, after being ground. It is kept for fuel; and as it is not a saleable article the slaves can steal it only for the cooking their meals; yet we find that, under this severe and sordid system, Negroes are stationed to watch it; and that, for quitting that duty on a *Sunday*, this female was publicly flogged.

Same page and day:—"*Statia Jack, who had feigned sickness on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday last, and who was left in the sick-house, took an opportunity of setting off on Saturday night, through Welsh's negligence. He was brought home last night (Sunday), and was punished this day.*"

Note.—Here we recognize another ordinary feature of the system amply described in this volume,—pretence, or imputed pretence, of sickness, to avoid the driver's coercion. The poor fellow, whether a little recovered, or whether his sickness had been really feigned, naturally enough wished to escape from his irksome, nauseous prison, on the Sunday, when working under the drivers is not the immediate alternative to bodily confinement; and for this he was cart-whipped.

That sickness or debility was not feigned by him is highly probable. He must have been a sickly Negro; for we find a few months afterwards that he was bloated with the dropsy, and died.

P. 66. "Saturday, the 3d June. *Santy, who had been liberated about a week, was absent from grass at noon, and remained away the whole evening.*"

P. 66. "Monday, June the 5th. *Portsmouth ran away from Island Piece yesterday, in consequence of two cattle having got into, and damaged four holes. Priscilla, Betsy, Walker, and little Susannah, ran away. Santy and Portsmouth were away before. I find that a new plan must be adopted with the Negroes—lenient measures will no longer answer.*"

Note.—We have a specimen of his previous *lenity* towards Priscilla above; and shall see more of it hereafter as to her and others.

Same page. "Tuesday, June 6th. *Missed grass at night: Domingo, Lena, Betsy Peters, Joe, and Mary Daniel. Domingo sick. Priscilla ran away. Santy ran away.*"

Note.—Observe the common progress of oppression in the case of this poor woman. She is cart-whipped for quitting her Sunday's watch of the magoss heap. A week after, probably as soon as her wounds were healed, she deserts

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* The order of paging in the book is inverted by the friend who paged it for me; the book itself having been so, after page 43.

from her rigid master. She is absent but two days, or, if the last entry is correct, but one day: and to atone for it comes home freely, and brings another fugitive with her; yet for this we next find she is again cart-whipped with the utmost severity allowed by the law.

Same page. "Wednesday, June 7th. *Priscilla came in, and received thirty-nine. She brought Betsy, who was also punished. Punished also Domingo, Lena, Betsy Peters, Joe, and Mary Daniel, for missing grass last night. Santy brought home at noon by Scipio and Adams. Gave him at two o'clock thirty-nine* SEVERELY, AND THEN PICKLED HIM."

P. 65. "Thursday, June 8th. *Two runaways now out, Portsmouth and Ben. Daphne, magoss watch, got six for magoss being stolen last night.*" (See the above note on the punishment of Priscilla.)

Same page and day. "*This morning, 8th June, Santy, Priscilla, who got thirty-nine each; Domingo and Lena, who got twelve each, went to the sick-house under pretence of being stiff with the licks. It was no pretence with Santy. I got some peppers out of the garden, and steeped them in hot water, and bathed Priscilla and Domingo. Lena would not stand the test, and ran off to her work.*"

Note.—Domingo, who appears thus to have been cart-whipped on the 7th June, for not bringing grass the night before, and tortured with pepper on the 8th, for going to the sick-house for admission on account of his former punishment, appears, by the above extract of June 6th, to have been sick on the day of his default. It was, therefore, in all probability, an involuntary one; for a sick man could not be well equal to the tedious drudgery of grass picking, after the labours of the day. Yet, when the plea of stiffness in his muscles—a natural effect of the excoriations and incisions usually produced by the tremendous cart-whip—was superadded to the sickness of the preceding day, the torture of washing his wounds with the blistering infusion of capsicum seems to have produced, for a while, the desired effect; for on the next day, June 9th, we have a return of slaves in the sick-house, in which his name is not inserted. The same is the case on the 10th (see p. 65). But in the next sick-house return that is given, that of June 14th, Domingo is included; and we find it in every subsequent return to the 7th July (p. 59) inclusive.

These facts are highly characteristic and instructive. They furnish a specimen of the ordinary process by which the field-negroes are worn down and destroyed: and illustrate well that great source of oppression and cruelty, the difficulty of distinguishing between real and pretended illness, which Dr. Collins, as we have seen, admitted frequently to baffle even the medical attendants, and to produce the most calamitous and fatal effects.

When the constitution of a Negro begins to decline under the toil exacted from him, terrible contests on this score with his manager naturally become very frequent, are inflamed more and more by their iteration, and commonly end either in habitual desertion, or incurable disease and death. The latter was most probably the case with Domingo; for it appears, by the inventory of 1824, that he was not found among the few survivors of the hapless original gang.

P. 58. "Thursday, July 13th. *Santy ran away at noon, and as there were two troop ships at anchor in Sandy Point, and hearing he intended to go with the sailors, I went off immediately and sent two men after him. I warned the different serjeants on the beach not to take him on board, and also the officers.*"

Friday, 14th July. (Same page.) "*Santy brought home by the two men at 4 o'clock. Gave him thirty-nine severely. He was disappointed in going off. None of the serjeants would take him.*"

Monday, July 31. (Same page.) "*Had an iron collar put round Santy's neck, and gave him thirty-nine for his last trip.*"

Note.—Here we may clearly recognize the impotence and futility of the meliorating laws. The iron collars were prohibited by those laws, as then existing, and solemnly alleged to have been duly executed in this and most other islands: yet this manager is so utterly regardless of them as to record, needlessly, and with apparent ostentation, his law-breaking act.

The absurdity of restricting the use of the cart-whip by law to thirty-nine lashes for one offence is equally manifest. We have seen that on the 7th of

June Santy received the full number severely laid on, and was pickled; and that this unfeeling manager sarcastically on the 8th says, his inability to work was no pretence. He took, in all probability, the first opportunity he found after his recovery, to attempt an escape from his tyrant, at the expense of perpetual exile from his home, and all his connections; and for this he received again the full legal infliction, with a severity again recorded: and seventeen days after, for the offence called "his last trip," he was again punished to the same extent, and had an iron collar besides placed upon his neck. The law was thus openly defied in the one instance, and its principle inverted in the other; for it would have been mercy to inflict on him a greater number of lashes than thirty-nine on the 14th, in comparison with the reiteration of the limited number on the 31st, when the wounds of the last whipping were probably yet but imperfectly healed.

I find no further mention in the journal of Santy; nor was it thought necessary to state how he had been treated between the second and third whipping: but he was presumably secured, as usual, in the sick-house, or stocks; since the putting on the collar, to obstruct any new attempt to escape, was not thought necessary till the 17th day, after his last punishment. This man's name also is wanting in the list of survivors.

P. 51. On the 28th August, we have a specimen of the way in which the enfeebled slaves are sometimes treated, when they seek on that account an exemption from the heavier labours of the gang, and their debility is too manifest to be denied. "*Little Hannah pretended she could not hole. She had every appearance of debility; so I put her to work for this time only, in the second gang, and directed her to be locked up every night in the sick-house,*" he adds, "*to preserve her health.*" It was a strange way of promoting the health of the poor woman, to make a nauseous imprisonment by night the condition of a temporary alleviation of labour through the day.

P. 52. On the 24th August there is an entry struck through with lines that "*Henry and Congo Sarah had been put in the trammels*" (a torturous position in the stocks or bilboes), and Congo Sarah appears, by an entry on the same and the following page, to have been the two next days in the sick-house, from the effects, no doubt, of the trammels.

Throughout these minutes, as long as they contain any entries of punishments and sickness, we find a sad amount of slaves allowed to be really diseased, compared with the number of the gang.

On the 25th and 26th August, for instance (pp. 51 and 52), we have the following:—"*In sick-house—Congo Sarah—Rose. Betsy Peters, sore leg. Nanno, phthisic. Old Peggy Rose. M. A. Phillis, useless. Frankey Celia, a vagabond. Francis, at home, debility. Adam, ditto, debility. Susan, fever.*

From August to January 22nd, when the manager's journal ends, I find no further sick-house returns, nor any notice of the delinquencies or the punishments of slaves; a sudden change of style remarkable enough. Perhaps the manager, on a review of his journal for the preceding two months, thought it better, in future, to omit such details, as not redounding very much to the credit of his administration; and yet, as the book was kept for Mr. C————'s inspection only (whose personal management, presumably, was not different, or a whit more humane; and certainly was not less fatal to the slaves), a more powerful motive for this sudden and total change of style may be sought for; and, I think, may, by a highly probable conjecture, be found.

In the spring and summer of 1815, the controversy which had arisen in this country, on the proposed registration of slaves by act of parliament, led to new investigations as to the treatment of them in the different islands, and new efforts by the colonial assemblies and planters to avert parliamentary interposition, by the pretence that every desirable and practical improvement in that respect had already taken place. It became again the anxious policy in every island, and of almost all the proprietors in this country, to dress up the best case they could for that purpose; and to prevent as much as possible the discovery of such existing practices as were of ill report in England. I doubt not, also, that proprietors of the better sort renewed, sincerely, their instructions to

adopt all such lenient and conservatory means as were compatible with the existing system; and it was generally felt, both here and in the West Indies, that planters who practised more than ordinary severity were injuring the common cause.* The prevalence of such views in St. Christopher may have impressed, on the manager himself, the necessity of greater reserve in recording his treatment of the slaves in his possession, and the sickness that ensued; and Mr. C———, on his arrival in Europe, might have found, from the spirit prevailing here, that it was prudent to send cautions to his manager, to prevent any needless discovery of the causes of that extraordinary mortality that prevailed on his rented estates. As he sailed for Europe on the 17th May, there was time enough before the end of August for the receipt of letters from him after his arrival here, when he probably found these motives for general precaution prevalent and urgent. It is, at least, a remarkable coincidence that the time of the probable receipt of instructions on these subjects exactly coincides with the singular change of style in the journal before me. There is no entry of punishments after the 28th of August, nor of sickness after the 4th of September; though other occurrences on the estate are recorded daily, with all the former punctuality, down to the end of the journal on January 22nd, the day after Mr. C——— returned. I find, on the 4th of September, an entry of a runaway slave being brought home; but not a word of any punishment he received.

It cannot be supposed that the whip, from that time, ceased for nearly five months to be in use, or the sick-house to be occupied; and, if it could, the following entries would, as to the latter at least, show the contrary :—

P. 44. "*Frankey Celia died the 1st December*, 1815."

Same page. "*On the 14th December died Rachel Buxom.*"

Same page. "*On the 7th January, Sunday morning, died Jack Statia: he was bloated up like old Portsmouth, he had not been in the field for two weeks.*"

If we add to these an entry on the 15th of August of the death of a woman called "*Grace*" (p. 54), of whose disease nothing is said, we shall have a loss in less than five months of four slaves out of 107 left in the manager's possession.

As three of these slaves perished after the entries of punishment ceased, and only one before that period, we may, not unreasonably, infer that the general treatment was not mended; especially as it appears that Jack Statia, a dropsical patient, was worked in the field till within a fortnight of his death.

It may also be concluded that neither before Mr. C———'s absence nor after his return was there, under his own management, a more merciful administration; for the whole loss in the year of his voyage to Europe, being six, falls considerably short of the annual average during the seven years of which he has himself recorded the progressive decrease; the collective amount during that period being 54; exclusive of the intermediate additions by birth and purchase.

Indeed, it is not credible that the manager would have minuted, for his employer's information, conduct such as this journal describes, had he not known that Mr. C———'s feelings towards, and ordinary treatment of, slaves, were consonant to his own; and there are other facts leading to the conclusion that he had no fear of censure, unless for erring on the humane, or liberal side. It appears for instance, from various passages in the book referred to, that Mr. C——— had left on the estate a woman, his kept mistress, between whom and the manager and the manager's mistress frequent disputes arose; the former apparently assuming a right not only to receive her own company on the estate, but to interfere with its management in regard to the slaves; and this interference by *her*, who doubtless understood on what ground she was most likely to be supported by Mr. C——— on his return, seems to have been only on the side of a rigid and unfeeling economy.

In a letter of complaint against her to Mr. C———'s attorney of the 9th June (p. 13) the manager thus writes: "*If I wish the sick to have any additional nourishment to preserve their lives (and one has died since Mr. C. went), this*

* Local enquiries and returns as to the decrease of slaves, and its causes, were also known to be impending.

woman thinks proper to tell me I will spoil the Negroes, that they are not used to it, and that I feed them like pigeons; when the utmost I have given them is one pint of oatmeal a day in gruel, and two spoonfuls of wine. If I send forward any covering or convenience for wretches in the sick-house, who are just quitting this world, she proceeds in the same manner." "She has had the impudence to introduce three mulatto women, who have been here since Tuesday morning, to my great annoyance; for I have had five of them in the house with me, which is rather too many." "This woman has within this hour broke out in an open attack on me and *my girl*, who was cooking my dinner, and used such infamous language as I never heard before in this country," &c.

It seems full enough to prove how little the manager's treatment of the slaves was thought wrong, or discreditable, by Mr. C————, that he adopted this plantation record as his own, immediately after his return, using its blank leaves for copying in his own letters and memoranda.

I need hardly apologize to my readers for troubling them with so many extracts from an original document thus authenticated, and which furnishes so lively a picture of the interior manners and discipline of a sugar estate—a *desideratum* which it is unfortunately very difficult, or impossible, by any ordinary means to supply, and still more to give it with that species of decisive evidence to which my plan confines me, the testimony of the planters themselves.

But the most important use of this case remains to be opened.

Here we have an illustration, not only of the enormous destruction of human life that takes place among the field Negroes of a plantation, when oppression is pushed a little beyond its ordinary bounds, but of the impunity with which it is attended.—It is notorious during twelve years, in the small island where this case arose, that the slaves on the consolidated estates of Fahie's and Orton's were decreasing with a rapidity that was, and only could be, attributed to the severity and cruel economy with which they were worked and treated. The parochial returns for taxes, as minuted by Mr. C———— in this book, the amounts of which every slave-holder in the same parish must have had public notice of, and had an interest in observing, attested the extraordinary mortality. The lessor had a much stronger interest in the case; and it appears from correspondence in the same book that his attorneys on the spot were not wholly inattentive to the lamentable ruin of the gang. (See p. 8.) Yet no interference of the criminal tribunals or police arrested the murderous process.

I have put more than one friend of mine, then resident in the island, on their defence for this omission; which, having been themselves engaged in the slave system, they would not unwillingly have made, if they could; but their only excuse was the common one, that evidence of acts punishable by law could not be found, the slaves not being admissible witnesses. One of them, indeed, stated that a short time before Mr. C———'s death, and when his final ruin was sealed, he had been brought before the magistrates for some offence against the meliorating act, and committed for want of bail; but he spoke, I believe, from information, not having been in the West Indies at the time; and another gentleman has since stated to me, from his own knowledge, that no such commitment had taken place: but he added that the late attorney-general of the colony, Mr. Woodley, having found evidence which he deemed sufficient to establish against Mr. C———— some punishable act of maltreatment of the slaves, had prosecuted him *ex officio*, and preferred a bill of indictment, which was thrown out by the grand jury. I cannot now ascertain which of these statements, or whether either of them, was correct; but deem the latter highly credible, because it appears, from papers printed by the House of Commons, that the same attorney-general (now, I lament to say, no more) interposed in other and recent cases, to check the general infraction of the meliorating laws; and met uniformly with disappointment from the jurymen of the island. In one of these cases, we have seen that the grand jury not only threw out the bill, but took violent offence at its presentation.

For giving this case to the public, I owe no apology to the respectable gentleman whose name I have mentioned as proprietor and lessor of the estates; for the facts that I have stated reflect no reproach on him. In committing the destiny

of his slaves to men whose treatment of them he had no power to control, he acted indeed as I, if unfortunate enough to be the owner of such property, certainly would not do; nor should the law, while it recognizes the harsh right of property in human beings, permit it to be transferred in a way that separates the power of abusing it from the entire interest in its preservation. I have long since given my views on this subject to the public.* I hold it a cruel and wanton extension of an indefensible principle that men should not only be allowed to hold and sell their fellow-creatures as goods and chattels, but to demise them for a term of years, giving to the tenant all the owner's formidable governing powers, and reserving only to himself reversionary rights in the slaves and their future issue. But such, alas! is the law; and such is the too frequent practice of West India proprietors resident in Europe, to make the adoption of it by Mr. Wells any stain upon his character. He was educated in England, was here when these estates devolved on him by patrimonial devise, and I believe has never since visited the West Indies. He probably, therefore, thought he was dealing with his property in no objectionable way, or even in the best way for the slaves of an absent master, when he was placing it in the hands of the lessees; and certainly could not anticipate such truly calamitous results.

But there is one possible imputation or suspicion against which I feel it a duty to guard this gentleman; for, as a member of the West Indian body, with important interests not perhaps altogether invulnerable by his fellow-colonists abroad, he might be materially prejudiced by it; I mean the suspicion that he either approved of my giving this case to the public or in any degree enabled me to do so. I therefore think it right to declare that I have, neither directly nor indirectly, derived any part of my information from Mr. Wells; and am confident that he does not know, or suspect, that I am possessed of it, or that any such documents as I have here referred to have come to my hands. I have never seen or had any intercourse with him since he was a boy at school; and, still better to guard him from any suspicion of the kind alluded to, will add the reason of our being strangers to each other, though his father was my friend, and his connexions by marriage touch on the same family circle with my own. It has been on my part, and probably on his, because I have been proscribed as a public enemy to the sugar colonies. I have, in consequence, long made it a point of delicacy not to seek the acquaintance of any West India proprietor, who has not recently sought for mine.

If an apology be thought necessary for using Mr. Wells's name without asking his consent, the same reasons will, I trust, fully supply it. To have withheld it, would have been a reserve injurious to the credit of my statements; and to have asked his consent to use it would have been to make a request with which he could not in prudence comply. But there will be no such objection to his contradicting my statements, if untrue, or if the authenticity of the written documents I refer to is questioned; and this is another reason for my giving the proprietor's name. Any opponent, or any reader, who has the honour to know Mr. Wells, and doubts any of the facts I have stated as to the loss of slaves, or other matters within that gentleman's knowledge, may thus easily put their truth and accuracy to the test of an enquiry; and I am too well informed of them to have any fear of the result.

Here I willingly conclude those examples of recent cruelties, to adduce which I was defied.

The number of them is of little importance for the only purpose I have in view,—that of marking the still unreformed bad spirit which characterises West Indian societies in regard to such abuses of a master's power. It is no more necessary to that end to multiply examples than it is to count the petechial spots on a feverish patient. A few of these will suffice to mark the malignant character of the disease. But no thinking man will believe that such abuses could meet with popular favour, or impunity, in any society in which they were of rare occurrence.

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* See my volume on the law of slavery, p. 84—87.

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Thompson
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